

BOUNDARIES OF THE
**ANCIENT
NEAR EASTERN
WORLD**

**A Tribute to
Cyrus H. Gordon**

Edited by
**Meir Lubetski,
Claire Gottlieb and
Sharon Keller**



**JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
SUPPLEMENT SERIES**

273

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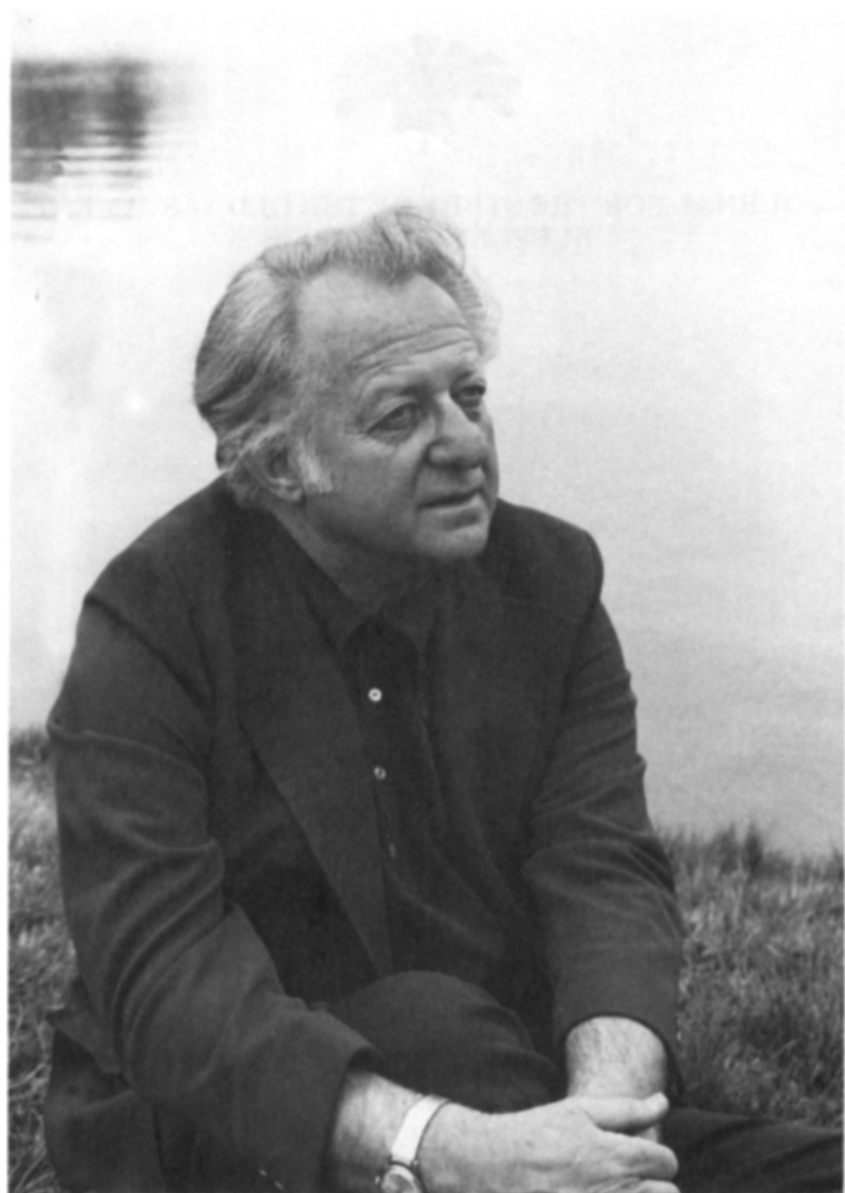
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Sheffield Academic Press



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Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
Supplement Series 273



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Published by Sheffield Academic Press Ltd
Mansion House
19 Kingfield Road
Sheffield S11 9AS
England

Printed on acid-free paper in Great Britain
by Bookcraft Ltd
Midsomer Norton, Bath

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

ISBN 1-85075-871-9

וּלְמִיּוֹם שָׁבַט אוֹרֶךְ, הַמּוֹרֶת, עָלֵינוּ יְנוּחַ--
 רִאיוֹנֶיךָ כְּאִירֵאל הָאֵמֶת וְכֹאִתָּן הַרוּחַ,
 נְקִידָעַת, צְנוּעַ וְטָהוֹר בְּסִתָּר כְּבִגְלוֹי,
 בְּטוּחַ בְּאֵמֶתוֹ וּבְדַעַת אַחֲרָיו לֹא־תָלוֹי,
 דּוֹכֵךְ בְּשִׁבְלֵי הַמִּצָּח, בְּהִיר-עֵין וְתִקְיָה

.....

שָׂא בִרְכָּה, הַמּוֹרֶה, מִפִּינוּ, שָׂא בִרְכָּה נְאֻמָּה
 עַל־כָּל שְׁלִמְדֵנוּ מִמֶּךָ וְעַל־כָּל שְׁנִלְמָדָה.
 הַבִּרְכָּה--זֶה יָמִים עַל-שָׁנִים בְּלִבֵּנוּ נִצְפָּה,
 וְצִרּוּפָה, מִשֵּׁם עֲתִיד יוֹצֵאת וְאוֹמֶרֶת לָךְ: "תוֹדָה"
 שָׂא בִרְכָּה מְרֻבָּה עַל־כָּל־גִּרְעִין רָעִיוֹן נִעְלָה,
 שְׁנוּדָע עַל יָדֶךָ לְהַפְרוֹת לִבֵּנוּ הַשָּׁמַם.
 הַרְבֵּה לְמַדְנוּ מִפִּיךָ וְהַרְבֵּה מִפִּיהַ שְׁבִקְשָׁנוּ
 מִצֵּאתָ לְמַעֲנֵנוּ וְאַנְחָנוּ מִיָּדֶךָ יִרְשָׁנוּ--
 קִטְעַ מִלְאֲחַד הָעַם

בְּחוּךְ כָּל כְּתָבִי ח' נִבְיָאִיק. תַּל אֲבִיב: הַיּוֹצֵאת דְּבִיר,
 הַדְפֶסָה תִשַׁע-עֶשְׂרֵה, תִּשְׁ"ח. עֲמִי לֹג־לֵד.

Dear Teacher,

Your luminous staff long resting upon us,
 We've seen you as hero of truth and stalwart of spirit,
 Clear of purpose, prudent, forthright within and without,
 Secure in the truth you find and dependent on none;
 Clear-eyed and strong, you tread your own path.

Dear Teacher,

Accept the blessing that from our lips pours forth,
 For all we've learned from you and still must learn.
 The blessing, latent and distilled, within our hearts so long
 Comes forth to say, 'We thank you!'
 Accept our blessing full for the germ of every thought sublime
 You sowed to quicken our desolate hearts.
 Much have we learned from you and much we sought to learn
 You found and graciously bequeathed to us.

Translated by Reba and Howard Marblstone

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PREFACE

Cyrus H. Gordon is a professor whose erudition, scholarship, friendship and *Menschlichkeit* have never known any boundaries. The varied articles that form this *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World* reveal the extensive scope of his interests. The volume reflects his passion for 'discerning real sameness in apparent differences and real difference in apparent sameness'. It is also a testimony to his vision of an interrelated ancient East Mediterranean society as evidenced by a Mesopotamian seal cylinder reaching the shores of the Greek peninsula and ancient Aegean jars being unearthed in the Holy Land. It is a tribute to his world view, encompassing the entire ancient Near Eastern ecumene and beyond. The contributors to this volume are former students, colleagues, friends and relatives. Their articles are a mirror of his foresight and the range of his influence in the scholarly world and represent the variety of disciplines that have been enriched by his dedication to teaching and research. They illustrate the progress made in studying the history of the biblical world during the past half century.

Cyrus Gordon completed his academic training at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving his doctorate at the age of twenty-two. He spent his early years as a field archaeologist and recorder, excavating with the great names of the 1920s and 30s such as Woolley, Petrie, Albright and Glueck. Working and living with the indigenous population at numerous Near Eastern locales enabled Gordon to learn many of the still surviving ancient customs and he was able to observe first hand the performance of ancient rites involving magic and demonology. Listening to the traditional songs and folktales allowed him to acquire a unique insight into the mores and practices of the ancient world.

After several exciting years in archaeology Gordon heeded the call of academia, deciding that with his experience he now had more to offer as a teacher than as a 'digger'. He wanted to convey the message of the ancient texts to the next generation of scholars. Students at the

University of Pennsylvania, Dropsie College, Smith College, Brandeis University and finally at New York University, where he inaugurated the Center for Ebla Research, benefited from his erudition and love of teaching.

Gordon served as a professor *par excellence* for more than sixty years, sending scores of PhD graduates out to work in almost every facet of ancient studies including archaeology, Bible, classics, Egyptology, history, linguistics, Semitics, and related studies. He gave his students the tools that enabled them to become independent thinkers and forge new frontiers in their varied fields. His most famous advice, 'read the original text', was stamped indelibly in their minds. Gordon was always more than their teacher. He was their mentor, friend, confidant and sometimes father figure and always enjoyed the interchange of ideas with his students, taking pride in all of their successes. Today his former students are represented in the most prestigious universities in both hemispheres.

Gordon focused not only on the meaning of the text but also on its philological aspects. As a teacher of linguistics he is perhaps *primus inter pares*. It is one thing to know a language; it is another to bring it to life and teach it clearly to the students. Gordon impressed on his students the fact that an understanding of grammar is basic to the comprehension of the languages of the ancient Near East. Understanding the language opens the door to the history of a culture. If an available grammar did not satisfy his needs, Gordon, with good humor and artful pedagogy, would lead his students through the labyrinth of syntax and grammar by creating his own tables and exercises that clarified complex concepts and guaranteed proficiency. With the discovery of Ebla in the 1980s he began his presentation of Hebrew grammar by demonstrating that it had roots in the Early Bronze Age.

Cyrus Gordon is one of the most prolific writers of his generation, having authored several books and written hundreds of articles in almost every leading journal. One of his first major contributions was the *Ugaritic Grammar*, published in 1941 (revised in 1965 as *Ugaritic Textbook*). This monumental opus opened the discipline for young scholars and helped speed the course of Ugaritic research as well as that of related disciplines. In his review of the first edition, W.F. Albright lauded the volume, saying:

Gordon's *Ugaritic Grammar* is of greater lasting significance for OT research than any dozen assorted recent commentaries taken together.¹

Still ranking as one of the principal texts in the field, the *Ugaritic Textbook* will soon be reissued by the Pontifical Biblical Institute.

Another classic, *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations*, presents conclusive evidence that these two civilizations are parallel structures emanating from a common ecumene.² A reviewer describes Gordon as

the rare scholar who can control diverse languages and archaeological remains and is thus able to cut across the conventional academic lines generally reserved for, and jealously guarded by professional Semitists and classicists.³

Although he is an expert in the world of Akkadian, Sumerian and Ugaritic, ancient Egyptian and Coptic, Aramaic and the classical languages, Gordon considers the identification of Minoan Linear A as Northwest Semitic to be the most important breakthrough of his career. However, biblical exegesis remains his grand passion. A worn copy of the Hebrew Bible is his eternal fountain of inspiration. Gordon's work on the Nuzi tablets illuminates the Patriarchal period. His *Ugaritic Textbook* contains a wealth of new insights into the meaning of many biblical verses. His work on the Eblaite language and grammar demonstrates that the culture and language of the Bible extends back to the Early Bronze Age. Cyrus Gordon has worn many hats during his distinguished career but the recognition he receives as a Hebrew Bible scholar brings him the most pleasure and pride.

As a scholar in general, and as a biblical scholar in particular, Gordon's methodology is exemplary. His demanding approach has led him to keen observations and a multitude of innovative contributions to scholarship. Gordon wholeheartedly agrees with the instructions of the Rabbis to the scribes of the Scrolls. In interpreting Deut. 6.9, 'You shall write', the Talmudic Sages said: 'Your script must be perfect. [This means] that one should not write *'alephs* as *'ayins* and vice versa'

1. W.F. Albright, Review of *Ugaritic Grammar* by C.H. Gordon, *JBL* 60 (1941), pp. 434-38.

2. C.H. Gordon, *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1965).

3. C.A. Robinson, Jr, 'Sumer and Semantics', *Saturday Review* 46 (1963), p. 28.

(b. Šab. 103b). Cyrus Gordon heeded this advice punctiliously. It is the basis of two fundamental principles of his approach. First, since the scribes were meticulous, one should accept the integrity of the text of the Hebrew Bible. Therefore, when there is difficulty in interpreting a verse, *lectio difficilior praeferenda est*. If a text cannot be explained in the light of all extra-biblical material it is possible that our knowledge is deficient, rather than that the verse is corrupt. Secondly, careful reading and attention to slight differences is of utmost importance.

Those who recall the young Gordon and are privileged to listen to him today are astonished that his unique delivery and graceful style have not diminished with time. He maintains a constant flow of creativity. His philosophy of research can be summed up by the words of the Sage, Ben Bag Bag in *The Sayings of the Fathers*, a work Professor Gordon loved teaching:

Delve in it [the Torah] and continue to delve in it for everything is in it; look deeply into it; grow old and gray over it, and do not stir from it, for you can have no better portion than it (*m. 'Ab. 5.26*).

The editors of this *Festschrift* are fortunate, not only to have the distinct honor of having compiled the book, but to have a unique and personal relationship with Professor Gordon, since he was the doctoral sponsor of each of us. He has added a dimension of excellence to our lives, the value of which is beyond measure. We would like to express our heartfelt wishes to our beloved teacher with a 'forgotten script' utilizing the 'old perfective', the sole surviving relic in Egyptian of the Semitic finite verb.⁴

*wšḥ 'nh.tn wdj tiwny*⁵

Long may your life be, may you be prosperous!

May you carry on the work that you love and continue to reach 'new horizons'.⁶

Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb, Sharon Keller
Editors

4. A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1978), p. 234.

5. K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), p. 66 lines 1-2.

6. For a biographical appreciation of Cyrus Gordon see M. Lubetski and C. Gottlieb, 'Forever Gordon: Portrait of a Master Scholar with a Global Perspective', *BA* 59.1 (1996), pp. 1-12. Other articles in the issue describe his contributions to specific disciplines.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book could not have been published without the help of a great many people and organizations. The editors extend sincere appreciation to New York University Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies, Professor Robert Chazan, Professor Baruch Levine, the National Association of Professors of Hebrew, Mr and Mrs Walter Scheuer and several anonymous donors whose financial support helped make the publication possible. The bibliography was compiled by Dr Constance W. Gordon. We also thank Dr Eve Keller for her copy-editing and Professor Edith Lubetski for her advice, support and encouragement.

Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb, Sharon Keller

ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible
AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung
ABD	David Noel Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Kairo
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	Wolfram von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959–81)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANEP	James B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950)
ANET	James B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950)
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	<i>Archiv orientální</i>
ARTU	J.C. de Moor, <i>An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit</i> (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987)
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASAE	<i>Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BARev	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDB	Francis Brown, S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907)
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania
BGUL	S. Segert, <i>A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language</i>

	(Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984)
BHK	R. Kittel (ed.), <i>Biblia Hebraica</i> (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1937)
BiAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BIES	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</i> (= <i>Yediot</i>)
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BSO(A)S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW
CAD	Ignace I. Gelb <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1964–)
CARTU	J.C. de Moor and K. Spronk, <i>A Cuneiform Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit</i> (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987)
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CdE	<i>Chronique d’Egypte</i>
CDG	W. Leslau, <i>Comparative Dictionary of Ge’ez (Classical Ethiopic)</i> (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1987)
CIS	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
DBSup	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément</i>
DDD	K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst, <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995)
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995)
EncBrit	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>
EncJud	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>
FARG	Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte
Ges. ¹⁷	Wilhelm Gesenius, <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament</i> , 17th edn
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GTJ	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge
HAL	W. Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967)
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	George Arthur Buttrick (ed.), <i>The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible</i> (4 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962)
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IM	Tablets in the collections of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
ISet	= SLTF
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt</i>
JANESCU	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>

JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht...ex oriente lux</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> (3 vols.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962–64)
KB	Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner (eds.), <i>Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros</i> (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953)
KRI	K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i>
KTU ²	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartin, <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)</i> (ALASP, 8; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995)
LÄ	<i>Lexicon der Ägyptologie</i>
Lane	E.W. Lane, <i>Arabic–English Lexicon</i> (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968)
Lesko, Dictionary	L.H. Lesko, <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> (4 vols.; Berkeley: 1982–89)
LingAeg	<i>Lingua Aegyptia, Journal of Egyptian Language Studies</i>
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, Robert Scott and H. Stuart Jones, <i>Greek–English Lexicon</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 9th edn, 1948)
MÄS	Münchener ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Kairo
MVAG	Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
NÄG	A. Erman, <i>Neuägyptische Grammatik</i>
Ni	Tablets excavated at Nippur, in the collections of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul
PRU	<i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit</i>
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OLP	Orientalia lovaniensia periodica
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>
OrAnt	<i>Oriens antiquus</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PRU	<i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit</i>

RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
REg	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>
RIDA	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i>
RLA	<i>Reallexicon der Assyriologie</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i>
RSOu	Ras Shamra-Ougarit
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBL	Society for Biblical Literature
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SD	A.F.L. Beeston <i>et al.</i> , <i>Sabaic Dictionary</i> (Beirut: Louvain-la-Neuve and Beirut, 1982)
SEL	Studi epigrafici e linguistici
Sem	<i>Semitica</i>
SLTF	S.N. Kramer, M. Çiğ and H. Kizilyay, <i>Sumerian Literary Tablets and Fragments in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul</i> (2 vols.; Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1969, 1976)
SSEAP	Publications of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
StPh	<i>Studia Phoenicia</i>
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TEO	P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, <i>La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit. 1. Corcordance</i> (Paris: Editions recherche sur les civilisations).
TO	A. Caquot, M. Sznycer and A. Herdner, <i>Textes ougaritiques, mythes et légendes</i> (Paris: Cerf, 1974)
TT	Theban Tomb
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
UBL	Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
UM	Tablets in the collections of the University Museums of the University of Pennsylvania
UT	Cyrus H. Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Textbook</i> (Analecta orientalia, 38; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1965)
UUÅ	Uppsala universitetsårsskrift
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> , Supplements
Wb	A. Erman and H. Grapow (eds.), <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> (5 vols. + Belegstellen; Leipzig, Berlin: 1926–53)
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WUS	J. Aistleitner, <i>Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache</i> (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2nd edn, 1967)

WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

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'LIKE A PERPETUAL FOUNTAIN'
for my father

The day unfolds
 like a flower
and I think of you
one thousand miles to the east
where already it is day.

May your day be blessed
even as the knowledge
 of your love blesses mine.

It is a small world,
as you have taught me,
from Sumer to the cusp
of the approaching millennium,
or from Ugarit to Beijing—
too small a world
to let a single heartbeat,
pirouette, or flutter of a wing
pass by without a blessing,
but in my small world
your place is spacious
and regal

and now, it is dawn again,
with pale blue snow sifting down faintly,
and once more I think of you
in a moment of awakening and pleasure,
because in all the joys of my life
you who begot me
are present,

and because I remember
how you rose early
nearly every morning,
in the glittering dark
in the quiet hours
to write and study,
before the onslaught and tumult
of the day.

Historian, archaeologist, linguist,
a dawn person,
you always see
the first faint rays
beyond the horizon
from some unseen source.

Our little boats set out
for the coasts
along the cedar forest
and the islands
where potters paint
their vessels with designs
of dolphins and squid.

All the flavors of the world
will be in the omelet you prepare
for breakfast.
You improvise a soup for lunch
like jazz.
At supper there will be candlelight
and sephardic songs.
It is the winter solstice festival
of rededication
when we remember your mother.

In your love and respect for women
you showed me glimpses
of a prepatriarchal world
that persists
uneclipsed, and shines,
in our own days.

We walk along beaches
and through forest trails,
climb mountains, and pick our way
on stepping stones in the beds of streams.
We are ready to meet the unexpected
in our world
and in our conversations,
like a patch of waterlilies,
some subtly tinted lichen, or
the peach blossom spring.

Deborah Gordon Friedrich

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Part I

ARCHAEOLOGY

FUMES, FLAMES OR FLUIDS? REFRAMING THE CUP-AND-BOWL QUESTION

Carol Meyers

Perhaps the most important lesson I learned, decades ago, as a graduate student in one of Cyrus Gordon's courses, was to look across civilizations, continents and chronological periods in attempting to understand the specific features of any individual culture in the ancient Near East. I took this openness to recognizing the similarities between artifacts, texts or socio-political structures of widely separated areas as a way of seeing connections, or 'borrowings', as earlier generations may have called the transmission of aspects of culture from one group to another. But I also now appreciate that openness in a larger sense as an acceptance of the integral role of analogy in the study of civilizations. In addition, I see the possibility of bringing new perspectives to the study of old problems as a corollary of Professor Gordon's celebrated scholarly breadth. Thus I am happy to participate in this volume honoring him with a piece that I hope exemplifies the spirit of his extraordinary career.

The discovery in the 1994 excavation season at Tel 'Ein Zippori, three miles west of Nazareth in Lower Galilee, of three examples of a specialized and rather uncommon ceramic form arouses once again the many unanswered questions that have surrounded this artifact type since the earliest days of Palestinian archaeology. These objects, for reasons that will become clear, do not have a uniform nomenclature in the archaeological publications in which they are presented. The purely descriptive term 'cup-and-bowl' vessel will be used here to designate this intriguing type of pottery container.

None of the three pieces from 'Ein Zippori, a small rural settlement occupied during much of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, has survived intact. But one of them is fairly well preserved (Fig. 1), and a description of it will serve to introduce this class of objects. The piece consists

of two vessels joined together: an inner deep cup attached at its external base to a shallow, flat-based bowl. This particular example is 5.5 cm high, and the top of the cup has a diameter of 7.3 cm. The bowl is incomplete: its base is 6.7 cm in diameter, and its diameter at rim level would have been somewhat more than 12 cm. It features a greyish core (Munsell 5 YR 4/1), with an exterior of pale orange (5 YR 8/4). The ware is rather coarse, and there is no trace of decoration. Were it not for its unusual composite shape and its relative rarity, it would readily be considered an everyday household vessel of no particular significance.

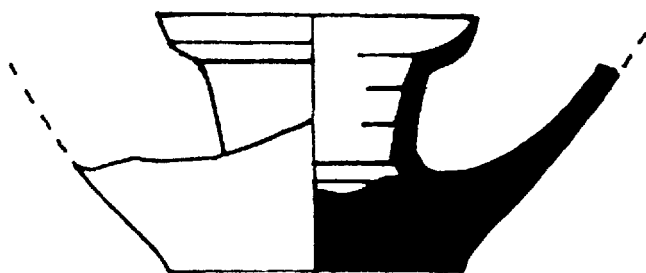


Figure 1. *Cup-and bowl vessel (G37, EZ II.2.155.20) discovered at Tel 'Ein Zippori in Galilee in a tenth-century context.*

One of the other examples from this site also has a flat base, whereas the third one features a rounded base, rounded (or disc) bases being more common than flat ones. Drawing courtesy of the Sephoris Regional Project.

Although others may be somewhat larger or smaller, in its basic structure this vessel typifies virtually all other known examples, nearly all of which come from Palestinian sites.¹ Because of the incomplete bowl rim, it is impossible to determine if the height of cup and bowl were roughly the same, or if the cup extended above or below the height of the bowl rim. Cups below or at about the same height as the bowl are perhaps among the earliest of these vessels, with cups above bowl height apparently being later ones (Stern 1978: 51). An example of the latter is seen in Fig. 2. This chronological/morphological distinction is generally, but not always, the case: both cup-bowl height

1. Several have been discovered elsewhere in the east Mediterranean, including one or two from Egypt, some possible stone precursors from Crete, and one from Ugarit. Several late examples, two from Cyprus and one from Malta, are linked to Phoenician expansion.



Figure 2. *Cup-and-bowl vessel, now in the permanent collection of the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem, from Munshara.*

The greyish-buff ware of this example is covered with a thick red slip. Its uneven height is 9.5 to 10 cm; the bowl has a rounded base and is 19 cm in diameter at the rim; and the cup is 10.2 cm in diameter at the rim. See Meyers 1996a. Photo courtesy of Seymour Gitin.

relationships are found together in some contexts (for example, Loud 1948: Pl. 86:17-18).

A recent study of the archaeology of Israelite Samaria includes a good synthesis of the chronological and geographical range of the cup-and-bowl vessels (Tappy 1992: 132-36). A significant number of them have been recovered from Late Bronze Age contexts, with earlier 'ancestral' specimens dating to the Early Bronze period, perhaps as early as Early Bronze I. The majority, however, come from Iron I and early Iron II strata, with the numbers falling off rapidly after 925 BCE, about the time of the end of the United Monarchy. The examples from 'Ein Zippori date to the tenth century and are thus within the period of this vessel's floruit. In addition, coming as they do from a northern site, they fit the geographical profile, whereby most specimens have been

found at northern Palestinian sites, notably 'Afula, Beth Shan, Hazor, Megiddo, Samarita, Ta'anach, Tell Far'ah North, Tell Qasile, Tel Mevorakh, Munshara. Only an occasional piece appears at sites in central Israel, typically at places (such as Ashdod, Beth Shemesh, Gezer, Jericho, Lachish) on established trade routes.

To these observations about provenance should be added the fact that, except for the 'Ein Zippori examples, all the cup-and-bowl vessels apparently come from large urban sites or from tombs associated with such sites. This feature of the vessel's distribution is perhaps a result of the fact that cities have elite populations and concomitant access to unusual or luxury goods. The possibility must be entertained, however, that the largely urban context is a consequence of the sociology of the discipline of archaeology. That is, until quite recently, field projects in Palestine focused almost exclusively on urban centers likely to produce monumental architectural structures and aesthetically or economically valuable artifactual remains. The relatively poorer and more mundane remnants of daily life in small villages seemed less interesting to excavators or their sponsors, and thus relatively little is known about the material culture of farmsteads and farm villages. That imbalance has shifted in recent decades; indeed, one of the reasons for excavating Tel 'Ein Zippori is precisely to break the elite bias of earlier field projects. Ironically, small though it may be, the presence of a relatively large building there with a plethora of stamped storage jar handles and a dearth of ordinary household ceramics, may bespeak the presence of rural elites rather than peasant farmers (Dessel 1996; Dessel, Meyers and Meyers 1995; Meyers 1996b). Cup-and-bowl vessels at 'Ein Zippori, therefore, may have served an elite population rather than the peasantry that would usually have inhabited such small, unwalled settlements.

The location of these artifacts at northern sites with specialized buildings (including tombs) leads to the next consideration. Whereas the morphology and location involve fairly straightforward analysis of the information in field reports, the matter of the function of cup-and-bowl vessels takes us to the level of interpretation. There are no definitive epigraphic, graphic or material culture data that provide direct information about how they were used, and the suggestions of archaeologists who have sought to identify their purpose range from the whimsical to the anachronistic. Somewhat similar Minoan forms, with loop handles, have been called 'candlesticks', perhaps because of their resemblance to low colonial candleholders (Evans 1964: I, 577, 579);

one example from the south was called a 'flower vase' (Badé 1928: 49), another was designated a stand for pointed-base juglets (Bliss 1894: 84), and a Gezer example was facetiously labeled 'gravy boat' (Dever *et al.* 1981: 79) by excavators acknowledging that its function is enigmatic.

Less fanciful suggestions fall into three categories, reflected in the first part of the title of this study. Two features that appear on some, but not all, of the examples are relevant at this point. First, many examples have one or more small aperture(s) (c. 1.0 cm in diameter) in the lower part of the cup, connecting the space inside the cup with that inside the surrounding bowl. Secondly, there are traces of burning on the rims of a number of them, and at least one contained charred remains in the cup (Loud 1948: Pl. 70: 16).

The first feature has led some scholars to suppose that the vessel involved the passage of *fluids* between its two parts, which might make it a libation vessel (Amiran 1969: 303). The second feature—traces of burning—could result from the *flames* of burning oil or from the charcoal that would produce the *fumes* of incense. The former possibility seems unlikely in view of the many examples of pinched-rim saucer oil lamps found throughout Palestine, often together with the cup-and-bowl vessels. Their use in the preparation or dissemination of aromatics thus seems most likely, although one can never rule out the possibility that some other technology, no longer extant, was involved.

One tends to think of incense in the ancient world mainly in terms of its use in cultic or religious life. The gods of Egypt and Mesopotamia all appreciated the odor of incense offered by itself or with other sacrifices—for purification or for pleasurable smells (Groom 1981: 1-3; Nielsen 1986: 3-11, 25-30). In its specifications for its utensils and use, and also in the notion that it created 'a pleasing odor to the LORD' (Lev. 2.2), the Hebrew Bible attests to the integral role of incense in formal Israelite ritual (see Haran 1978: 230-45; Nielsen 1986: 68-78, 101-107). Related ritual practices, perhaps the oldest of the religious uses of incense, were mortuary ones: incense was used in funerals, at grave-sites or tombs, and in preparation of the bodies for burial (cf. 2 Chron. 16.14).

The elaborate and widespread ceremonial usage of incense involved a variety of specialized tools, containers and burners (Fowler 1992), many of which are depicted in ancient Near Eastern art. Among them are the high cylindrical stands meant to hold a bowl for incense and

found throughout the Fertile Crescent (for examples, see Nielsen 1986: figs. 6-13, 38-51). Hand-held censers are well known; the most striking ones, in the shape of an arm and a hand, appear in ancient Egypt (Nielsen 1986: figs. 24-36) and also Palestine (May 1935: Pl XVI, M 4304, M 4303; see Meyers 1992a and 1992b). Perhaps most distinctive of the thymiateria recovered from Palestine are the cuboid 'altars', either the miniature ones perhaps originating in South Arabia, which was the source of the most prized aromatics in the ancient world, or the somewhat larger 'horned' variety found at many Israelite sites from Dan to Beersheba (see the catalogue in Gitin 1989 and also 1992).

The association of these archaeological remains with cultic functions tends to obscure the fact that the burning of fragrant substances was probably part of the daily lives of many people in the ancient world.² The production of costly specialized vessels and the procurement of highly expensive and first quality fragrant substances from their sources in the land of Punt—South Arabia or Somalia or both—were surely part of the realm of the gods and royalty. But that hardly meant that daily use of aromatics was beyond the means of all but the elite (so Haran 1993: 241). Indeed, sanitation conditions in small airless rooms and hygienic conditions with few baths or changes of clothing for most people, along with the unending attempt to deal with insects, meant that the use of substances to introduce fragrant smoke and pleasing odors into non-cultic space was also widespread (Neufeld 1971).

The domestic—as opposed to the funerary and cultic—use of incense is far less visible in the archaeological record. For one thing, private dwellings, as noted above, have attracted far less attention than have public ones. But also, ordinary households were more likely to have engaged in fumigatory practices that would have left little trace. Often the desired fragrant smoke could be achieved by the sprinkling of any odoriferous substance—flower petals, the bark of certain trees, dried seeds, the peels of some fruits—on the domestic hearth. Such activities are all technically the burning of incense. The use of imported resins, often mixed with herbs or spices, for fumigation was somewhat more

2. The archaeological identification of cultic contexts for many of the cup-and-bowl vessels is itself suspect. That is, through circular reasoning, some archaeologists assumed that these vessels were intended for cultic use and therefore judged the buildings or areas in which they were found to be 'cultic' (see Tappy 1992: 133 n. 143). If these objects are better considered household vessels, a fair number of so-called cultic structures and their contents should be re-identified.

restricted for economic reasons. But even so, the notion that burning incense could mean only the burning of the costly products of the fruit trees or shrubs of South Arabia or West Africa must be rejected. Cheaper aromatics, compounded from the gums or resins of other species, were available from less distant places.

In this connection, it is relevant to note that a caravan from Gilead to Egypt described in Gen. 37.25 (cf. Gen. 43.11) contained materials used as aromatics. While they cannot all be identified securely, it seems that they included: gum tragacanth (*n^ekōt*) from the *Astragalus guminifera* (Moldenke and Moldenke 1952: 51-52; Zohary 1982: 195), which grows in the cool mountainous region of Syria and Lebanon; ladanum (*lōt*), from *Cistus ladaniferus* L, a beautiful-flowered plant, several species of which grow in Moab and Gilead (Moldenke and Moldenke 1952: 77; Zohary 1982: 194); and probably storax (*š^orî* from either the sap of the *Liquidambar orientalis*, which is found in Asia Minor and Syria, or that of the *Styrax officinalis*, which grows throughout Syria-Palestine (Moldenke and Moldenke 1952: 224-25; cf. Zohary 1982: 192). Clearly, the supplies of fumigatory substances were not limited to the queen of such materials, frankincense (*l^ebōnā*), which was taken from the shrub *Boswellia*, imported from southern sources at great expense (see Holladay 1994) and used, along with salt and several items that resist identification, in compounding the sacral incense of the official Israelite cult (Exod. 30.34-35). Indeed, the fact that the cup-and-bowl vessels tend to be found at northern sites or those on trade routes fits well with the fact that sources of less expensive incense were to the north and northeast of Palestine.³

More accessible incense preparations were typically used by sprinkling them onto live coals. This could be done directly at the household hearth or cooking fire or by placing embers in a separate container. In the latter case, any shallow bowl or plate could be used; and it is

3. The virtual disappearance of the cup-and-bowl vessel at the end of the period of the United Monarchy should be related to the political and economic changes in Palestine in the late tenth century. The end of the Solomonic era, with its far-reaching trade networks and its political hegemony over states to the north and east, probably meant disruption of northern markets. The continual strife, over the next centuries, with the Aramean states and with Assyria, likewise would have affected northern sources of aromatic substances. Trade routes to the south, however, and their access to incense used in official sacral contexts, were apparently not disrupted (see Holladay 1994).

difficult to know how, when, or why specialized receptacles for burning incense in domestic contexts may have emerged. If the cup-and-bowl vessel was intended for fumigation, its relatively narrow cup, as opposed to an open bowl, perhaps was designed to restrict or focus the fragrant smoke. Perforated lids to control fumes are sometimes found depicted with cultic incense stands, the tops of which resemble the cup-and-bowl. That no such lids seem to have been found with the cup-and-bowl vessels may be an accident of archaeology; or it may be that lids were rarely used. Another possibility is that perforated wooden lids were preferred, as was the case in ancient China, where incense was burned in censers (shallow circular pans with an inner container; see *EncBrit* 1993) similar to the Palestinian cup-and-bowl. The wooden cover would have retained the scent of the aromatic smoke long after the coals had died out and the incense had burned.

The likelihood that the cup-and-bowl vessel was used for incense may also be supported by its similarity to certain complex pottery shapes, apparently intended for use with aromatic substances, known from the Aegean, mainly Crete. Establishing nomenclature and identifying function are as problematic for those vessels, usually called by the rather unhelpful term 'fireboxes' (Georgiou 1973, 1980), as for the Palestinian cup-and-bowl forms. Found mainly at palace sites or small urban communities, they are made of coarse ware and consist of two parts: a bowl-shaped lower part, and an open or closed capsule set into it. The bowl is typically perforated. Although one suggestion was that they were censers of some sort, it seems more likely that they were used in the preparation of liquid aromatics (Georgiou 1986: 4-22). An exact functional parallel between the Cretan artifacts and the Palestinian ones can be ruled out, yet the resemblance in form and the apparent relationship of both to fumigants makes a looser functional relationship possible. Incense in its widest sense involves releasing fumes through burning or volatilization (Groom 1981: 11).

If the Palestinian examples are related to the use of incense, the small holes connecting cup and bowl in many of them may well be a device to provide oxygen to the coals on which the incense was scattered, particularly in the forms with narrow cups. The relatively sporadic occurrence of burn marks may have nothing to do with the burning coals in the cup, which would perhaps have left an ashy residue; rather, impurities in less costly substances may have caused occasional flare-ups that left traces of soot.

The use of these compound and uncommon vessels for fumes is likely though not firmly established. A detailed ethnoarchaeological study of the tools and materials of incense burning in traditional cultures might provide definitive new information; similarly, an experimental archaeological study that tested various ways of preparing and burning aromatics might settle certain technical questions about vessels used in such processes. Lacking either such study, this consideration of cup-and-bowl vessels indicates that questions about socio-economic context, domestic versus public space, and sacral versus general usage may be more useful in attempting to understand this artifact than are the traditional questions of form and date alone. As important as it is to analyze typological features and establish chronological and geographical range, attempts to understand the complex cultural variables relating to function may ultimately be more enlightening.

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SOME REMARKS ON SHIPBUILDING HERITAGE AND ANCIENT PEOPLES

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The beginnings of navigation and sea-borne connections, between the various parts of the ancient Near East and farther away, may have taken place as early as the initial phase of human appearance on the islands of the Mediterranean, or even earlier. Yet the earliest surviving documents as for the types of vessels used for these early water voyages are only the iconographic depictions—clay models, rock-drawings and painted vases—of Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic eras in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Some of these depictions are either without datable context, or are too crude and simplified to be of any real value when trying to study the technological aspects of the actual nautical vessels these ancient artists attempted to illustrate. Others, more detailed and better executed, still might be controversial as for the proportions, size, means of propulsion, the raw materials used and the technology of their construction. For that reason, the scholars studying ancient shipping are cautious, tentative and argumentative in their use of these iconographic documents as evidence for the origins of the earliest sails (Bowen 1960; Casson 1991: 4) and for the identification of the materials out of which the illustrated types might have been made (Casson 1971: 5-40; Hornell 1946: 181-93; Vinson 1994: 11-15). Yet every student of shipbuilding technology would accept the logical correlation between the availability of certain suitable raw materials for construction of floating navigable boats and the technology used for shaping the final product.

The vast repertory of boats depicted in clay models, rock-drawings and paintings from predynastic Egypt may be grouped in three main categories, based on the shape of the hull:

1. Reed, or papyrus made hull, characterized by up-curving ends, narrow to a point. This type is presented by clay models dated as early as the fifth millennium BCE, from the Badarian culture

(Vinson 1994: Fig. 2) and continue all through the Amratian and the Gerzean eras (Kantor 1944: Fig. 5).

2. A long, crescentic hull, depicted as having sides of even breadth to their entire length, with angular cut ends. A type of hull which might be dictated by either dug-out, monoxyle trunk (Basch 1987: 55-56), or long timber planks (Vinson 1994: 12). This type is the most characteristic one in the upper Egypt culture of Naqada II period (Petrie 1921; 1933; Kantor 1944: 115; Landström 1970: 12; Bass (ed.) 1972: 12-13; Basch 1987: 57-60; Vinson 1994: 12-15), though a few datable depictions of the type are even earlier, of the Amratian era, of the first half of the fourth millennium BCE (Bass 1972: 13, Fig. 2; Casson 1971: Fig. 3).
3. A rather similar type, as for its raw material (wood), but with either only the prow, or both ends terminated with solid vertical posts of significant size (Kantor 1944: Fig. 4; Engelmayer 1965: Pl. XII.4; Williams 1980: 16). This 'square', or angular type was still rather common among depictions of boats dated to the eve of the first dynasty period, mostly in the eastern desert of upper Egypt and on rock-drawings from Nubia (Arkell 1950: Fig. 1; Emery 1961: Figs. 4, 10, 12). This type was designated as 'foreign' and 'non-Egyptian' by most scholars (Kantor 1944: 139; 1965: 10; Frankfort 1951: 110-11; Bass 1972: 13; Vinson 1994: 16-20).

The argument that this foreign type represents a Mesopotamian vessel, of the Protoliterate era there, was suggested already by Frankfort (1951), supported by Kantor (1952), strongly opposed by Helck (1962: 6-9) and questioned ever since. Recent finds in the Delta have somewhat 'made passé' the earlier scholars' claim for fourth millennium direct sea routes and seaborne connections between the Gulf and Egypt, through the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea (Kantor 1965: 10-14) in favour of the more 'conventional' land route along the Fertile Crescent (Moorey 1990).

Though it is most probable that both overland and sea routes along the Levantine coast had been used prior to the unification of dynastic Egypt, at least since the mid-fourth millennium BCE, or even earlier (Prag 1986), this may not necessarily contradict the well-established data from Upper Egypt, Wadi Hammamat and Nubia, indicating Mesopotamian importation of artifacts and its direct technical and

cultural influences on a society which was, in that era, much more complex and advanced than that of Lower Egypt (Baumgartel 1960: 139; Kantor 1965: 12; Bard 1994: 111-18). Recent socio-anthropological studies would suggest that the shift of developmental focus from Naqada and Hierakonpolis in Upper Egypt to Buto in the north had occurred only during the later Predynastic period, partly because of the growing importance of that Syro-Palestinian trade route (Wenke 1989: 142).

The fact is that all iconographic depictions of the so-called 'foreign' boats, which are dated to the Predynastic era, were found exclusively in the south, in the Eastern Desert and along the ancient route from El-Quseir to the Nile Valley, near Naqada, through Wadi Hammamat. What is the significance of these boats?

Among the illustrations published so far, there are three varieties:

There is the sub-type depicted on the famous ivory knife handle from Gebel el Arak (Emery 1961: 38, Fig. 1) which is similar in shape and decorations to the ceremonial, divine boat, depicted on a cylinder seal from Uruk in Mesopotamia. Gebel el Arak is situated at the eastern edge of the Nile Valley, at the western end of Wadi Hammamat. A somewhat similar boat type is inscribed on the side of a Predynastic clay vessel found at a nearby site (Kantor 1944: Fig. 4, E). Whether this variant represents a real ceremonial boat made of reed bundles, which was used in southern Mesopotamia during its Protoliterate period (Frankfort 1924: 138-42; Arkell 1959), or a conceptual symbol of a foreign and rival cultural unit, it is hard to say for sure (Basch 1987: 60-62).

The second sub-type is actually a hybrid version of the high, vertical ended boats and the crescentic vessel (type 2). Such is the rather long boat from the wall painting at tomb 100 in Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green 1902: Pl. LXXV). In its context, this boat, painted black, is shown amid five white ones, of the typical Upper Egypt Gerzean crescent, or 'boomerang' type. The black vessel carries the same attribute as the other five, such as the tree branch at the fore end and the down-dropped bundle under its prow. It also carries the standard double shrine-like cabins, though the back one differs in shape, being arched instead of having a flat roof. The same high prow type of boat is to be found depicted on rock-drawings at Wadi Hammamat, on the way to the Red Sea (Kantor 1944: 138, Fig. 3, J, K) and at the Sayala region of the eastern desert in Sudan (Engelmayer 1965: Pl. XII.4). This last

drawing depicts a boat without cabins, furnished with eight oars on each side, and helmsman, operating the steering oar, sitting at the low-lying stern.

Because it is difficult to make any reasoning of the prominent, high and rather heavy prow of that subtype, its resemblance to the hull shape of the Early Cycladic boats of the Aegean Sea, which are dated to the following millennium, is most intriguing (see below).

The third sub-type is relatively close in its general hull shape to the first one. Yet it is depicted always without oars, frequently furnished with a square sail, and the triangular shape of its vertical sternpost, with the even width of its hull and prow, indicating wooden construction, rather than reed bundles. Though some iconographic documents of that sub-type are of uncertain date, others are considered to be either of the late Gerzean, or early First Dynasty period. The most famous one is the sailing boat painted on the late Gerzean vase now in the British Museum (No. 35324, A) and there are two others—from the eastern desert in north Sudan (Basch 1987: 50, Figs. 79, 80, 81). Another recently published one was carved on a stone-made censer found in Qustul, in southernmost Egypt (Williams 1980: 16). That boat has a cabin with forward sloping roof, similar to that which is depicted on the vase in the British Museum. On it a human figure is illustrated sitting with his hands pulled back behind his back. Another man is standing behind him, at the stern, as if holding him as a captive, much like the petroglyph scene from Sudan, dated to the early First Dynasty time of King Djer (Emery 1961: 60, Fig. 22). There are theories, among prominent scholars, that these angular vessels belonged to the invading 'Dynastic Race', that came by sea, probably from Mesopotamia, either through Syria and the Nile Delta (Emery 1961: 38-40), around the Arabian peninsula to El-Quseir (Derry 1956), or both to Mesopotamia and Egypt, from some unknown common provenance in the Indian Ocean (Rice 1990: 35-44). This last presumption, which attributes a common cultural and ethnic origin to the Pharaonic Race and the Sumerians, cannot be attested by any linguistic resemblance. The alleged interpretation of the scenes depicted in the painted tomb at Hierakonpolis, the carved tusk handle of the flint knife from Gebel el Arak and the Nubian petroglyphs, as historical illustration of such invasion (Emery 1961: 38), is too farfetched. It is quite clear that in both scenes, from Gebel el Arak and from Hierakonpolis, the winning side is the local, Gerzean one. The 'Menacing black ships' (Rice 1990: 74, Pl. 24)

are more likely non-local ships of an alien naval (?) power of which the people of the upper Nile Valley had to be aware. These fourth millennium marines might have crossed the eastern desert on their way from the coast of the Red Sea to the Nile Valley, either through Wadi Hammamat, or farther south, but not necessarily as aggressive invaders (Rice 1990: 45-47). It is more likely that their aim was trade; they were probably seeking gold and bringing in their own goods, of which some were the fine products and technical innovations of southern Mesopotamia (Kantor 1965: 10-16).

As stated above, the three variants of angular boats are fundamentally different in their function and construction. The 'ceremonial' type is less angular and its ends are turned up and backward, narrowing to their floral decorated points as if they had been made of papyrus, or bundles of reeds. This variant is the only one that matches the Protoliterate period boats carved on cylinder seals from Mesopotamia and Elam (cf. Rice 1990: 71, Pl. 12-13; Collon 1987: 158, Nos. 712-14). The other variant, which was most probably made of wood and carries a functional square sail, might be considered as the only iconographic document of a non-Egyptian marine sailing craft of the fourth millennium BCE (Vinson 1994: 16).

As we have seen, this angular type differs radically from the so-called Mesopotamian 'Divine Boats'. It had no prototype in earlier depictions from the Nile Valley, and is rather rare among boat types of dynastic Egypt up to the time of the New Kingdom. The few that appear are characterized by vertical stems and stern posts and are either heavy cargo carriers on the Nile (such as the long, plank-built, heavy-duty boats depicted at the Valley temple of Unas, the last Pharaoh of the fifth dynasty, carrying granite columns from the quarries of Elephantine); or the sarcophagus carrier illustrated at the tomb of Chief Justice Senezterib, which is shown with stitched gunwale—a boat that, according to the following text, belonged also to King Unas (Landström 1970: 62, Figs. 185, 186). A single wooden model of that type of boat belongs to the early days of the sixth dynasty and is exceptional among 15 other models found at the same context (Poujade 1948: 40). The best known depiction of vertical posts hull is of the seagoing ships, manned by Syrian merchants and crew, which decorate the mortuary temple of Sahure the Pharaoh of the fifth dynasty (Borchardt 1913: 127-34). Much has been written on these boats, their technical qualities (Landström 1970: 63-69; Casson 1971: 20) and

historical context (Vinson 1994: 23). Yet it is interesting that the surviving text which is next to the scene of the 'Syrian' fleet, or an Egyptian one, returning from the Levantine coast of the Mediterranean, tells us of ships that were sent to Punt, the Ophir of the Pharaohs, in East Africa, at the thirteenth regal year of King Sahure, bringing back vast quantities of myrrh, electrum and ebony wood (Breasted 1906: I, 161). Strangely enough, these ships were called 'Byblos' (*K.B.N.T.*) ships (Faulkner 1940). These ships are of clear-cut Egyptian technical heritage, with their keel-less flat bottom, the 'hugging truss', or 'overhead' queen note which replaced that missing keel, the high bipode mast and the stitched gunwales. Yet the crew is not Egyptian. The leading merchants are 'Canaanites', the vessel's type called 'Byblian', and the ship sailed also to Punt. Less Egyptian and less ambiguous are the iconographic documents for ships with vertical posts which date to the New Kingdom era. The most famous one is the scene of a 'Canaanite' fleet of merchantmen reaching the quay at Thebes and unloading their imported cargo, from the decorated wall of the tomb of Kenamun, the superintendent of the granaries of Amun's temple during the reign of Amenhotep III (1408–1372 BCE); another, rather similar type of vessel is depicted on the wall of the tomb of the chief physician of Amenhotep II (1450–1425) (Säve-Söderbergh 1957: Pl. XXIII); and the third, from the tomb of Iniwia, probably of the thirteenth century BCE, depicts 'Canaanites' unloading wine(?) jars from moored ships, of which only the forepart of three ships have been found (unpublished, No. EM 11935 in Cairo Museum, and see e.g. Landström 1970: 138, Fig. 403). For some reason, Landström restored that type as if it were of keel-less Egyptian type, though no 'hugging truss' is depicted on either one of the three documents (1970: 139, Fig. 407). Others would consider these ships to be either true 'Canaanite' (Basch 1987: 62–66; Vinson 1994: 40–44), or Canaanite type of merchantmen which were built at the Royal Egyptian shipyards at Pro-Nefer, by Canaanite craftsmen (Säve-Söderbergh 1946: 39–60). Basch was the first to suggest that the Egyptian name for this Canaanite type was MNŠ (*menesh*), a term to be found in Egyptian texts since the time of Amenhotep III (Basch 1978). Later, this vertical-posts, square type is to be found as representing the 'Sea Peoples' fleet at the famous depiction of Ramesses III defeating them at sea, on the south wall of his temple at Medinet Habu (Nelson 1943; Raban 1989: 165–67). This type continued to be characteristic for small coastal and riverine log carriers of the Phoenicians,

both in the Levant, Cyprus and on the Euphrates, serving their Assyrian lords.

Such are the boat models found at Akhziv, Israel (Basch 1987: Figs. 642-43), which are dated to the ninth–eighth centuries BCE; the repertory of clay models from Amathus and other Phoenician sites in Cyprus (Basch 1987: 253-58, Figs. 543-57); and the *Hippoi* depicted on Assyrian reliefs (Basch 1987: 305-20, Figs. 648-74). As this type was in contrast to the local New Kingdom vessels in Egypt, so they differed from the crescent shaped cargo vessels of the Aegean and ‘Etheo-Cypriot’ hulls of the first half of the last millennium BCE, not to mention the war galleys and longboats of the Iron Age and the Archaic Period in the Mediterranean. How far west this type was known and at least artistically depicted is hard to guess. So far, the statistical analysis made by Basch (1987: 94-137) counted only two Early Minoan seals, a painted pithos and the famous disk from Phaistos (Basch 1987: Figs. E1, E2, 273, 285), out of over 250 iconographic items. A similar conclusion derives from Wedde’s PhD research (summarized Wedde 1995). In mainland Greece there is so far only one picture of that type, or rather its derivation, painted on a LH III (twelfth century BCE) crater from Kynos (Dakoronia 1995: Fig. 2).

Summing up the iconographic data from the ancient Near East in a combined spatial and chronological order, one would find that this special type of angular ship, with vertical prow and stern posts, is to be found in the following order:

1. In the upper Nile Valley and the wadis of the Eastern Desert, on the way to the Red Sea, since mid-fourth millennium BCE, the Gerzean, or Naqada II period, continuing into the Protodynastic and the Archaic eras.
2. On various artifacts, in ceremonial and religious contexts, in both Egypt of the First Dynasty (cf. Landström 1970: 23-25) and Mesopotamia of the third millennium BCE (Rice 1990: 45-46).
3. Around mid-third millennium BCE, mainly in a sea-going voyages context, both in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, from fifth–sixth dynasties of Egypt and the Early Minoan Crete. (From that period we do not have a single iconographic document of boats or ships from the Levant.)
4. Syrian sea-going merchantmen, depicted in the tombs of high officials of the royal administration in Egypt of the New

Kingdom (eighteenth–nineteenth dynasties, fifteenth–thirteenth centuries BCE).

5. 'Sea Peoples' coasters of the twelfth century BCE.
6. Phoenician and Phoenico-Cypriot boat types during the first half of the last millennium BCE.

All scholars agree that this type was alien to predynastic Egypt, most probably predates the Sumerians and is unlikely to be of Mesopotamian origin. Having been depicted first at the geographical sphere between the Upper Nile and the Red Sea, the provenance of this type would be most unlikely to be found in the Mediterranean.

With all that in mind, the remaining potential origin of this type of sea-going vessel would need to be searched for in the north-western corner of the Indian Ocean, and, more precisely, along the south, or the eastern coasts of the Arabian peninsula. This understudied area has been opened for full scale modern archaeological research only in recent years. These studies seem to verify some notions that were popular during the 1930s (Openheim 1954). There is some recently discovered data concerning the societies of Bahrain, Qatar and Oman, which suggest that an agricultural community, involved in trade and seafaring, had thrived there as early as the fifth–fourth millennia BCE (Potts 1984; Zarins 1992; Rice 1994). The sea-borne contacts of these people with the African continent, and maybe even with the Nile Valley, might be attested, among other facts, by the introduction of the sorghum crop plant to the Gulf (Qatar). At the same context, dated to the late fourth millennium BCE, typical Mesopotamian pottery of Jamdat Nasr style has been exposed (Potts 1994: 238–39).

It is tempting to attribute to these peoples of the southern and eastern coasts of Arabia the role of seafarers who carried goods, cultural ideas and technological innovations from the head of the Gulf (the 'Sea Land' of ancient Mesopotamia) to the Egyptian ports on the Red Sea; and probably across the Eastern Desert to the Nile Valley, as Kantor suggested in 1956. It is also quite probable that such alleged maritime endeavours were carried out on board sailing ships of the angular type discussed above.

The later spatial distribution of that type is correlated quite intimately with the maritime sphere of the West Semitic people of the Levantine coast of the Mediterranean, known from the Bible as 'Canaanites', and later, since the Iron Age, by the name the Greeks gave them, 'Phoenicians'. It is not within the scope of this paper to deal with the issue of

Canaanite involvement in Egyptian sea-going shipping and the connections of both with Early Minoan Crete. All I am trying to present is an independent case based solely on the type of marine vessel which is characterized by a unique hull shape and predominant vertical posts. This unique type might indicate, when followed through time and space, that the combined notion of ancient texts, whether biblical, Ugaritic, Greek or Latin, concerning the origins of the Canaanites from the Red Sea (for a full length, up-to-date discussion, see Röllig 1983; Salles 1993), might not be dismissed so easily.

In this context there is room here to refer the reader to two additional texts, aside from those of Homer, Herodotos and Strabo: the first is ch. 10, v. 6 in the biblical book of Genesis, in which Canaan is designated as the son of Ham and a brother to Cush (Nubia), Mitzraim (Egypt) and Put. Among the offspring of Mitzraim are the Caphtories (the ancient people of Crete), from whom the Philistines were descended (Gen. 10.14). The second is the Ugaritic epos of King Kreth who had sought a bride as far south as Udum, by the Red Sea (Gordon 1949), as it was the custom in those days to marry within the nation, going back to its place of origin (as Isaac went back to Aram-Naharaim for Rebecca, Gen. 24.10). The last items are the petroglyphs from Nahal Gishron near Eilath, on the ancient road from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean (the Kounthilas Road), in which two angular ships with upright sterns and stern posts are depicted (Rothenberg 1967: 158-59, Fig. 231).

The second sub-type of the angular boats from Predynastic Egypt is best depicted as the 'Black Ship' from the painted wall of tomb 100 in Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green 1902: Pl. LXXV; Landström 1970: 14, Fig. 17). Though considered 'foreign', its alleged Mesopotamian origins have been refuted by scholars (Frankfort 1924: 93-95). Other pictures of that rather strange style of hull are to be found among the pre- and protodynastic petroglyphs from the Eastern Desert and Nubia (Engelmayer 1965: Pls. XII.4, 14). A variant of this hull has its stern rising at an angle of about 50°, which first appears during the first dynasty era (e.g. Williams 1980: 16; Landström 1970: 25, Figs. 73-75). In all these pictures the almost vertical post is clearly at the fore end side, as indicated by the fixed bench behind it and the dangling bundle from its top (Landström 1970: Figs. 17, 42, 79). The clearly depicted helmsman at the lower side of the rock engraved boat from the Nubian desert (Engelmayer 1965: Pls. XII.4) just verifies this conclusion. It is difficult to explain both the function of such a high and heavy prow

post, and its effect on the hydrodynamic navigability of that type of vessel, even when assuming its relative size and prominence as artistic bias. In the case of sea-going vessels, which might have sailed on high seas for long distances, such high prows could have been used as a navigational aid during night sailing, for the helmsman to 'shoot' stars on the vertical line of the prow post, the mast and his eye. Yet what could have been its function for riverine craft, or in a boat propelled by paddlers? Whatever function this high and heavy prow may have served, its uniqueness may be used as a cultural benchmark; and as such, its resemblance to the Early Bronze Age boats from the Cycladic Islands of the Aegean (Basch 1987: 77-84) is rather intriguing.

Again, it is not the aim of this paper to repeat all the known arguments concerning this strange type of marine vessels and the tantalizing issue of defining its stern from its prow (see, for example, Casson 1971: 30-31; Basch 1987: 83-85; Vinson 1994: 15; Wedde 1995: 489-91). The relevant issue here is the actual similarity between the late fourth millennium exceptional variant of the hull from Egypt and the earliest depicted type of sea-going vessel from the Aegean and Crete (the famous three-dimensional clay model from Palaikastro, dated to the Early Minoan Period; and see for example Marinatos 1933: 173, Fig. 19). To the 'technical' similarity of the unique profile of the hull (including the raised angular aft), one might add the 'dangling bundle', which characterizes both the Egyptian depiction of ceremonial context and all the items from the frying pans, or 'Poëlons' from Syros (Basch 1987: Fig. 159-68). The only change is the omitted palm branch and the additional fish above the tip of the bow post on the later groups. Some scholars define these Aegean boats as an autochthonic type of dug-out canoe, which would be ideal for a geographic area abundant with long, straight conifer trees (Renfrew 1972: 348; Casson 1971: 30-31, 41-42; Wedde 1995: 491 n. 12); others would reconstruct their hulls as having been composed of planks, sawn or fixed by mortises and tenons (Basch 1987: 85-88; Vinson 1994: 15). None realized that it would have been almost impossible to sail these boats in open seas without an outrigger, in order to avoid eventual capsizing. One should also wonder how a long, narrow canoe, with a heavy and prominent prow, which is hardly suitable for a riverine voyage, became the earliest iconographic representative type of marine vessel in the Early Bronze Age Aegean sea.

Having only a handful of rather sketchy iconographic evidence, one cannot produce a well-grounded explanation for these alleged

discrepancies. Yet referring to the heated arguments concerning the origins of the Aegean and Early Minoan civilizations, the resemblance of this rather 'strange' type of Cycladian boat and a particular variant of earlier, Protodynastic vessel from Egypt, might add something of substance on the side of the Diffusionists who would follow the old biblical claim that Ham (= Africa) begat Mitzraim (Egypt) who begat Caphtor (Crete) (Gen. 10.14). These Aegean canoes, which were far from being primitive and would represent continuous technical development in nautical engineering over many centuries (Basch 1987: 81), may be used as an additional argument for other aspects of the alleged 'Libyan Diffusion' into Crete and even mainland Greece, including actual artifacts dated to the late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Bernal 1991: 95-99).

The third and last type of Predynastic boat to be curious about is the crescentic one, described at the beginning of this paper. This 'boomerang' shaped boat is the most common one among boat depictions from Upper Egypt since the Amratic era, early in the fourth millennium BCE (Petrie 1921; 1933; Landström 1970: 12-14, 20-22). The pictures of this boat, either from petroglyphs, or the more common Naqada II painted vases, always depict it as a ceremonial ship, carrying on board two shrines, divine images (e.g., Kantor 1944: Fig. 3, A, B, C), a tree branch at the far side and a dangling device at the bow, maybe functioning for sweeping off floating impurities in the river. Behind the aft shrine there is, in most cases, at least one high pole, topped by a sign. Newberry (1914) tried to match these signs with protosymbols of Pharaonic period 'Nomes', mostly in the Delta region. This was questioned by Petrie (1921) and Basch (1987: 43-44), on the basis of the pictures in which such divine boats carry either no signs or two different ones. Baumgartel's notion (1947: 13, 72) that these are symbols of various deities has been considered to be more logical.

Most of the depicted boats have a multitude of what seem to be oars, usually divided into two groups, leaving the central area between the cabins free. Having no indication for rowing in the Nile Valley prior to the fifth Dynasty period (Clowes 1932: 16), it is quite clear that these oars were used for paddling, as in canoes (Kantor 1944: 118). The grouping of the oars might indicate an artistic convention of depicting the paddles on two sides of the boat (Clowes 1932: 15), or for better clarity of the scene (Kantor 1944: 119-21). There is at least one depiction that shows the oars of both sides in a more realistic way. Judging

also from one of the earlier depictions, it is quite clear that the oars were used by the paddlers only along the free area foreward and behind the cabins, which would fill the entire breadth of the boat (see also the depiction of a bird's eye view of an Amratic boat in Landström 1970: 12, Fig. 4). The paddling technique is clearly depicted on the painted linen from El Gebelein (cf. Bass (ed.) 1972: 27, Fig. 7).

Finally, though this 'boomerang' shaped type is characteristic for most of the Gerzean vase paintings from Upper Egypt and the only clearly defined type depicted in rock-drawings and painted pottery of the earlier, Amratic era, there are two later iconographic sources for this type. The first one is the painted brick wall from tomb 100 in Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green 1902: Part III), where of six depicted vessels, five are of this type. It is interesting to note that though this iconographic source is from a few centuries later than that of the Amratic era (Kantor 1944: Fig. 3, L), they do not differ much, both in their hull-shape and the upper structures. Unlike the depictions from the painted vases, which seem to show only divine figures of deities, this wall painting describes human figures on the boats, probably in more realistic scale. If this is the case, the actual length of the white boats from Hierakonpolis was as much as 17–30 m and their height just over 1.5 m (Vinson 1994: 14–15). The other Protodynastic iconographic source is the famous Gebel el Arak knife. This flint blade knife has a carved handle which was made of hippopotamus tusk, decorated on both sides in an elaborate Protodynastic fashion (Emery 1961: Fig. 1). On one side there are various wild animals, typical of the mountainous region of both sides of the Upper Nile area, including hunting dogs. This side is crowned by a typically Mesopotamian antithetical scene of a hero, with a Sumerian type of helmet or hairdress, controlling two lions.

On the other side there are pairs of combatants fighting each other, with maces, clubs and sticks. All human figures are dressed and look like typical predynastic inhabitants of the Nile Valley. The lower part of this side depicts two groups of boats, with drowning people in the area between them. The two boats of the upper group have been studied and discussed by many scholars. The close resemblance of these boats to ones depicted on contemporary Mesopotamian cylinder seals of the Jemdat Nasr style, combined with the antithetical motif on the other side, has led scholars to consider the decoration as a symbolic depiction of an ethnic, political or cultural conflict between the two main cradles

of civilizations at birth (Emery 1961: 38-39). Others saw it as an indication for ever-growing Mesopotamian influence in Protodynastic Egypt, coming from the north, via Syria and Palestine (Helck 1962: 6-9). Kantor, in her thorough study (1965: 6-17), tried to incorporate the scenes and motifs within a sequence of seaborne connections between Mesopotamia and the Upper Nile Valley via the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and Wadi Hammamat, starting from sporadic, indirect maritime voyages in the Amratic and early Gerzean periods and culminating in a more direct and steady borrowing in the late Gerzean and Protodynastic eras. Lately, there has been an attempt to re-read these intrusive Mesopotamian elements and to see the Gebel el Arak knife decorations as a depiction of a culture combat between the culture of the Upper Nile (represented by the lower group of boats) and the people of the Delta region, as a phase on the way to political unification (Hoffman 1979: 340-44). Basch (1987: 60) suggests that the Mesopotamian boats on the knife represent the invading 'Dynastic Race' which were east Semitics who entered Egypt through the Delta (and see above). The lower group includes three boats of the same type and double cabins as those 'white' boats from Hierakonpolis, though much shorter and with an additional device that looks like a bovine head at the prows of two of them, replacing the traditional branches.

There have not been many three-dimensional models of predynastic boats found. Of a dozen or so found in burials of the period, five are clearly of the 'boomerang' shaped type. The earliest, which is dated to the Amratic, or Early Gerzean era, is now in the Museum of Berlin (Göttlicher and Werner 1971: Taf. VII: 1-4). It is made of clay and decorated with dark paint from without. The hull is composed of two parts, with one end (the prow?) made separately and lashed to the hull after the model was baked. The shape of the hull is symmetric, with two cross benches at either pointed end. Yet at one (the prow?) there is an additional cross beam, behind the bench, with two narrowing slots towards the boat's tip. Judging from other depictions, these slots might have been used for insertion of prow branches. There is a painted area at midship, similar to the intercabins, one on the side of the largest boat from Hierakonpolis (Kantor 1944: Fig. 3.A). It is characteristic of the type that the sides of the model are not pointed or tapered off, but somewhat broader than the sides of the midship. The floor is flat and the section is U-shaped. The length:width ratio is 5:1, much smaller than the estimated 12:1 ratio of long riverine canoes.

The next group is of three small clay models found at Naqada and presently on display at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Basch 1987: Fig. 95). All three have rather crude flat bottomed hulls, similar in shape to the aforementioned one, except for one detail: the upper parts of both ends have been trimmed, so as to give them a triangular profile, of which the point is the continuation of the curved line of the bottom.

The last model is one made of wood, from the Cairo Museum (Basch 1987: Fig. 94). It is similar in shape to the group from Naqada, but more slender, with a length:breadth ratio of about 11:1.

The most universal feature is the adhered sides of the boats on both ends. This unique feature does not typify canoes which have been derived from a Monoxyle pirogue (Landström 1970: 12-16). It has only one constructive logic—the adhered (sewn or stitched) side boards were made of planks, long enough and properly fastened to each other in order to enable the needed curvature. Such curvature would hardly fit a prototype made of unsawn logs, such as in log rafts (Kapitän 1990).

The prototype of the 'boomerang' shaped boats should therefore have been fashioned by building materials with the affinities of long, flexible wooden planks. Such a conclusion is carefully suggested by Basch (1987: 57 n. 19). Yet if one were to take two boards of thin wood and sew them face to face at both ends for about 15 per cent of their total length at each side, and then were to hold each side in one hand and push inward (and a little upward), an exact replica of the 'boomerang' shape would be produced. One has to cut and shape a spearhead form for the floor, which would maintain the proper curvature of the model, in order to complete the replica (Landström 1970: 20-22, Figs. 54-59).

Why is it that the typical boat for the Upper Nile, from the earliest phase of water transportation in that region, is characterized by building materials that could not be found there, or even in other nearby areas? From the iconographic depictions described above we know that these 'boomerang' shaped boats were slim, long canoes, not broad enough for rowing, but propelled by paddling in regular canoe fashion. Such a type of canoe must have been formed along water courses where long, straight tree trunks were at hand, and quality saws fit for the task of cutting planks from trees were manufactured. Having the offspring of that alleged prototype depicted in Nubia and Upper Egypt early in the fourth millennium BCE indicates either: (a) that there were long, straight tree trunks along the Upper Nile at that period, or sometimes

earlier, or (b) that the people of this region came to settle here, bringing with them the tradition and technical know-how for long plank boats from elsewhere. They must have migrated from a place where this type of boat fitted the available building material and nautical practice. At their alleged place of origin they must have had saws big enough for slicing tree trunks. This type of saw could have been made of metal, but not as an exclusive choice. The archaeological finds from the prehistoric (Neolithic) settlements of the Nile Valley and the Western Sahara include flint saws of size and quality that might have done the job. There was also the alternative of using a composite tool, a saw made of microliths inserted along a bone or stick of hardwood, much like the Neolithic sickles (see, for example, Emery 1961: pl. 40).

Having no remnants of conifers or other long, straight tree trunks in the vicinity of the Nile Valley since the beginning of the Holocene, we have to consider the other explanation. This is backed by many scholars who have suggested looking for highly cultured migrants who would have allegedly entered the Nile Valley during the late fifth and early fourth millennia BCE, triggering the technical and social evolution of the Amratic and Gerzean cultures and eventually facilitating the unification of Egypt under the Pharaonic reign. Some scholars consider these invaders to be of the dolichocephal race (Negroid? Indo-Arian?), which is documented in Gerzean burials of nobles in Upper Egypt (Derry 1956). Others would question the validity of anthropomorphic data for such a case and would follow the Mesopotamian connection (Emery 1961: 40; Kantor 1965: 14-17). The Antidiffusionists, such as Renfrew and Kemp, would side with Hoffman's claim of 'almost local' fertilizing immigrants from the 'almost farmers' of the Eastern Sahara (the western desert) and the highlands of the Red Country (Hoffman 1979: 303-305). More problematic in terms of accessibility is the theory of Nubia and even Ethiopia (Adams 1984; Larsen 1957). It is true that there is a resemblance between some Gerzean decorations and the aloe plant of Ethiopia, but the cataracts and the distances would have made it hard to bring down the timbers from the Blue Nile. There is also no good geographical candidate for the combination of trees and water courses in East Africa that might have evolved the alleged prototype of the 'boomerang' shaped boats.

An eastern Mediterranean provenance is quite tempting, particularly so since we know of Byblos and the Cilician coasts as the prime sources for timbers into Egypt since the beginning of the dynastic era.

This hypothesis (Basch 1987: 60; Kapitän 1990) cannot be accepted because of two main reasons: (a) if this type of boat and the people to whom it belonged would have come to the Nile Valley from the north, why do we find their material culture and nautical tradition first in the southern part (and exclusively so, for at least half a millennium)?, and (b) the technological idea of using canoes for maritime or riverine transportation had never appeared in the Levant, and would hardly be suitable for its coastal topography.

The last geographic region to be considered as a candidate for the place of origin of the alleged prototype of the 'boomerang' shaped boats has been the west: the southern part of the Sahara, Lake Chad and further to the west, in the region of the Upper Niger. As farfetched as it appeared at first, there are scores of clues and similarities that make this potential provenance attractive:

(a) During the time period of the early Holocene (7000–3000 BCE), the southern half of the Sahara was much more humid than now. Geomorphological and paleoclimatological studies made a strong case for perennial rivers flowing from the high, rocky plateaus of the Sahara, south to the Greater Lake Chad, southwest to the Great Bend of the Niger, and east from the Tibesti plateau toward the Nile. A series of oases in the Western Desert were then incorporated as agricultural areas within a Park-Savannah landscape (Butzer 1975; Hoffman 1979: 221–43).

(b) There is archaeological evidence to indicate that pastoral societies actually fared for long distances over the southern line of oases, from Haggat via Tibesti, Gilf Kebir and Nabta, to the Upper Nile Valley (McHugh 1971).

(c) There are several similarities between certain traditions of the Pharaonic culture of the Nile Valley and the sub-Saharan cultures of the area west of Lake Chad, such as Burnu, Mali and Songhai (Wainright 1949; Yurko 1989). Among those are the matrilineal inheritance system and the tradition of ceremonial procession by water, carrying the late chieftains to their afterlife across the river or lake. Although this intriguing theory is still in need of much more substantial data to support it, the west African venue is to be tried seriously (and see e.g. Diop 1974).

I do not pretend to present any conclusive evidence in this paper for the geographic origins of nations, cultures or ethnic groups, nor to reconstruct alleged conquests, colonies or mass migrations (Stieglitz

1933). I do not even try to take sides in the heated argument between diffusionists and purists of so-called 'New Archaeology', who claim to be able to explain everything on the basis of socio-anthropological paradigms and models.

As a marine archaeologist and a student of ancient shipping, I thought it would be right to share some of the ambiguities surrounding some types of predynastic boat depictions from Egypt. The discrepancies between the technological virtues of these boats and the nature of their provenance, as well as the spatial distribution of their typological offspring, seemed to me to be too significant to be overlooked, or dismissed as mere artistic shortcomings and primitivism. Though these artistic depictions date to prehistoric eras of humankind, they portray a reasonably advanced nautical technology of a rather complicated and sophisticated society. So, with all reservation and tentativeness, I have tried to follow the way of Cyrus H. Gordon, whom I love to think of as one of my true tutors and from whom I have learned to look at data as they are, using my own logic without surrendering my mind to current common notions which may be very trendy and respected.

Summing up the detailed discussion of fairly technical data, I want to suggest that three types of predynastic boats might have been used as additional argument in three debatable issues:

1. The angular high post type might be considered as the one used by the people of the southern and eastern Arabian peninsula, at least during the fourth millennium BCE. These sea-going vessels were used by these people for maritime voyages between the Gulf, Mesopotamia and the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea. Some of these people may have migrated to the Levantine coast of the Mediterranean toward the end of that millennium and later came to be known as Canaanites and Phoenicians by their neighbours (Salles 1993).
2. A canoe with a strange type of prominent prow, decorated by a special 'purifying' device, seems to have travelled from Protodynastic Egypt to the Aegean of the early third millennium BCE. This might be used as additional documentation for the biblical and Pharaonic claim for the origin of some migrants who contributed to the emergence of the Minoan culture.
3. The 'boomerang' shaped, crescentic boats of the Upper Nile Valley represent a type of long planked canoe that had to be

developed elsewhere, where long trunk trees were at hand by the banks of navigable rivers. The concept of building such boats and their divine affinity might have been brought to the Nile by migrants who had carried the traditional shape as part of their cultural heritage. These people might have been the ethnic component known as the 'Dynastic Race', and judging from their boats, the geographic sphere of the Niger should be considered to be their more probable provenance.

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Part II

BIBLE STUDIES

י"ל COLLECTIVES OF THE Q^oTÛL FORMATION

Constance W. Gordon

Among the many things I have learned from Cyrus Gordon is the love of Hebrew and reading texts. In gratitude I dedicate these observations to him.

I became interested in collectives in Hebrew while investigating irregular nominal plural formations in Classical Hebrew. For the most part, Hebrew pluralizes by adding a suffix, *-îm* or *-ôt*. In some cases, however, the singular stem is altered as well, cf. *bānîm* pl., *bēn* sg. 'son'. In Arabic, the normal way to pluralize is to alter the singular stem, cf. pl. *mulûk* 'kings', sg. *malik*. Unlike Hebrew, in Arabic the addition of the plural suffix to a broken plural is unusual: pl. *banûna* 'sons', sg. *ibn*. Arabic *nufûs* 'people, population' is the plural of *nafs* 'soul, person'. The *qutûl* formation is one of the most common broken plurals in Arabic.

In Arabic and Ethiopic, broken plurals are treated grammatically as feminine singulars, which equates them with collectives; that is, words which are semantically plural but morphologically singular. A clear example of this is the above cited *nufûs*.

I noticed that the true broken plurals in Hebrew, that is, plurals formed by an alteration of the singular stem without the addition of a plural suffix, are collectives. The collective nature of the *qutûl* nouns is clear from their meaning. The *qutûl* formation comes into Hebrew as *q^otûl*, dropping the short vowel in the first syllable (unless it is /a/ which is more stable).¹

These collectives have been previously published:²

1. For a fuller explanation, see C.W. Gordon, 'Q^otûl Nouns in Classical Hebrew', *Abr-Nahrain* 29 (1991), pp. 83-86.

2. Gordon, 'Q^otûl'.

(a) גְּדוּד *g^edûd*, 'a band of men' illustrates the collective nature of the word.

(b) גְּבוּל *g^ebûl*, 'boundary, border', cf. Ar. sg. *jabl* 'mountain'. Boundaries are often formed by mountain ranges.

(c) גְּמוּל *g^emûl*, 'dealing, recompense, benefit' (BDB), 'doings' (JPSV). This occurs also in feminine and plural forms. Semantically, it is the least convincing example of the broken plural formation for the collective in Hebrew, but given the evidence of the other examples, it seems to fit in with the category.

(d) זְבוּל *z^ebûl*, commonly translated 'habitation',³ at first glance does not look like a collective. However, in examining the words for dwelling places in the languages of the ancient Near East, one sees that the plural may be used to denote what we would consider a single habitation. In Ugaritic *bhtm*, *mšknt*, and *hklm* all have pl. forms for sg. meaning;⁴ in the Old Testament the pl. for 'ōhel, *miškān* and *bayit* are all used for a single residence.⁵

(e) זָכוּר *z^ekûr*, the sum total of the male population. This occurs only in *status pronominalis*.

(f) יָבוּל *y^ebûl*, the total yield of the harvests.

(g) יָקוּם *y^eqûm*, the living.⁶

(h) לְבוּשׁ *l^ebûš*, clothing.

(i) רְכוּשׁ *r^ekûš*, the sum total of one's movable possessions/ property. In Genesis 14, the *Masorah* has *r^ekûš* throughout, but the Septuagint takes this meaning only once (v. 12), otherwise reading τὴν ἵππων (acc.) = *rekes* 'cavalry' (vv. 11, 16, 21).

(j) תְּבוּר *t^ebûr* 'produce, yield', cognate to Akkadian *ebûru*, should be added to this list. It occurs twice, only in construct (Josh. 5.11, 12).

In the case of *q^etûl* roots, the *q^etûl* formation appears as *q^etî* < *q^etûl*. The rising diphthong is reduced to *î*/. (This stands in distinction to the *qal* passive participle, where the diphthong is not reduced, cf. *gālîi*

3. It always refers to a divine habitation, either the heavens or the Temple. Just as 'ōhel 'tent' is related to Arabic 'ahl 'people', so is *z^ebûl* 'divine habitat' related to Ugaritic *zbl* 'prince', as in the epithet *zbl B'l*, 'Prince Baal'. A divine personage can be called a 'prince'; for example, the Archangel Michael in Dan. 12.1.

4. *UT*, §13.17, p. 113. He also notes the use of Homeric Greek pl. δώματα with sg. meaning.

5. See Num. 24.5; Exod. 8.5, 6 (as compared to Exod. 7.28).

6. With metathesis, for *q^eyâm*. See P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* (Rome: Biblical Pontifical Institute, 1967), §88Eh.

'revealed'.) In pause, the accent reverts to the first syllable: *qéñi*.

I will begin the list with the clearest and most familiar example of a collective in biblical Hebrew:

(a) פֶּרִי *p^erî* פְּרִי *péri* (pause) 'fruit'. This collective has no singular; the plural *pērôt* does not occur in the Bible.⁷ *P^erî* is a broken plural of the *q^etûl* formation from the root פָּרָה (that is, *pry*) 'to bear fruit, be fruitful'. The pausal form indicates that the original vowel was /i/.

(b) אֲנִי *'nî* 'fleet'; אֲנִיָּה *'niyyāh* 'ship, vessel' *nomen unitatis*, אֲנִיּוֹת *'niyyôt* plural. In Hebrew, the vowel cannot be reduced to *šwa* under the 'alef, hence the *hatef-kameṣ*. The Akkadian cognate is *unûtu* meaning 'vessel, utensil'. Interesting to note is that this is a *qutûl* singular, like its Hebrew equivalent *kēlî*.

(c) סָחָה *s^ehî* 'offscouring' is a *hapax legomenon* (Lam. 3.45) from סָחָה (that is, *šhy*) 'scrape'. Talmudic Aramaic *s^ehîṭâ* and *s^ehûṭâ* mean 'refuse', while Targumic *s^ehîṭâ* means 'dirt, dung'. All of these meanings are collective, as is the formation.

(d) עֲדִי *'aḏî* 'ornaments (with which one is decked)' occurs ten times (twice in pause), and once as a double plural (that is, a broken plural plus the plural suffix) *'aḏiym* (Ezek. 16.7). This passage in Ezekiel's prophecy against Jerusalem is problematic. The expression *'aḏî* *'aḏāyîm*, which I, along with the JPSV (1917), take as a superlative of loveliness, is read by several commentators as *'et* *'iddîm*, meaning 'maturity'.

The above examples are true collectives: things with plural meaning and morphological singularity. There are other words of the *q^etûl* formation which fall into the category of abstraction. In some cases, these can be explained as collectives, but there is no real need to make these fine distinctions.⁸

There are several nouns in this category:

(a) בֶּכִי *b^ekî*, pausal בִּכִּי *békî* 'weeping', *passim*. The singular *békeh*

7. Its apparent occurrence in Isa. 2.20 is a misdivision of words. See C. Wallace, 'Broken and Double Plural Formations in the Hebrew Bible' (New York University dissertation, distributed by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1988), p. 65. On the integrity of *lahparpērôt*, see also S. Lieberman, 'לחפר פרוות ולעטלפים', in D. Rosenthal (ed.), *מחקרים בתורת ארץ־ישראל* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1991), pp. 466-69 and KB, p. 322.

8. C. Brockelmann explains that 'Die drei Kategorien Fem.-Abstr., Kollektiv und Plural liegen wie im Idg. so auch im Semit. zuweilen noch ungeschieden neben einander' (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* [Berlin, 1908], I, §228, 426).

occurs only once (Ezek. 10.1) as does *bākût* (an abstraction in -ûl).

(b) בָּלִי *b^elî* is a *hapax legomenon* (Isa. 38.17) 'corruption'.

(c) דָּחִי [d^ehî] *m^edēhî* 'stumbling' occurs twice (Ps. 56.14 = 116.8).

(d) חָרִי *h^erî* 'anger' occurs six times.

(e) יָפִי *y^epî* 'beauty' occurs in this form once (Ezek. 28.7), יֹפִי *yōpî* in pause and in *status pronominalis* several times.

(f) מָחִי *m^ehî* 'smiting' is a *hapax* (Ezek. 26.9).

(g) מָנִי *m^enî* 'fate' is parallel to גַּד *gad* 'fortune' and also a personal or divine name. *M^enî* is a *hapax* in a verse condemning those who worship other gods, but given the formation and the sense, it fits into the category of abstraction.

(h) מָרִי *m^erî* 'rebellion', מֶרִי *mérî* in pause, *passim*.

(i) נָחִי *n^ehî* 'wailing, lamentation', נֶחֱי *nēhî* in pause. This word occurs only in the Prophets, chiefly Jeremiah.

(j) עָנִי 'onî, 'affliction, poverty', עֹנִי 'ōnî in pause, *passim*. The abstract in -ûl, 'nûl, occurs once (Ps. 22.25).

(k) צָבִי *ṣ^ebî* 'beauty, honor', צֶבִי *ṣēbî* in pause. In Jer. 3.19 the expression *naḥalat ṣ^ebî ṣib'ôt gōyîm* is taken to mean the superlative 'heritage of the beauty of beauties of the nations'⁹ or 'the goodliest heritage of the nations'.¹⁰ The 'alef in the plural construct may be a metaplastic intrusion from the root צָבָא 'to wage war' rather than צָבָה, which seems to mean 'to incline, yearn, or desire'. Another explanation is that it is taken from the Aramaic צָבָא meaning 'to desire', where the 'alef instead of hay is merely orthographic.

(l) קָרִי [q^erî] *b^eqérî* 'opposition, contrariness' occurs five times, all in Leviticus.

(m) קָשִׁי *q^ešî* 'stubbornness' is a *hapax* (Deut. 9.27).

(n) שָׁבִי *š^ebî* 'captivity, captives', שֶׁבִי *šébi* in pause. The *nomen unitatis* שְׁבִיָּה *š^ebiyyāh* 'a female captive' is a *hapax* (Isa. 52.2). Synonymous to *š^ebî* is שְׁבִיָּה *šibyāh*. But in Jer. 48.46, *šibyāh* clearly means 'female captives', while *š^ebî* means 'male captives':

אוֹיְלֵךְ מוֹאָב אֶבְדָּ עַם־כְּמוֹשׁ
כִּי־לָקְחוּ בְנֵיךָ בָשָׁבִי וּבָתְּיֶיךָ בַּשְּׁבִיָּה:

Woe unto thee, Moab, the people of Chemosh are lost, for thy sons are taken into captivity (m.), and thy daughters into captivity (f.).

9. BDB.

10. JPSV 1917.

The abstraction *š^ebût* occurs, as does *š^ebît* (as a *hapax* in *status absolutus*, Num. 21.29). In Ezek. 16.53, the latter is the *k^etîb* for the former *q^erê*¹¹ in the absolute, but in *status pronominalis* it is *š^ebîthen*.

(o) *š^etî* 'drinking, drunkenness' is a *hapax* (Eccl. 10.17). In Est. 1.8 the *nomen unitatis* *š^etiyyāh* occurs.

11. S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae* (Leipzig, 1896); BDB.

THE LITERARY TREATMENT OF NATURE IN PSALMS*

Daniel Grossberg

Nature and the natural world are prominent themes in the Psalter. This investigation examines nature in Psalms from a new perspective. The focus of this study is the literary treatment of nature, which reveals a rich constellation of notions about the world held by the ancient poets. Nature and its metaphorical usage, compositional role, context, inter-textual relationships, hyperbole, and personification, for example, shape the ancient ideas.

The poetics of nature elucidate the notions of the poets regarding the positions of human and non-human nature in the universe, the relationship of the creation and the various creatures to God, and the human-like behavior of non-human nature. The stylistics of the psalmists also clarify their outlook on the inherent malevolence or goodness of nature, the obligations of all creation and even facets of the divinity, among other conceptions.

The aim of the current research is an enhanced appreciation of the ideas on nature as well as an enhanced appreciation of the literary techniques and how they shape the ideas.

1. *Malevolence of Nature(?)*

The psalmists are well aware of the cruel and brutal side of nature. Numerous allusions to unmerciful and ferocious animals make this abundantly clear. For example,

* Dedicated to Cyrus H. Gordon, in respect and gratitude. 'In Canaan, whether at Ugarit or in Israel, the poets heard the voice of nature; heavens and earth talked to them, revealing the glorious mystery of the god(s) and creation' (Cyrus H. Gordon).

Dogs surround me . . .
like lions [they maul] my hands and feet (22.17);

Lest he tear my soul like a lion,
Rending it in pieces . . . (7.3);

They have venom like a serpent,
like the deaf adder that stops its ear (58.5).

Each of these depictions of wild, rapacious animals, however, is a vehicle in a metaphor for the wicked or the evil oppressors of Israel. The earth teems with the brutal and cruel. But if not for the analogies to wicked humans, the psalmists do not mention this side of creation. The malevolence that the psalmists describe in nature is only a metaphoric representation of ungodly humans. On the other hand, in the psalmists' direct descriptions of the world, wild animals present no threat. All of creation praises God or is called upon to exult in the Lord, for example,

Praise the Lord, O you who are on earth,
all sea monsters and ocean depths (148.7).

all wild and tamed beasts,
creeping things and winged birds (148.10).

The literary treatment of nature in Psalms is selective. The central theme of Psalms is the creation-God relationship and not the relationship between humanity and nature. 'Both society and nature do find significant places in the book, but as they are subordinate to the central theme, and used in its development.'¹ The Psalter does not presume to give an impartial picture of God's creation but rather one that underscores Psalms' particular outlook which concentrates on the God-Creation nexus.

A. 'Malevolent' Nature in Psalm 124

Psalm 124 affords an excellent example of vivid and varying metaphors drawn from the natural domain to depict the enemies of Israel. In this psalm natural phenomena and not animals predominate. The rapidly shifting images, a new one in almost each successive verse, are striking. Note what is the *tenor*, the subject of the analogy or the idea being described and what is the *vehicle* or the image(s) by which the idea is conveyed. The fierce animals and destructive natural phenomena invoked in Psalm 124 are employed as the vehicle, the image by which

1. G.J. Blidstein, 'Nature in "Psalms"', *Judaism* 13 (1964), p. 29.

the idea is conveyed. The idea is the godless adversaries of Israel.

One common element among the analogies for Israel's enemies is their being drawn from the two cosmic realms—land and water (cf. Gen. 1.9-10).²

- v. 2: man (land)
- v. 3: animals (land)
- v. 4: water
- v. 5: water
- v. 6: animals (land)

Thus, merismatically, the artist declares that the totality of creation is against Israel. YHWH's deliverance of Israel from such a formidable alignment of natural adversaries points all the more clearly to the Lord's greatness. It is only the Lord of the cosmos who is capable of such acts of salvation.

Another common thread among these natural metaphors is the allusion to the set of primordial enemies of YHWH and therefore, to the enemies of Israel, YHWH's people, also. The 'swallowing alive' (v. 3) and the 'prey to their teeth' (v. 6) suggest mythical ravening beasts. The raging waters and torrent (vv. 4-5) are references to the chaotic primeval sea.

No set of images in a poem is static. With each new image, the understanding of the set shifts. Poetry thrives on multiple conceptions of figures. What is understood as a hint of a primeval ravening beast swallowing its prey alive is also construed as the nether world of *sheol* that is never sated (cf. Exod. 15.12; Num. 16.30-33; Ps. 106.17; Prov. 1.12 and Hos. 8.7). Whether taken as mythical animals or the yawning maws of the underworld, the congruence of the metaphor is maintained by the complementary image of the torrential waters. Land and water represent the almost infinite range of enemies besetting Israel.

The psalmist suggests another conception of the set of images for the enemies of Israel by the adverbial phrase 'when their anger was *kindled* against us' (v. 3). The employment of the oft-used metaphor for anger here enriches the psalm by calling up another set of primal elements: fire, land and water.

Verse 7 presents new nature analogies that also mesh with the

2. See D. Grossberg, *Centripetal and Centrifugal Structures in Biblical Poetry* (SBLMS, 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 36-40 for a full discussion of Ps. 124 and its imagery. I have drawn from that work for the present section.

literary likenesses already expressed. The soul/life of Israel is here depicted as a bird escaping from the fowlers' snare. At first reading the bird seems to constitute a distinct artistic picture. The weakness and vulnerability of the bird is certainly an apt representation of the imperiled soul of Israel (cf. Lam. 3.52). The well integrated imagery of the poem is a strong organizing force. The entire universe is the stage upon which the drama of Israel's peril and deliverance is enacted. Land and water comprise a dyadic conception of the cosmos. The introduction of the bird in v. 7 modifies this conception suggesting the threefold land, sea and air division or set.³

Verse 8 provides a fine closure for the piece. The final words of the psalm cap the poem thematically. The formulaic phrase 'maker of heaven and earth' is most fitting. This common merism expresses the universality of the Lord's creative powers and dominion over all of nature. In Psalm 124, the psalmist lauds YHWH's sovereignty over the totality of the cosmos. It is precisely this quality of the Lord that has saving power against the natural cosmic dangers.

One further observation is worth making in regard to the nature imagery in Psalm 124. The enemies are first depicted as human (v. 2), then as animals (v. 3) and third as natural elements (water in v. 4). Is this a deliberate 'anti-creation' presentation? The creatures 'revolt against YHWH's faithful instead of serving them. The series is not as in Genesis 1, elements-animals-human, but the opposite: the original order is lost.'⁴

What else do we learn about nature from this poem? Does the psalmist of Psalm 124 picture cruel and ruthless nature forever besetting unfortunate Israel? Is the physical world unrelenting? Verses 1, 2, 6 and 8 answer these questions with an unequivocal 'no!'

- 1 Were it not for the Lord, who was on our side . . .
- 2 Were it not for the Lord, who was on our side
 when men assailed us . . .
- 6 Blessed is the Lord, who did not let us . . .
- 8 Our help is the name of the Lord,
 maker of heaven and earth.

Cruel nature in this psalm appears only in hypothetical, contrary-to-fact

3. Cf. the creation of the animals on the sixth day, after the birds and the fish had already been created on the fifth day in Gen. 1.20-25.

4. J.-N. Aletti and J. Trublet, *Approche poétique et théologique des psaumes* (Paris: Cerf, 1983), pp. 248-49.

phrases. Although the metaphors reveal an entire cosmos with its various sets of cruel forces aligned against Israel, these foes are powerless in the face of the creator and Lord of all. The fierce powers serve only as metaphoric imagery for the evil enemies of Israel. The objective reality of nature is not portrayed as vicious. The psalmists do not depict nature, *per se*.

2. Benevolence of Nature(?)

The psalmists also portray the positive and the beneficial in terms of nature metaphors. And here, too, there is a restriction. The religious poets never enjoy nature directly, nor do they depict others exulting in nature, 'for we are not meant to: we are meant to revel in that existence to which nature points'.⁵ Nature is never the end in the Psalter. Nature is only the means to the perceiving of the Creator.

Even the psalmist of bucolic Psalm 23 does not merely 'lie in green pastures' nor simply 'walk beside the still waters'. The focus in Psalm 23 is not on a person relishing the physical world and its delights. The psalmist proclaims, '*The Lord is my shepherd...He makes me to lie down in green pastures; He leads me beside the still waters*' (Ps. 23.1, 2). The subject of the verbs is the divine Shepherd, and it is this godly pastor that is the subject of the psalm. The sheep-and-shepherd metaphor represents the all-important relationship between the faithful and God, which is paramount here as it is throughout the Psalter.

Repeatedly in Psalms, imagery of lush and luxuriant nature appears. In each case, however, the metaphor is quickly revealed and interpreted. Only the literary analogy accounts for the appearance of the natural splendor and profusion. For example, Ps. 1.3:

- a *He is like* a tree planted beside streams of water,
- b which yields its fruit in season,
- c whose foliage never fades,
- d and whatever it produces thrives.

The tree is not invoked just for contemplation or for mere arboreal appreciation. Rather, it is the God-fearing person of the two preceding verses who is absorbed in doing God's will (1.1, 2) who is likened to the tree (note the conspicuous conjunction of comparison, 'like').⁶

5. Blidstein, 'Nature', p. 30.

6. A similar picture of nature is painted in Job 8.15-19.

Elements of the nature realm are but allegorical likenesses of God-fearing or godless individuals.

The poet cleverly introduces a *double-entendre* in v. 3d which further illuminates the analogy. This final colon of 1.3 can properly be understood as referring to the tree, and translated as above: 'and whatever it produces thrives'. The phrase can equally well be construed as referring to the religious person, and rendered, 'and whatever *he* does prospers'.⁷ This ambiguous line underscores the equation of benevolent nature with the righteous.

Ps. 36.9-10 demonstrates a similar positive usage of nature metaphors:

They feast on the rich fare of Your house;
You let them drink at Your refreshing stream.
With You is the fountain of life;
by Your light do we see light.

The feasting is 'on the rich fare of *Your* house'; the drink is 'at *Your* refreshing stream' and the fountain is 'with *You*' and it is 'the Fountain of life'. The relishing and savoring of nature is again a metaphor for the Lord's reward to the righteous. The analogies always point to the relationship with God. This is the case also in Ps. 52.10 as it is in 92.13 (both reminiscent of the righteous man in Ps. 1.3): the righteous one is a 'leafy olive-tree' and a 'palm-tree' and a 'cedar' all flourishing '*in the house of the Lord*'.

We thus note the selective vision of the psalmists. Any goodness and benevolence that they describe in nature is a metaphoric representation of the lot of the righteous, not a setting for humanity to bask in. And any malevolence and cruelty in nature is an analogy to the evil and ungodly or their machinations. Psalms uses nature metaphorically to depict what is central to Psalms' concern—creation vis-à-vis the Creator and not creation per se nor nature vis-à-vis humankind.

3. *The Range of Nature*

The view of nature as a unified entity of the universe finds its repeated expression in the Hebrew Bible. Walther Eichrodt declares that it was the recognition of a transcendent God, exalted above the world, that 'brought men to see the universe as a unity, organized and internally

7. See NJPSV on Ps. 1.3 and note.

related in all its parts, and permeated as well by a single will'.⁸

Psalm 104 gives beautiful, lyrical expression to this idea. A feeling of accord, harmony and order in the universe suffuses the entire psalm. All the world enjoys God's beneficence. The depiction of humanity as but one of God's creations is striking. This psalm highlights the affinity of all natural phenomena. Animals and humans all share a total dependence on the Lord for the Lord's unfailing and equable provisions for each according to its needs. Virtually the entire psalm is an enumeration of the Lord's benefactions, for example,

- 10 You make springs gush forth in torrents;
they make their way between the hills,
- 11 giving drink to all the wild beasts;
the wild asses slake their thirst.
- 13 You water the mountain from Your [lit. 'His'] lofts;
the earth is sated from the fruit of Your work.
- 14 You make the grass grow for the cattle,
and herbage for man's labor
that he may get food out of the earth—
- 27 All of them look to You
to give them their food when it is due.

God's goodness is not limited to provision of food and drink. The Lord sustains the functioning of the world also:

- 20 You bring on darkness and it is night,
when all the beasts of the forests stir.
- 21 The lions roar for prey,
seeking their food from God.
- 22 When the sun rises, they come home
and couch in their dens.
- 23 Man then goes out to his work,
to his labor until the evening.

All is unified in this seamless world that functions because of God's continuous involvement therein.

- 3 He sets the rafters of His lofts in the waters,
makes the clouds His chariot,
moves on the wings of the wind.
- 4 He makes the wind His messengers,
fiery flames His servants.

8. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (trans. J.A. Baker; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), II, p. 112.

- 5 He established the earth on its foundations,
so that it shall never totter.
- 6 You made the deep cover it as a garment;
the waters stood above the mountains.
- 7 They fled at Your blast,
rushed away at the sound of Your thunder,
- 8 —mountains rising, valleys sinking—
to the place You established for them.
- 9 You set bounds they must not pass
so that they never again cover the earth.

In 104.3-9 the passage from the heavenly to the earthly domains and the integration of the meteorological elements and the seas without a clear demarcation of the several domains also emphasize the inter-relatedness of all in a unitary, indivisible world.

Genesis 1 is the obvious subtext of Psalm 104. The psalmist and 'the Priestly writer of Gen 1 can unify the whole hierarchical structure of nature by making each constituent level issue from the divine creating word. All nature is an expression of the divine will ... and in the divine activity the unity of nature rests.'⁹ God's care for the world described in the psalm echoes God's creation 'in the beginning'. Each creature appearing on the earth at God's word, in Genesis, finds a world already in place sufficient to fill that creature's needs.

4. Humanity–Nature–God

- 4 When I behold Your heavens, the work of Your fingers,
the moon and stars that You set in place,
- 5 what is man that You have been mindful of him,
mortal man that You have taken note of him,
- 6 that You have made him little less than divine,
and You have adorned him with glory and majesty;
- 7 You have made him master over Your handiwork,
You have laid the world at his feet,
- 8 sheep and oxen, all of them,
and wild beasts, too;
- 9 the birds of the heavens, the fish of the sea,
whatever travels the paths of the seas (Ps. 8.4-9).

Psalm 8 is a prime poetic statement of the biblical notion of the world

9. E.C. Rust, *Nature and Man in Biblical Thought* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1953), p. 67.

and the ambivalent place humankind occupies in the world. The conception of humanity expressed in the Genesis 1 creation story clearly serves as the background of the Psalm 8 formulation as it does of Psalm 104. The injunction in Gen. 1.28 to 'fill the earth and master it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on earth' is reflected in the psalm's enumeration of the several elements of nature, and their arrangement 'according to the species which belong to each of them: domestic and wild land animals, creatures of the air and those inhabiting the sea'.¹⁰ The verbal phrases used in Ps. 8.4-9 for God's actions on behalf of humanity appear to exalt humanity to impressive heights:

You have been mindful of him;
You have taken note of him;
You have made him a little less than divine;
You adorned him with glory and majesty;
You have made him master over Your handiwork;
You have laid the world at his feet.

A proper perspective, however, on the Psalter's regard of humanity needs to consider this section of Psalm 8 in the light of the entire psalm and other relevant psalms as well. The opening verses of the psalm glorify God, the Creator. The starry heavens captivate the mind of the psalmist giving rise to a feeling of awe before the Lord. The nocturnal sky is splendid, but it is overpowering at the same time and leads ineluctably to a feeling of the insignificance of terrestrial humanity. A tension arises between overwhelming wonder before the Lord and awareness of the human nullity. Artur Weiser understood the significance of the context in approaching Ps. 8.5-9:

For without the foregoing setting up of the religious signpost of humility in the sight of God vv. 5-8 could be understood—and this has been repeatedly done—as expressing merely delight in culture and as singing merely the praise of man... In spite of his insignificance man has been appointed by God to have dominion over the earth.¹¹

The crucial ambiguity between the significance of the human beings and their nothingness must be borne in mind in any consideration of their place in the cosmic scheme of things. Parts of Psalm 8 and

10. A. Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), p. 145.

11. Weiser, *Psalms*, p. 144.

Genesis 1 tell of the ascendancy of humanity over the rest of nature. As a counterbalance to the notion of human supremacy is the featuring of the lowliness of humanity vis-à-vis the Lord. A further corrective to an exaggerated view of the level of humankind is the many psalms that treat the cosmos and make no distinction between humans and non-human nature (some even omit references to humans entirely).

Psalm 29 argues for the humility of humankind and against our too frequent tendency towards anthropocentrism. In a celebration of the powers of the Lord seen in a storm, the psalmist virtually ignores humans. The poet regards wondrous nature in itself, quite apart from humanity.

Here as elsewhere the biblical writers presuppose that God has a relation to nature distinct from His relation to man, that nature has worth to God apart from its role in the Divine-human drama.¹²

Psalm 148 also looks upon all of nature as one undifferentiated whole.¹³ All elements are called upon to praise the Lord. Humans are just one among the many groups called. Included in the summons are natural elements, sea monsters, fire and hail, mountains and hills, creeping things and birds, and more. Distinction of place in the psalm is afforded to humans, however. They are invoked last in the series, which does confer a distinction as it does in the creation story in Genesis 1. The allusion to Genesis 1 also tempers this distinction by reminding humankind of its dependence on God, a dependence shared with the rest of creation. The intertextual reference to the creation story implies the reason or justification for praising the Lord, that is, God created everything and therefore all are in God's debt, from the first to the last.

Psalm 104, in an extensive enumeration of God's creatures, rehearses all the kindnesses the Lord continuously showers on all of them. Psalm 104 also includes subtle unflattering implications for humans. Indeed, in Genesis 1 and in parts of Psalm 8 the human is depicted as the pinnacle of creation. Ps. 104.24 states, however,

How manifold are the things You have made O Lord;
You have made them all with wisdom;
the earth is full of Your creations.

12. H.P. Santmire, *Brother Earth: Nature, God and Ecology in Time of Crisis* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1970), p. 85.

13. See below for a fuller discussion of Ps. 148.

There is no suggestion of humanity's uniqueness here. God administers to the multifold creation, tending to the needs of each of the elements—the grand as well as the seemingly trivial.

An intertextual allusion to Prov. 8.30 highlights a further insult to humanity. 'You have made them all with *wisdom*' (Ps. 104.24) recalls Prov. 8.30 which has personified Wisdom claim that even at the time of creation, 'I was with Him as a confidant, a source of delight every day'. Wisdom certainly enjoyed a great distinction; she was at the side of God during the creation. To the chagrin of anthropocentric humanity, God had another darling.

Psalms 104 strips faithful humans of any claim to unique status with God. Even the Leviathan, the sea monster represented in some biblical texts (Isa. 27.1; Ps. 74.13-14) as an adversary defeated by YHWH, is given preferred status. Moreover, God *takes delight* in the creation of the Leviathan: 'There go the ships, and Leviathan *that you formed to sport with*' (Ps. 104.26). The reason for God's creation of the sea monster is that God takes joy in it! Humanity is not depicted as God's delight in this psalm. In these passages non-human nature emerges somewhat closer to God than humans do. The hierarchy is different than what we conclude from Psalm 8, alone.¹⁴

Psalms, moreover, makes the equation of humanity with the animal kingdom explicit, which also puts humanity in its rightful place.

As a hart longs for flowing streams, so . . . my soul (Ps. 42.1).

You have made us like sheep for slaughter (Ps. 44.11).

Man cannot abide in his pomp,
he is like the beasts that perish (Ps. 49.12).

Animals and natural phenomena (for example, sun, shade, light, rock, water, fire and wind) are, moreover, employed as vehicles in metaphors treating God and aspects of the divine. The use of these nature analogies to convey facets of the divine not only increases ways of regarding the divine, but also sheds light on the natural elements themselves. 'If God is a rock or a mother eagle, e.g., rocks and mother eagles are

14. Even the covenantal relationship that Israel has with God is not unique. After the flood, God establishes a covenant with nature. 'And God said to Noah and to his sons with him, "I now establish My covenant with you and your offspring to come, and with every living thing that is with you—birds, cattle, and every wild beast as well—all that have come out of the ark, every living thing on earth"' (Gen. 9.8 and then repeated four times: Gen. 12; 15; 16; 17).

reflective in some sense of who God is. That is to say, there are continuities between rocks and eagles and the reality of God.¹⁵ The affinities between the natural elements and the divine elevate nature.

5. *Nature's 'Unnatural' Behavior*

There are numerous examples in the Psalter of animals and inanimate objects from the natural realm acting as humans. Notice that it is always the Lord who is the animator of the natural phenomena. In every case of elements of nature acting out-of-character, or out-of-species, as it were, it is always 'at the command of', or 'in the presence of' or some similar situation of subservience or obeisance to the Lord, for example:

the earth and the foundations of the mountains shake and quake *at the anger of the Lord* (Ps. 18.8).

the heavens declare the glory *of God* (Ps. 19.1).

the gates lift up their heads
so that the king *of glory may come in* (Ps. 24.7).

Mount Zion will rejoice *on account of Your [the Lord's] judgments* (Ps. 48.12).

God summons the heavens and earth for the trial *of His people* (Ps. 50.4).

the heavens declare *His [the Lord's] righteousness* (Ps. 50.6).

Ps. 98.7-9 exhibits a nuance.

Let the sea and all within it thunder,
the world and all its inhabitants;
let the rivers clap their hands,
the mountains sing joyously together
at the presence of the Lord,
for He is coming to rule the earth.

In these verses the psalmist calls on all of creation to praise the Lord and to celebrate God's wondrous acts. Among the other elements of nature exulting in the Lord, the psalmist depicts the sea (*ym*) resounding, and the rivers (*nhrwt*) clapping their hands. In the Ugaritic Ras Shamra tablets, *Ym* denotes both 'sea' and the god 'Yamm'. Similarly,

15. T.E. Fretheim, 'Nature's Praise of God in the Psalms', *Ex Auditu* 3 (1988), p. 22.

nhr means 'river' and is also an alternative name of the god 'Yamm'. The Ras Shamra tablets portray *Yamm* and *Nhr* as powerful gods acting with a will of their own and as humans act. The Psalter, however, although making specific reference to the sea and the river, does so only in the course of its enumeration of other geographical features. Psalms obscures *Yamm* and *Nhr* in the passage and affords them no individuality whatsoever. Erstwhile gods, *Yam* and *Nhr*, in the Psalter, perform human-like acts in celebration of the Lord and 'at the presence of the Lord, for He is coming to rule the earth' (Ps. 98.9).

Verses like this one can be explained as presenting desacralized mythological beings 'dethroned and reduced to poetical figures. This is an act of demythologization, which may have a polemical tone.'¹⁶

- 2 Save me, O God,
for the waters have risen up to my neck.
- 3 I sink in muddy depths and have no foothold;
I am swept into deep waters,
and the flood carries me away.
- 15 Let no flood carry me away,
no abyss swallow me up,
no deep close over me.
- 35 Let sky and earth praise Him,
the seas and all that move in them (Ps. 69).

Schökel describes a related subtle compositional device in in the following words:

In Ps. 69 danger is presented in the image of waters. It appears at the beginning of the long poem, reappears just before the middle and resounds as a faint echo towards the end. The danger of the waters is threatening at the beginning, is on the point of conquering in the middle of the poem, but at the end they are dominated and recognize God.¹⁷

Psalm 69, thus, presents us with further examples of animated nature vanquished by the Lord and demythologized.¹⁸

16. L. Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics* (Subsidia Biblica, 11; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1988), p. 125. Cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms. II. 51–100: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 17; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), p. 365.

17. Alonso Schökel, *Hebrew Poetics*, p. 117.

18. Dahood, *Psalms*, pp. 156, 160.

6. Projection of the Writers' Sentiments

Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad;
 let the sea and all within it thunder,
 the fields and all in them exult;
 then shall all the trees of the forest shout for joy
 at the presence of the Lord
 for He is coming to rule the earth (Ps. 96.11-13).

A different explanation of the unnatural actions of nature in these verses identifies the source of the actions in the poet and not in nature. The ascription of human behavior to the non-human natural elements is the result of the poet imagining that the inanimate is celebrating with the writer. The jubilation the psalmist feels at the accession of the Lord to the seat of judgment extends beyond the poet. The intensity of the emotion leads the psalmist to attribute to non-human nature the feelings the artist experiences. Inanimate nature does not properly experience emotions, but rather it is the poet who, in an excited state, credits nature with the feelings of human beings.

John Ruskin explains that when one is strongly affected by emotion 'a falseness in all our impressions of external things' may result.¹⁹ Ruskin coined the phrase 'pathetic fallacy' to describe this falseness (hence, 'fallacy') in regard to feelings (hence, 'pathetic'). The state of mind that admits this pathetic fallacy 'is one in which the reason is unhinged by grief'.²⁰ In Psalm 96, although the emotion is just the opposite of grief, the principle remains. Here, rapture causes the 'inaccurate' vision as the inspired poet submits to overwhelming and irresistible forces.

The portrayal of cosmic rejoicing is thus a proper outcome of the poet's enrapture at the Lord's kingship (v. 10). The psalmist sees the heavens, the earth, the sea, the fields and the trees exulting (vv. 11-13) no less than the families of peoples (v. 7). The psalmist externalizes his or her inner psychological state and applies that state to elements that do not conventionally undergo psychological experiences.

The overwrought poet in the extremity of emotion attributes human feelings to the natural phenomena. The significant point is the extension and projection of the individual, human, mental atmosphere to the non-human domain. In Ps. 96.11-13, the psalmist magnifies and intensifies

19. J. Ruskin, *Modern Painters: By a graduate of Oxford*, V.III (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1871), p. 159.

20. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, p. 159.

the exaltation of the Lord and the awe at the Lord's accession. As the poet portrays the diverse cosmic constituents submitting to the same emotional forces that hold sway over the poet, the poet communicates how great the power of those forces is. Not only puny humans but cosmic elements, too, cannot but acclaim the Lord.

In the closing lines of Psalm 65 there is another example of animated nature. The psalmist exults in the crowning of the year. The bounty of the harvest finds expression in the vivid depiction of the joy of the fields, hills, flocks and valleys.

You crown the year with Your bounty;
Your paths will drip fatness;
the pasturelands will drip;
the hills gird themselves with joy.
The meadows clothe themselves with flocks,
the valleys dress themselves with grain;
they shout; they sing for joy (Ps. 65.12-14).

The psalmist has the luxurious growth on the hills, the lush vegetation in the valleys and the fertility of the usually bare wilderness drip fatness. The abundant flocks clothe the pastures, and the bounteous grain decks the valleys.²¹

This way of understanding animated nature identifies the source of the personification in the psychology of the poet. Akin to this mode of interpretation of nature acting unnaturally is the approach that identifies the source of the personification in the aesthetic ability of the artist.

7. Aesthetic Depiction of Nature

The heavens tell the glory of God,
the firmament proclaims His handiwork.
Day to day pours forth speech,
night to night declares knowledge.
There is no speech,
there are no words,
their voice is not heard.

21. Interesting to note is the use of the verb 'gird' (*hgr*), here with the object 'joy'. Frequently the object of this verb is a weapon (e.g., Deut. 1.41; Judg. 18.11; 1 Sam. 25.13; Ps. 45.4), or sackcloth for mourning (e.g., Isa. 15.3; Lam. 2.10; Ezek. 7.18; Joel 1.8). The contrast to weapons points up the tranquil period of plenty that Ps. 65 celebrates while the distinction from sackcloth features the coming to life of the hills and valleys that earlier appeared dead.

Through all the earth their call went forth,
 And their words to the end of the world.
 For the sun He set a tent in them [the heavens],
 and it is like a bridegroom going forth from his chamber,
 rejoicing like a warrior to run his course.
 At the end of the heavens is his rising-place,
 and his circuit is to their edge,
 and nothing escapes his heat (Ps. 19.2-7).

The following interpretation of Psalm 19 identifies the source of the personifications in the aesthetic ability of the poet.²² The artist paints nature acting 'out of character', more as humans act than as nature is expected to act. Arresting personification *tropes* constitute the heart of the first part of the hymn. The poet creates a *vividness* with these *figures* that a prosaic formulation is unable to achieve. The heavens *figuratively* tell of the glory of God; and it is *as if* the firmament proclaims God's handiwork. Moreover, *the trope* portrays the day as pouring forth speech and the night as declaring knowledge, *as it were*.

There is a wide chasm separating the approach characterized by the italicized words in the last paragraph and one that recognizes the verbs in the previous paragraph as properly assigned to the natural phenomena. The former 'explains' the aberrant behavior of nature as a literary device, that of personification. Kenneth L. Schmitz suggests that such an understanding precludes the study of the text in any deeper way.²³

To use the language of poetic licence, literary figure or personification suggests that we are dealing with a fictive matter or a matter of some artificiality which does not in fact correspond with reality... In this designation of the literary figure one has closed off a number of interpretive possibilities. The depth of the text, its expressive thickness, is not given its full range.²⁴

Schmitz would have us alter our style and technique in conformity with the religious literature of the Psalter that we are studying. Any

22. There are abundant parallels to this psalm in the ancient Near Eastern sun-god literature. See N. Sarna, 'Psalm XIX and the Near Eastern Sun-god literature', *Papers of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1967), I, pp. 171-75. The comparative study, however, is not within the purview of the present investigation.

23. K.L. Schmitz, 'World and Word in Theophany', *Faith and Philosophy* 1.1 (1984), p. 56.

24. Fretheim, 'Nature's Praise', p. 22.

interpretation of nature's behavior as 'hyperbolic' would then be impossible in light of our altered stance. 'These phenomena of nature pale beside His glory. No language can be original enough to be excessive, once it is interpreted from out of the eye of the storm itself.'²⁵

Both approaches, that of the projection of the poet's psychological state and the aesthetic depiction of nature, understand the capacity for human-like action on the part of nature as not inherent in the natural domain but imposed upon it by the psalmist.

8. *Expression of Psychological Unity*

It is not necessary to ascribe the animation of nature wholly to the poet's doing. It need not be attributed to the psalmists' psychological states nor to their choices of literary devices.

There is reason to assume that the ancient Hebrews believed in a psychic affinity between man and the celestial bodies. Thus, according to Job [38.7], the stars were not mere passive spectators when God created the world, but joined in that cosmic praise which nature renders to God, enjoying a position of beings provided with consciousness.²⁶

A similar interpretation can be given to the apostrophe to all created things in Psalm 148. Not only does the psalmist address the animals and natural phenomena as one addresses a human being, but the psalmist further enjoins these animals and elements to celebrate the Lord as human beings do.

Once God had created the world, he did not leave it on its own by withdrawing his providential guidance. He continues to rule over this universe [Ps. 104; 148.6] and provides for its best possible function [Ps. 145.9]. It is natural, therefore, that the universe should share with mankind the duty of proclaiming God's praises [Ps. 69.35].²⁷

The psychical functioning of non-human life and 'inanimate' nature integrates the cosmic phenomena in a common bond with humankind. 'To see the similar in the disparate is what leads the mind to the universal.'²⁸ Psalms lifts the natural elements out of their abstract and

25. Schmitz, 'World and Word', p. 58.

26. L.I.J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World* (AnBib, 39; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970), p. 94.

27. Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World*, p. 7.

28. S.A. Handelman, *The Slayers of Moses: The Emergence of Rabbinic*

objective thingness into a living and creative unity with humans. All of creation, humans, non-humans and things alike, share a creatureliness under God.²⁹ The repetition of the word *kol*, 'all' or 'every' no fewer than ten times in the course of the fourteen verses of Psalm 148 stresses this *totality* of creation—human and non-human alike. Moreover, *all* God's creatures and creations are duty-bound to exalt their creator.

The numerous elements invoked from all realms of the universe and the sequence of the references, too, shed light on the organization of the universe. At the outset the poet addresses celestial beings—angels, the Lord's hosts, the sun, the moon, stars, heavens and the waters above the heavens; then the artist turns to the lower maritime realm—sea monsters and the oceans' depths; then the psalmist invokes the atmospheric domain—fire, hail, snow, smoke and wind; next the biblical writer commands the terrestrial range—mountains, hills, trees, animals, creeping things and birds; and finally the artist directs attention to those beings whom we consider properly capable of receiving such communication and acting on it—humankind. The underlying theme is the unity of all creation.

Following the multiple invitations to all components of the cosmos to acclaim the Lord, the poet adds grounds for the summons. One basis for the command is that the Lord's 'splendor covers *heaven and earth*' (148.13). This is a telling locution in a conspicuous place in the psalm. At the climax of the poem the summational meristic formula appears. 'Heaven and earth' signifies totality and recalls the creation account of Genesis where this formula occurs as an envelope figure in Gen. 1.1 and 2.4 (it also occurs in 2.1). The Genesis account, or some variation of it that was current at the time of the psalmist, is the obvious subtext of Psalm 148.³⁰ The psalm not only names many of the same creatures that are mentioned in Gen. 1.1–2.4, and not only names them in the same sequence as does Genesis, but inherent in the allusion to the

Interpretation in Modern Literary Theory (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982), p. 22.

29. There is in Ps. 148 an additional case of the attribution of characteristics that do not properly fit. Note v. 14, 'He has exalted the *horn of His people*.' Here is a reversal. Animal traits are ascribed to the human. The thematic result, nevertheless, is the same—the psalm underscores the unity among all creation.

30. It is clear that there were other notions as to the manner in which the world and its elements came into being. See T.H. Gaster, 'Cosmogony', *IDB*, I, pp. 702ff. for other examples.

creation story is the justification for the expectation that the creatures, singly or in aggregate, hail the Lord. For it was at God's word that they came into being, and they are to express their indebtedness in eternal adoration of God.³¹

The kinship of the entire cosmos finds expression in the Psalter in another example of nature acting as humans act. Whereas the figures cited above depict nature rhapsodizing the Lord as humankind does, the trope in Ps. 72.3 is different.

O God, Your justice give to the king
and Your righteousness to the son of the king.
May he judge Your people with righteousness
and Your poor with justice.
May the mountains bring well-being for the people
and the hills righteousness (Ps. 72.3).

The animated mountains and hills are to bring blessings to the people. In such a depiction the natural elements transcend their inertness and serve as emissaries to the people on behalf of God. When the king merits the Lord's blessings of justice (Ps. 72.1 and 2), 'the earth itself participates in the positive relationship existing among God, king and people. Harmony and righteousness become part of all creation.'³² And all involved in that creation are made to share in the realm of undifferentiated action.

9. Conclusion

Nature and the natural world are indeed prominent themes in the Psalter. The present investigation has considered these themes from a new perspective. This study concentrated on the literary treatment of nature and notions about nature that arise from the various poetic techniques employed by the psalmists. The imagination of the artist is not arbitrary and fanciful in its portrayal of the world. The poets make profound pronouncements on reality and their actual literary techniques impart more than mere aesthetic flourishes.

31. Cf. Ps. 33.8-9: 'Let all the earth fear the lord; let all the inhabitants of the world dread Him. For He spoke and it was; He commanded and it endured.'

32. M.E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100* (WBC, 20; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), p. 223.

HUMAN AND DIVINE WISDOM IN THE BOOK OF JOB*

Mayer I. Gruber

At the end of the book of Job the LORD identifies with Job and rejects the claims of Job's friends, who have argued continually that Job must accept responsibility for the multiple tragedies which befell him and his sons and daughters. Thus we read in Job 42.7-8:

Now the LORD said to Eliphaz the Temanite, 'I am angry at you and your two friends because you have not spoken rightly concerning me as has Job my devotee. Therefore, take for yourselves seven bulls and seven rams, and go to Job my devotee and offer up a burnt offering on behalf of [the three of] you.¹ Have Job my devotee pray² on your behalf. It is only because³ I shall show deference to him⁴ that I shall not do ill against you⁵ because of your not speaking rightly concerning me as did my devotee Job.'

By means of this utterance both the LORD and the anonymous

* I am deeply honored to have been asked by the editors to contribute a study in honor of Professor Cyrus H. Gordon, who taught me early on that one should aspire to combine world class scholarship with gentlemanly behavior and demeanor. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Israel Society of Biblical Research in Haifa in April 1989.

1. The Hebrew text employs the plural.

2. Taking the verb *yitpallēl* as a jussive; see S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), p. 374.

3. Heb. *kī'im*; see R. Gordis, *The Book of Job: Commentary, New Translation and Special Studies* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), p. 494; see also C. van Leeuwen, 'Die Partikel 'im', *OTS* 18 (1973), p. 46; A. Aejmelaeus, 'Function and Interpretation of *kī* in Biblical Hebrew', *JBL* 105 (1986), p. 201.

4. M.I. Gruber, 'The Many Faces of Hebrew *nāsā' pānīm* "lift up the face", *ZAW* 95 (1983), p. 254; this study has been republished in M.I. Gruber, *The Motherhood of God and Other Studies* (University of South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism, 57; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

5. Gruber, 'The Many Faces'.

author⁶ of the book of Job reject the claim of Eliphaz, who states the following in Job 4.7-8:

Please recall who being innocent perished or where upright persons were cut off. In my experience⁷ those who plow evil and sow trouble⁸ reap just that.⁹

Unquestionably, the LORD and the anonymous author of the book of Job refer in Job. 42.7-8 also to the words of Bildad the Shuhite, who says in Job 8.20, 'God will not spurn the innocent nor will he lend support to¹⁰ evildoers'. Likewise, the LORD and the anonymous author of the book of Job refer in Job. 42.7-8 to the claims of Zophar the Naamathite, who says the following in Job. 11.13-20:

If you direct your heart aright and pray¹¹ to him,
If you are holding on to¹² wrong behavior, get rid of it

6. For the various views concerning the authorship and provenance of the book of Job see *b. B. Bat.* 14b-16b; see also the various modern commentaries and Bible dictionaries, s.v. 'Job, Book of'.

7. Heb. *ka'āšēr rā'itī*, lit., 'as I have seen'; cf. the use of the verb *rā'āh*, 'see' in the meaning 'to experience' in Lam. 3.1; see M.I. Gruber, *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in the Ancient Near East* (2 vols.; Studio Pohl, 12; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), II, p. 560 n. 2

8. Heb. *'āmāl*; the noun is employed in precisely this same nuance in Job in Job 11.16 quoted below; concerning the various nuances of this noun see R. Gordis, *Kohleth: The Man and his Word* (New York: Schocken Books, 3rd edn, 1968), pp. 418-21.

9. Heb. *yiqš'ruhū*. Note the singular accusative pronominal suffix, which indicates that our biblical poet here construes the two nouns *'āwen* and *'āmāl* as synonyms referring to a single reality; where, however, biblical poets use two or more nouns in parallelism or juxtaposition to refer to two or more distinct realities they will refer back to the plural objects or ideas using a plural pronoun; see M.I. Gruber, 'The Meaning of Biblical Parallelism: A Biblical Perspective', *Prooftexts* 13 (1993), pp. 289-93; contrast R. Gordis, 'Studies in the Relationship of Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew', in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945), pp. 184-86.

10. Lit., 'hold by the hand'; in the Ugaritic Aqhat Epic it is said to be a son's obligation to hold by (the) hand an inebriated parent; see Gordon, *UT 2 Aqht I*, lines 31-32 and passim; cf. Isa. 51.18; see H.L. Ginsberg, *ANET* (3rd edn), p. 150 n. 8; lending of support is described as 'holding by (the) hand' also in Job 4.3, q.v.

11. Lit., 'spread out your palms', an anatomical idiomatic expression derived from a posture of petitionary prayer, which asks the deity to fill the empty hands of the supplicant with love/material benefits; see the discussion in Gruber, *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication*, I, pp. 25-31.

so that no iniquity abides in your tent.
 Then you will be able to disregard¹³ any defect,¹⁴
 and you will be steadfast and unafraid.¹⁵
 Indeed you will forget [your] trouble,
 you will remember [it] like waters under the bridge.¹⁶
 [Your] fate will arise more brightly than [the sun at] noon.
 [Your] darkness will be like the morning. You will be able to trust for
 there is hope. You will make your bed,¹⁷ and you will lie down in
 safety.
 You will lie down without fear, and the multitude¹⁸ will seek to appease
 you.¹⁹ However, the wicked will cry their eyes out. Their refuge is
 lost, and their hope is sighing.²⁰

It has often been suggested that the three friends of Job defend the standard biblical conception²¹ according to which

12. Heb. *b'yād'kā*, lit., 'there is in your hand'; for 'hand' as a metaphor for possession in both Hebrew and Akkadian see S.M. Paul, *Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law* (VTSup, 18; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), p. 66 and the literature cited there.

13. Lit., 'you will lift up your face from'; see Gruber, 'The Many Faces', p. 259.

14. Heb. *mûm*; see Gruber, 'The Many Faces', p. 259 n. 32: 'For the same thought expressed here by Zophar see Eliphaz's prediction in Job 5.22: "You will laugh at plunder and famine, and you will be unafraid of the beast of the earth". Perhaps Zophar's and Eliphaz's conviction that righteous people should ignore and even laugh at the disasters that plague others explains their inability to empathize with Job's suffering.'

15. Translation from Gruber, 'The Many Faces', p. 259.

16. Heb. *k'mayim 'āb'rû*, lit., 'waters (that) passed away'.

17. Hebrew obscure; see the various commentaries, especially, Gordis, *The Book of Job*, p. 125; N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job: A New Commentary* (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, rev. edn, 1967), p. 200.

18. For *rabbîm* 'many' in the sense of 'the multitude' (Gk. *hoi polloi*) see Isa. 53.12; Mal. 2.6; Dan. 12.13; see H.L. Ginsberg, 'The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant', *VT* 3 (1953), p. 402.

19. Concerning *hillāh pānîm*, 'appease' see Gruber, 'The Many Faces', p. 259 n. 30.

20. See Gruber, *Aspects*, I, p. 398.

21. See below, nn. 31-34.

Transgressors shall all²² be destroyed;
 the posterity²³ of the wicked shall be cut off.
 The deliverance of the virtuous is from the LORD,
 who is their refuge²⁴ in time of trouble (Ps. 37.38-39).

The same allegedly standard or orthodox biblical perspective is reflected in Jer. 17.7-8:

Blessed is the man²⁵ who trusts in the LORD.
 The LORD will be his source of trust.
 He shall be like a tree planted near water,
 which sends forth its roots near a stream.
 It does not suffer²⁶ when summer²⁷ arrives.
 Its leaves are always green.
 It does not worry in a year of drought,
 and it does not cease to produce fruit.

It is the very same supposedly orthodox biblical theodicy which is reflected also in Isa. 58.7-8:

If when you see the naked, you clothe him
 and you do not ignore your kin,²⁸
 then shall the light of your happiness²⁹ break through like dawn

22. Heb. *yahdāw*; see the discussion in M. Gruber, 'Commentary on Ps. 37.38', in N.M. Sarnah (ed.), *Psalms. I. Olam ha-Tanakh* (Tel Aviv: Davidson-Ittai, 1995), p. 169 (in Hebrew).

23. Heb. *'ah^arîr*; see C.A. Briggs and E.G. Briggs, *The Book of Psalms* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906), I, p. 332.

24. Heb. *mā'ūzām*; see the discussion in M. Gruber, 'Commentary on Ps. 37.38', in Sarnah (ed.), *Psalms*, I, p. 169 (in Hebrew).

25. Heb. *geber*, which can only mean 'man' (not 'person' of either sex) as in Job 3.3: 'a man-child [*geber*] is conceived'; see the discussion in M.I. Gruber, 'The Motherhood of God in Second Isaiah', *RB* 90 (1983), p. 358 n. 22; this study has been republished in Gruber, *The Motherhood of God and Other Studies*; the parallel to Job 3.3 in Jer. 20.15 employs the expression *bēn zākār* 'a male child'.

26. Heb. *yir'e*, a defective form of *yir'eh* 'see, experience'; see the discussion in n. 7; see also W. McKane, *Jeremiah*, Part I (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), p. 391; note, however, that the parallelism, the consonantal text, as well as LXX, Vulgate and Peshitta all suggest the meaning 'fear'.

27. Heb. *hom*; the same term for 'summer' is found also in Gen. 8.22.

28. Heb. *bāšār*; the term denotes 'kin' also in Lev. 18.6, q.v.

29. Heb. *'ôr^akā*, lit., 'your light' is here employed both in a simile, which directly compares the 'light' in question to the light of daybreak, and in a metaphor to mean 'your happiness'; other instances of Heb. *'ôr* in the sense 'happiness' are found in Isa. 49.6 and Ps. 97.11; see Gruber, *Aspects*, II, p. 562 n. 2.

and your healing spring up quickly.

Your Vindicator will march before you.

The Glory of the LORD will be your rear guard.³⁰

In the light of passages such as these, many of the most prominent biblical scholars such as S.R. Driver,³¹ Robert Gordis,³² M. Tsevat,³³ and R.N. Whybray³⁴ have seen in the book of Job a revolutionary document written by an unconventional Israelite, who challenged the orthodox point of view set forth, as it were, by the three above-quoted passages from the books of Psalms, Jeremiah and Isaiah as well as by the words of Eliphaz, Bildad and Zohar in the book of Job. As we shall see, however, one of the central messages of the book of Job from beginning to end is that Job's point of view, which, in the end, is supported by God in Job 42, is the traditional and authentic Torah of God and Israel, while the rantings of Job's three friends represent human wisdom or Gentile wisdom, which, from a biblical point of view, is inferior to divine wisdom.

Sooner or later enlightened people who wish to understand the book of Job as a work of religious literature and not simply as a corpus of parallelisms, *hapax legomena*, references to Canaanite mythology and what-have-you will accept the arguments of N.H. Tur-Sinai³⁵ and H.L. Ginsberg³⁶ that throughout the book of Job the tragic hero relies on the words of a divine being (that is, angel), who in a nocturnal

30. Cf. *Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985).

31. Driver and Gray, *The Book of Job*, p. lxix.

32. R.M. Gordis, *The Book of God and Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 11, 48-52.

33. M. Tsevat, 'The Meaning of the Book of Job', *HUCA* 37 (1966), pp. 73-106, especially pp. 91-92, 101-102.

34. R.N. Whybray, *Two Jewish Theologians: Job and Ecclesiastes* (Hull: University of Hull, 1980), p. 4; so also S. Spiegel, 'Noah, Daniel and Job', in *Louis Ginsberg Jubilee Volume*, p. 334; contrast, however, M.H. Pope, 'Job, Book of', *IDB*, II, p. 922; contrast also H.H. Rowley, *Job* (Century Bible, NS; London: Nelson, 1970), p. 18.

35. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job: A New Commentary*, pp. 88-92, 248-51, 376-77.

36. H.L. Ginsberg, 'Job the Patient and Job the Impatient', in *Congress Volume: Rome 1968* (VTSup, 17; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969), pp. 88-111, especially pp. 95-107; contrast Y. Hoffman, *Blemished Perfection: The Book of Job in its Context* (Biblical Encyclopedia Library, 12; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1995), p. 245 (in Hebrew).

dream (Job 4.13) revealed to Job the divine wisdom. The three arguments for this understanding of the book of Job are as follows: (a) in Job 6.10 Job says, 'I have not concealed the words of the divine being', which means, 'I have revealed to you the words of the angel';³⁷ (b) in Job 5.1 Eliphaz makes fun of Job's reliance upon the words of a divine being when Eliphaz says, 'Just call—see if anyone answers you! To whom of the "holy beings" can you turn?';³⁸ and (c) in Job 15 Eliphaz again makes fun of Job's reliance upon the words of a divine being in the dream vision in which it was revealed to Job: 'How can a mortal be judged righteous, a spawn of woman accounted just? If he disapproves of his sacred abode, if the very skies are not pure in his sight, how much less a thing loathed and detested, man who drinks godlessness like water' (Job 15.14-16; cf. Job 4.8; 25.4-6).

Interestingly, the words construed by Tur-Sinai and Ginsberg as a defense of Job against the charge that he brought upon himself his suffering, are the words invoked by Jews throughout the world on the Jewish New Year and Day of Atonement in the medieval hymn *Unetaneh Toqeph*, in which, anticipating Tur-Sinai's and Ginsberg's exegesis of Job, the payyetan³⁹ suggests that precisely because neither angels nor humans are capable of unblemished virtue, it is incumbent upon God to deal kindly with them:

The great shofar is wounded; a gentle whisper is heard; the angels, quaking with fear, declare: 'The day of judgment is here to bring the hosts of heaven to justice! Indeed, even they are not guiltless in thy sight.'⁴⁰ All mankind passes before thee like a flock of sheep.'⁴¹

Like Job himself in Tur-Sinai's and Ginsberg's exegesis of the book of Job, the Jews invoke the angels to suggest that while they, like the angels, are not free of sin, they certainly do not deserve to suffer for they, like Job, have behaved as reasonably well as God has a right to expect.

Assuming for the sake of argument that the author of the medieval

37. Ginsberg, 'Job the Patient', p. 99.

38. Ginsberg, 'Job the Patient', p. 99.

39. For a survey and evaluation of the various views concerning the authorship and provenance of this liturgical poem see M. Arzt, *Justice and Mercy* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1963), pp. 167-68.

40. This clause is based upon Job 15.15, which is quoted below.

41. P. Birnbaum (trans.), *High Holyday Prayer Book* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1951), p. 361.

hymn *Unetaneh Toqeph* and Tur-Sinai and Ginsberg have rightly exegeted the dream vision as a defense of Job rather than an attempt to suggest, God forbid, that he in his guilt brought deserved suffering upon himself and his children, let us go one step further and see the full implications of the book of Job's portrayal of Job as a person who relies upon divine wisdom and of the friends as persons who rely upon human wisdom which is acquired from experts or personal experience.⁴²

It goes without saying that Job belongs to biblical wisdom literature.⁴³ Y. Kaufmann argued that biblical wisdom literature—Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes—represents a teaching which is for all humankind without any Israelite national background.⁴⁴ Even stronger are the words of Michael Fox in his seminal study, 'The Conception of Divinity in Didactic Wisdom Literature': 'Essentially one should view Israelite wisdom as one branch of a single international literature, whose main exemplar is [ancient] Egyptian wisdom literature'.⁴⁵

It should be observed, however, that Fox immediately admits that there are two main differences between biblical wisdom and the Egyptian literature of instruction (*sboyet*). These are that (a) the special emphasis on the opposites—wicked and righteous, fool and wise—is unique to Israelite wisdom; (b) only in Israelite wisdom is there a discussion concerning the concept of wisdom.⁴⁶ Moreover, he admits that the fundamental concept in Egyptian instruction literature (*sboyet*), which is *ma'at*, is not to be identified with 'wisdom' in biblical wisdom literature.⁴⁷

42. See Ginsberg, 'Job the Patient', pp. 95-98.

43. See the entries on 'wisdom, wisdom literature', in the various biblical dictionaries; see also R.N. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament* (BZAW, 135; Berlin: W. deGruyter, 1974), p. 70; contrast E.M. Good, *In Turns of Tempest: A Reading of Job* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 10-11.

44. Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (abridged and trans. M. Greenberg; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 323.

45. M. Fox, 'The Conception of Divinity in Didactic Wisdom Literature', *Beer Sheva* 1 (1973), p. 162 (in Hebrew); see also N. Shupak, *Where can Wisdom be Found? The Sage's Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature* (OBO, 130; Fribourg, Switzerland: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), especially, pp. 337-54.

46. Fox, 'The Conception of Divinity', p. 162.

47. Fox, 'The Conception of Divinity', p. 163; Cf. Shupak, *Where can Wisdom be Found?*, pp. 342-48.

R.B.Y. Scott went so far as to claim that Hebrew Scripture itself admits that the background of biblical wisdom is international and that the truth of this assertion is obvious in light of the growing body of knowledge concerning the literatures of the peoples of the ancient Near East.⁴⁸ Scott attempts to prove the truth of this assertion on the basis of such biblical passages as 1 Kgs 5.10-11; Gen. 41.8; Isa. 19.11-12; Jer. 49.7; Obad. 1.8; Ezek. 27.8-9; 28.3-5; Est. 1.3; Dan. 1.20.

W.G. Lambert in his introduction to his *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* pointed out, however, that the Babylonian and Assyrian concept *nēmequ* is completely different from the Hebrew concept of wisdom (*hokmah*), for *nēmequ* generally refers to skill in magic or cult, while Hebrew *hokmah* refers primarily to the skill of cultivating moral behavior.⁴⁹ Moreover, Lambert points out that the Babylonians had no concept of wisdom literature. Rather, Lambert admits, he put together between the covers of his *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* a collection of writings which deal with subjects similar to those dealt with in biblical wisdom literature.⁵⁰ In other words, the claim that biblical wisdom literature is part of an international literature is false. Moreover, Scott's claim that the Hebrew Bible acknowledges that the background of Israelite wisdom is international is the opposite of what, rightly or wrongly, the Hebrew Bible states and restates.

What can be said is that in the three ancient cultures of Egypt, Israel and Mesopotamia as in many, many other places the literatures reflect the universal problem, which bothered the author of the book of Job, namely, the problem of the innocent sufferer. This problem is, of course, reflected in the popular proverb found in the book of Jeremiah and in the book of Ezekiel: 'The parents⁵¹ ate sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge'. It is clear from Ezek. 18.2 that the background for this utterance is the sense that the impending disaster of the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of the Judeans is a punishment, which Ezekiel's generation does not deserve. Ezekiel's contemporaries

48. R.B.Y. Scott, 'Wisdom Literature', *EncJud*, XVI, p. 588.

49. W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 1.

50. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*.

51. Heb. 'ābôt; see the discussion in M.I. Gruber, 'Women in the Cult according to the Priestly Code', in J. Neusner, B.A. Levine and E.S. Frerichs (eds.), *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), p. 46 n. 36; this study has been republished in Gruber, *The Motherhood of God and Other Studies*.

utter the proverb because they sincerely believe that they are being made to suffer because of the apostasy of the Judeans during the reigns of Manasseh and Amon. It is well known that Ezekiel fought against this point of view. According to Ezekiel, the Judeans of his time are about to be punished not for the evils of a previous generation but because of their own shortcomings.⁵²

Ezekiel's contemporary, Jeremiah, on the other hand, claims as follows in Jer. 31.29:

In the future⁵³ people will no longer say, 'Parents ate sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge'; rather each one will die in retribution for his own sin; as for the person who eats sour grapes, his teeth will be set on edge.

Jeremiah here indicates that in the pre-eschatological world in which we live people do suffer undeservedly while persons who deserve to suffer are not always punished. In the future, however, says Jeremiah, there will be justice, which is to say that the virtuous will be rewarded while the wicked will receive the punishment due them.

It is amazing to note that each and every one of the biblical texts cited by Scott in support of his claim that biblical wisdom is and sees itself as part of an international wisdom proves in fact one essential thesis common to Pentateuchal narrative, prophecy, wisdom and apocalypse: the wisdom of the Gentiles is human and inferior while Israelite wisdom is divine and superior.

For example, Gen. 41.8 reports as follows:

In the morning, he [Pharaoh] was upset, and he summoned all the magicians of Egypt and all her wise people; and Pharaoh told them his dreams, but none could interpret them for Pharaoh.

When, on the assumption that Joseph is more competent as an interpreter of dreams than the Egyptian sages, Pharaoh asks Joseph to interpret the Pharaonic reveries, Joseph himself emphasizes, 'Not I! God will see to Pharaoh's welfare' (Gen. 41.14). Ultimately, Pharaoh himself is portrayed by the Pentateuchal narrative as concurring in the judgment that it is the divine source of Joseph's sagacity that puts him in a class apart from the Egyptian sages: 'Since God has made all this

52. See Ezek. 14.12-20; 18; 33.12-20.

53. Heb. *bayyāmīm hāhēm*, lit., 'at that time', a functional equivalent of *b"ah"rīt hayyāmīm*.

known to you, there is none so discerning and wise as you' (Gen. 41.39).

The clear implication of this narrative is that divine wisdom is superior to the most highly developed human wisdom, and it enables the miserable Hebrew slave to succeed in matters in which the most highly trained and experienced professionals fail. The same idea recurs in each and every instance in the Hebrew Bible where an Israelite sage is compared to a Gentile sage. In 1 Kgs 5.9-14 it is asserted that the wisdom of Solomon is a heavenly gift. Consequently, Solomonic wisdom is superior even to that of the sages of Egypt and the Kedemites.⁵⁴

The contrast between superior divine wisdom and inferior human wisdom derived from education or experience is found not only in biblical texts which compare unfavorably the experts employed by the Babylonian and Egyptian imperial administration to the leaders of the lowly Israelites/Jews, but also in biblical texts, which compare unfavorably Israelites/Jews who rely upon education and experience to those Israelites/Jews whose wisdom is the product of a direct line to God. Typical of this latter phenomenon are Isa. 5.21; 10.13; 31.1-3. Especially noteworthy is Isa. 29.13-14 where we read as follows:

My Lord said:

'Because that people has approached [Me] with its mouth
And honored Me with its lips,
But has kept its heart far from Me,
And its worship of Me has been
A commandment of humans, learned by rote—
Truly, I shall further baffle that people
With bafflement upon bafflement;
And the wisdom of its wise shall fail,
And the prudence of its prudent shall vanish.'

Further examples of the contrast between human wisdom and divine wisdom are found in Jer. 4.22; 8.8-9 while the most famous example of this contrast is, perhaps, Jer. 9.22-23:

Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom...
But only in this should one glory:
In his earnest devotion to Me.

As Whybray points out,⁵⁵ Deut. 4.6 and Deuteronomy 32 both assert

54. On the Kedemites and their reputed wisdom in biblical sources see H.L. Ginsberg, 'Kedemites', *EncJud*, X, p. 865.

55. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament*, pp. 87-88.

that the true wisdom is the LORD's instruction, compared to which Gentile wisdom is inferior. Hence, it is possible to declare unequivocally that the books of Genesis and Deuteronomy and the book of Kings and the three prophetic books of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel all reflect a negative evaluation of wisdom which is knowledge based upon experience and the teaching of experts. It is difficult, therefore, to accept the widely held view that the views of Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, which are grounded in personal experience and 'a commandment of men learned by rote' (Isa. 29.13), represent the authoritative orthodox Judaism of any period in the history of Israel/Judaism. Job himself asks a long and involved and highly embroidered rhetorical question in Job 28. The sum and substance of this question is found in Job 28.12, 'Now as for wisdom, where may it be found // and where is the location of sagacity?' Ultimately, Job answers his own question in Job 28.23-28:

God understands the way to it;
He knows its source . . .
And he said to humankind:
'Look! Devotion to the Lord⁵⁶ is wisdom
while ethical behavior⁵⁷ is sagacity.'

Of course, this utterance brings us back to Job 1-2 in which it is asserted three times that Job is 'devoted to the Lord and ethical in behavior', which is to say a person in whose life true wisdom is concretized. The selfsame idea, namely, that true wisdom is the divine wisdom, is reflected in the Pentateuch, the early and later Prophets and in Esther and Daniel. It is reflected also in the biblical book of Proverbs from beginning to end:

Do not be wise in your own eyes; obey the LORD and behave ethically
(Prov. 3.7).
The beginning of wisdom is obedience to the LORD (Prov. 9.10).
There is neither wisdom nor sagacity nor counsel that can prevail against
the LORD (Prov. 21.30).⁵⁸

56. Heb. *yir'at 'a*donay, traditionally, 'fear of the Lord'; see M.I. Gruber, 'Fear, Anxiety, and Reverence in Akkadian, Biblical Hebrew and Other Semitic Languages', VT 40 (1990), pp. 411-22; this study has been republished in Gruber, *The Motherhood of God and Other Studies*; see also the discussion of this term in Gordis, *The Book of Job*, pp. 538-39.

57. Heb. *sār mēra'*, lit., 'eschewing evil'; see Gordis, *The Book of Job*, p. 539.

58. Shupak (*Where can Wisdom be Found?*, p. 347) holds that both biblical and

Here in the book of Proverbs we find that very same message that we met in Isaiah, Jeremiah and which is alluded to also in Ezek. 27.8-9, namely, that divine wisdom is supreme while human wisdom is worthless. It is contrary to this idea found throughout the Hebrew Bible that Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar rely upon human wisdom derived from experience and education. Eliphaz, for example, states in Job 5.27: 'Look; we have investigated this; it is so; listen to this, and know for yourself'. Likewise, in Job 8.8-10 Bildad declares,

Ask an earlier generation, and give heed to the insight of their parents—for we ourselves are mere yesterday, and we know nothing. In fact, our days on earth are a shadow. Surely, they will teach you and guide you,⁵⁹ and they will produce words from their respective throats.⁶⁰

Eliphaz speaks similarly in Job 15.17-19 while in 20.2-3 Zophar asserts, 'It is a spirit born of my intellect that makes me reply [to you]'. Accordingly, it should be understood that when Job attacks his friends' reliance upon human sagacity in Job. 12.2-3, 11-14; 13.1-13 he is not attacking an orthodox belief that claims that whoever suffers deserves to suffer and that whoever enjoys bodily health and material success is certainly virtuous and deserving. After all, if Job actually carried on a symposium with intelligent people, certainly they knew what can be learned from the story of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4.1-16), namely, the simple truth of which Jeremiah the Prophet spoke when he asserted, 'The way of the wicked prospers...the workers of treachery are at ease' (Jer. 12.1).

The problem is that most people, even professors of theology and clergy and helping professionals, often forget the fact that the latter assertion of Jeremiah summarizes a great deal of everyday human experience. As Koheleth says, 'The sagacity of a victim of misfortune

Egyptian wisdom 'at first...focused on the human individual and his daily affairs and only later became theological and identifiable with "the fear of God"'. See, however, Shupak, *Where can Wisdom be Found?*, p. 419 n. 29, and contrast M.V. Fox, 'Aspects of the Religion of the Book of Proverbs', *HUCA* 39 (1968), pp. 55-69 and D.F. Morgan, *Wisdom in the Old Testament Traditions* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), pp. 60, 144-45, 152.

59. Heb. *yôrukā yô'm'rû lāk*. These two synonyms for 'instruct, render judicial decision' are juxtaposed also in Deut. 17.11.

60. Concerning *lēb* in the meaning 'throat' see Ginsberg, 'Job the Patient', p. 97; *idem*, 'Lexicographical Notes', in *Hebräische Wortforschung* (VTSup, 16; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), p. 80.

is held in contempt' (Eccl. 9.15). It is commonplace to say of people who lost their wealth through the failure of a bank or a stock market crash, of people who lost their job, of people recently divorced from their spouses or even of people suffering from a malignant disease that they brought it upon themselves: they must have mismanaged their money; they must have performed poorly on the job; they must have smoked, not eaten properly, and/or failed to seek psychiatric help for an emotional problem, which caused their immune system to shut down.⁶¹

Now comes the book of Job and teaches us that all of these typical reactions, by which people marginalize the victim and thereby fend off the horrible truth that disaster can strike anyone at any time and without warning, are not only wrong and inconsiderate responses but something much worse. The book of Job asserts that such typical responses to disaster represent the pseudo-wisdom of the idolatrous counselors of Nebuchadnezzar as against the divine wisdom bestowed upon Daniel or that of the idolatrous magicians at the court of Pharaoh as against the

61. On the tendency to blame victims of rape for what has befallen them see passim in S. Brownmiller, *Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975); for the similar tendency to blame the victims of the Nazi holocaust, childhood sexual abuse and almost every other form of violence see J. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence; from Domestic Abuse to Political Terror* (New York: Basic Books, 1992). I can now no longer count the number of highly educated persons—most of whom never met my late wife Judith—who upon being told that she died of an extremely rare form of pancreatic cancer immediately responded with, 'It must have been brought on by her failure to seek psychiatric help for a deep-seated emotional problem'. See next note. It is beyond human capacity to know the precise reasons why some smokers, overeaters, and so on, seem to pay for their vices and other do not. It is both wrong-headed and rude to blame victims for their suffering. This is not to say that one should not discourage smoking or that one should not encourage good nutrition. Often, good health habits result in good health. Similarly, biblical texts such as Ps. 37.38-39; Jer. 17.7-8; and Isa. 58.7-8, all quoted above, contend that virtuous behavior also has its material rewards. The difference between these exhortations to virtuous behavior and the similar implications of some of Job's friends' utterances is the context. It is simply rude and insensitive to talk about the latest findings concerning the ill effects of smoking in the house of mourning for a person who has just expired from lung cancer. Job's friends' speculations as to the cause of their friend's ill fortune are even worse. Their behavior is quite commonplace in every generation, but it does not constitute any sort of orthodox religion. Precisely because such behavior is so ubiquitous Holy Scripture seems to have seen fit to devote one of the largest books of the Bible to such behavior and what the victim and even God, as it were, have to say about it.

divine wisdom bestowed upon Joseph. The book of Job asserts that the conventional wisdom, which blames all victims—be they the battered women in Jerusalem in the 1990s or the battered Jewish nation in Nazi-occupied Europe and North Africa during the Second World War—is the pseudo-wisdom typical of Egypt and the Kedemites as against the divine wisdom reflected in the judicial decisions of King Solomon and in the oracles of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

The divinely inspired sage who composed the book of Job succeeded, *inter alia*, in demonstrating two important truths. First, a person who denies the twin ubiquitous realities of undeserved suffering and undeserved prosperity may well be perceived not only as sagacious but also as an orthodox Jew; such a person, although portrayed in the book of Job as a Kedemite—a member of the people whose wisdom was inferior to the divine wisdom of Solomon—may well be an observant Jew, a highly educated man or woman and possessed of unusual powers of verbal self-expression. Secondly, even though such people may be talented and even though their verbal argumentation may sound convincing, they must be put in their place; they must be told straightforwardly that their views, which are based upon personal experience and the teachings of learned individuals of former generations, are contrary to the views of Torah.

In fact, the inspired author of the book of Job already made this last point clear in Job. 1.3, 'That man [Job] was greater than all the Kedemites', an utterance which, of course, should remind Bible readers of 1 Kgs 5.9-10: 'God gave Solomon wisdom and discernment in great measure, with understanding as great as the number of grains of sand on the seashore. Solomon's wisdom was greater than the wisdom of all the Kedemites and than all the wisdom of the Egyptians.' It is possible that when one begins reading the book of Job for the first time or even for the thousandth time one is like a person who reads the story of the binding of Isaac as though it were a detective story. Readers must put out of their minds the happy ending and wait to find out whether or not Isaac will be slaughtered or replaced at the last minute by a pre-ordered ram. It is possible, indeed, that when one begins reading or rereading the book of Job one does not know in respect of what Job is said to be greater than all the Kedemites. Since, however, the Kedemites are known for their wisdom, God's vindication of Job's God-given wisdom at the expense of the supposed sagacity of his Kedemite friends is a less than subtle reiteration of an idea played out throughout the symposium

in Job 4-31, namely, that Job's assertion that people do suffer undeservedly and deserve empathy is part of the divine wisdom to be contrasted with the typically Kedeinite human wisdom which blames the victim and seeks to overcome the latter's suffering by offering a course in self-improvement.⁶²

62. The veritable guru of latter-day spiritual descendants of Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar is a surgeon named B.S. Siegel. See his *Love, Medicine and Miracles* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986) and *Peace, Love and Healing* (New York: Random House, 1990), both of which were sent to my late wife for deathbed reading. I attempt to deal empathetically with both Eliphaz and co. and their latter-day spiritual descendants in my forthcoming article, 'Three Failed Dialogues from the Biblical World'.

IS THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH A TRANSLATION FROM ARAMAIC?

David Marcus

The suggestion that parts of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah were translations from Aramaic was made some twenty years ago by Frank Zimmermann,¹ but did not gain much acceptance.² In my work as editor of Ezra–Nehemiah for the new *Biblica Hebraica Quinta* project,³ I have had occasion to examine Zimmermann's thesis from a closer perspective, and I believe that his thesis may have more credibility than has previously been thought. I will offer supporting evidence for Zimmermann's thesis from external considerations, from internal examination of the language of the book and from the *Peshitta*.

As far as external considerations are concerned there are three factors which support the thesis that the book of Nehemiah might have been originally written in Aramaic. First, it is widely believed that the Jews who returned from Babylonia during the Persian period spoke Aramaic, and, according to Naveh and Greenfield, the fact that it was necessary to translate the law into Aramaic 'bears witness to the widespread use of Aramaic among the Jews of Jerusalem during this period'.⁴ Secondly, there is the fact that parts of the book of Ezra are actually extant in Aramaic. If parts of the book were written in Aramaic, then there may have been a time when other parts were also written in Aramaic, but were later translated. The non-translated Aramaic parts were left to

1. *Biblical Books Translated from the Aramaic* (New York: Ktav, 1975), pp. 141–65.

2. See especially the reviews of D.J. Harrington in *CBQ* 37 (1975), pp. 439–40; of B.B. Levy in *JBL* 95 (1976), pp. 478–79; and of S.P. Brock in *JSS* 22 (1977), pp. 97–98.

3. Sponsored by the German Bible Society, Stuttgart.

4. J. Naveh and J.C. Greenfield, 'Hebrew and Aramaic in the Persian Period', in W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (eds.), *The Persian Period* (Cambridge History of Judaism, 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 119.

illustrate the authenticity of the official correspondence of the Persian empire, which used Aramaic as its *lingua franca*.⁵ Since, in antiquity, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah were considered as one book,⁶ it is reasonable to assume that the second part of the book, known to us as the book of Nehemiah, was, like the book of Ezra, also originally written in Aramaic. The third supporting factor that the books were originally written in Aramaic is the fact that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah do not have a *Targum*. A possible reason for this is that if the books were written in Aramaic there would have been no need for an Aramaic translation. It should be noted that another biblical book which does not have a *Targum* is the book of Daniel and it, too, is the only other biblical book which contains a substantial amount of Aramaic, and whose Hebrew sections have also been considered by many scholars to have been a translation from an original Aramaic.

Because of the relative lateness of the book of Nehemiah, it is to be expected that the book will contain a large proportion of features which are usually classified as late biblical Hebrew. So, for example, there are syntactic features such the use of the *waw*-consecutive with the cohortative. Thus we find forms such as *וַאֲתֵאבְלָה* 'I mourned' (1.4) for standard biblical *וַאֲתֵאבַל*; *וַאֲתַנֵּה* 'I gave' (2.2), for *וַאֲתַן*; *וַאֲצֵאתָה* 'I went out' (2.13) for *וַאֲצֵאתָ*; and *וַאֲשַׁלְחָה* 'I sent' (6.3) for *וַאֲשַׁלַּח*. Or we find an increased use of *היה* with the participle as, for example, in phrases like *וַאֲהִי צָם וּמִתְפַּלֵּל* 'I fasted and prayed' (1.4), *וַאֲהִי עֹלָה* 'I went up' (2.15); *הָיוּ אָמְרִים* 'they said' (6.19) and *הָיוּ מוֹצִיִּים* 'they brought out' (6.19). There are also other special phrases characteristic of the later language such as *חָנֵן וְרַחֲמִים* (9.17, 31) for the earlier *וְרַחֲמֵי*,⁷ use of the verbal form *וַחִיָּה* (9.29) for *וַחִי*, and so on.⁸ Then there are loan words from

5. See now D.C. Snell, 'Why is there Aramaic in the Bible?', *JSOT* 18 (1980), pp. 32-51.

6. The first evidence of separation is in the time of Origen (third century CE), and Jerome (fourth century CE). The *Masorah* refers only to one book (central point at Neh. 3.32; fifth *sefer* at 1.11, and so on); the LXX uses only one name for both (2 Esdras), and the books were not separated in Hebrew MSS till the fifteenth century CE.

7. A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and its Implications for the Dating of Psalms* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972), pp. 104-105 (in Hebrew).

8. A. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem* (Cahiers de la Revue biblique, 20; Paris: Gabalda, 1982), pp. 46-47. G.A. Rendsburg ('The

Akkadian such as מַה־לְכַךְ 'your journey' (2.6) from *mā laku*; אִגְרָה 'letter' (2.8) from *egirtu*; פֶּרֶדֶס 'garden' (2.8) from *pardēsu* (Old Persian *pairīdāeza*); בִּירָה 'fortress' (2.8) from *birtu*, and many others.⁹

In addition to these late biblical Hebrew features, there are many constructions which are demonstrably Aramaic and are often called calques. Calques are Hebrew forms which occur in a manner expected of Aramaic morphology and syntax, but not that of biblical Hebrew. For example, the phrase, 'Long live the king' is normally expressed in Hebrew as יַחֲיֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ.¹⁰ For example, Bathsheba greets the aging King David with יַחֲיֵי אֲדֹנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד לְעֹלָם (1 Kgs 1.31). In Aramaic, however, the phrase is customarily rendered מַלְכָּא לְעֻלְמִין חַי, which is how the Chaldeans salute King Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 2.4; 3.9). In our text, Nehemiah greets the Persian king Artaxerxes with the words הַמֶּלֶךְ יַחֲיֵה לְעֹלָם (2.3), an almost literal translation of the Aramaic phrase מַלְכָּא לְעֻלְמִין חַי. The phrase הַמֶּלֶךְ יַחֲיֵה לְעֹלָם is therefore an Aramaic calque, a Hebrew phrase reflecting Aramaic syntax. It is not surprising then that the *Peshitta*, our only extant Aramaic version of the book of Nehemiah, reads here מַלְכָּא לְעֹלָם חַי, an identical match to our posited original Aramaic.

Another example of an underlying Aramaic construction is in the phrase 'when Sanballat heard', a phrase which occurs a number of times in the book, usually as כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמַע סַנְבַּלַּט (3.33; 4.1). Once, however, the phrase appears as כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁמַע לְסַנְבַּלַּט (6.1). This phrase represents an Aramaic calque because such a temporal clause would normally be expressed in Aramaic by means of a passive such as שְׁמִיעַ or אִשְׁתַּמַּע with the preposition לְ.¹¹ So כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁמַע לְסַנְבַּלַּט is an Aramaic

Northern Origin of Nehemiah 9', *Bib* 72 [1991], p. 363) lists three more elements of late biblical Hebrew found in ch. 9, the use of the phrase עַד הָעוֹלָם 'forever' with the article; a radically reduced use of אֵת with pronominal suffix; and a preference for plural forms of words (e.g., עֲרִים) which earlier had been used in the singular. For other characteristic features of late biblical Hebrew, see Naveh and Greenfield, 'Hebrew and Aramaic in the Persian Period', p. 120; Hurvitz, *The Transition Period*, *passim*.

9. For example, פֶּחִיָּה 'official' (2.7), Akkadian *bēl pīḫati*; פֶּלֶךְ 'district' (3.9), Akkadian *pilku*; מַדָּה 'tribute' (3.30), Akkadian *madattu*; and רִמְלָךְ (5.7), Akkadian *malāku*, 'to take counsel'.

10. 1 Sam. 10.24; 2 Sam. 16.16; 1 Kgs 1.25, 34, 39; 2 Kgs 11.12; 2 Chron. 23.11.

11. The Aramaic idiom לְ שְׁמִיעַ is itself an old Persian calque; see E.Y. Kutscher, 'Two "Passive" Constructions in Aramaic in the Light of Persian', in

calque, a literal translation of כד שמייע לסנבלט or of the way the *Peshitta* actually renders this phrase, כד אשתמע מלחא לסמבליש.

A third example of Aramaic influence is in the curious phrase ואתה הוה להם למלך (6.6). Nehemiah is accused by Sanballat of wanting to be king over Judea. Contextually, the phrase ואתה הוה להם למלך means 'and you are to be their king', or 'you will be their king'. But the phrase הוה להם reflects an Aramaic locution הוה להם where the form הוה has a future meaning 'you will be for them'.¹² In fact, this is precisely how the *Peshitta* renders this phrase. Its reading of ואת הוה להם מלכא 'and you will be their king' represents another example where the *Peshitta*, as the only extant Aramaic translation, preserves what is most likely to have been the original sense of the text.

A fourth example of this type is the idiom 'to marry', which is usually expressed in Hebrew as נשא אשה or לקח אשה. In ch. 13, the phrase is found once as להשיב נשים (v. 23), and once as להשיב נשים (v. 27).¹³ As suggested by Zimmermann,¹⁴ these expressions seem to be reflecting underlying Aramaic forms of איתבו נשא and למותבו נשא, and once again these are the very same forms which occur in the *Peshitta*.

Sometimes, the Aramaic form is left without being translated. For example, the form וישללנו 'he roofed it' in 3.15 comes from שלל 'to shade', 'to cover', a root which is only found in Aramaic. The equivalent Hebrew root is צלל,¹⁵ a denominative from צל 'shade', and the expected form ought to be ויצללהו. The use of וישללנו is a blatant Aramaism and it is therefore only to be expected that the *Peshitta* version would also use this root in its rendering (albeit in the plural) ושללוהו 'they roofed it'.

These Aramaic calques have an important bearing on the question of the original *Vorlage* of Nehemiah. Their presence leads to two possible conclusions. One is that the parts containing the calques were originally written in Aramaic and subsequently translated and that the translator

Z. Ben-Hayyim, A. Dotan and G. Sarfatti (eds.), *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977), pp. 72-86. G.R. Driver (*Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century BC*. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, rev. edn, 1965], p. 100) suggested that this Nehemiah reference may have resulted from the fact that 'the author may have learned it at the Persian court'.

12. The form הוה occurs once more in Qoh. 2.22.

13. Also in Ezra 10.2, 10, 14, 17, 18.

14. *Biblical Books*, p. 149.

15. See HALAT 3.962b. Its Akkadian cognate is *šullulu*, see AHw 1110b.

interspersed his more familiar native Aramaic constructions into his translation. The other conclusion is that these parts were written by a bilingual writer for whom Aramaic was the normal means of written communication.¹⁶ Support for the first possibility comes from what, at first glance, looks like an unlikely source, bad or mistranslations. These are cases where a Hebrew translator has misunderstood the intent of the author's written Aramaic, and the translation cannot be attributed to a bilingual author. The error cannot have originated from the pen of the author because the resulting Hebrew does not make sense; it can only be the result of a translator who misunderstood the intention of the author. Mistranslation was the very indicator which Zimmermann and H.L. Ginsberg utilized to demonstrate that two other books of the Bible, namely Daniel¹⁷ and Qohelet,¹⁸ were also translations from Aramaic. I shall show that the indicator of mistranslation is not merely a hypothesis in the mind of imaginative scholars, but that the original form behind the mistranslation can in all cases be recovered because it has been preserved in the *Peshitta* translation, the only extant Aramaic version of our book.

Some examples of mistranslations are well known. One of the most prevalent is the one which occurs when the Aramaic masculine singular emphatic is confused with the Aramaic feminine singular absolute, both of which have the same paradigm form טבא 'the good one'. Thus Ginsberg explained the name of the book of קהלת by suggesting that קהלה, an obvious feminine form, was a misunderstanding of an underlying Aramaic masculine emphatic form קהלא meaning 'the convener'. The translator mistook קהלא as a feminine absolute. He should properly have translated the word into Hebrew using a masculine form and a *Hiphil* conjugation (as המקהיל), but he used the same gender and the same conjugation as the Aramaic and instead rendered קהלה.

Zimmermann pointed to an example of this type of mistranslation in

16. Naveh and Greenfield, 'Hebrew and Aramaic in the Persian Period', p. 121.

17. See H.L. Ginsberg, 'In Re My Studies in Daniel', *JBL* 68 (1949), pp. 405-406.

18. See F. Zimmermann, 'The Question of Hebrew in Qohelet', *JQR* 40 (1949), pp. 79-102, and H.L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Koheleth* (Text and Studies, 17; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950), pp. 16-39, and the rejoinder of R. Gordis, 'Koheleth—Hebrew or Aramaic?', *JBL* 71 (1952), pp. 93-109. A brief summary of the debate may be found in C.F. Whitley, *Koheleth: His Language and Thought* (BZAW, 148; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1979), pp. 106-10.

the book of Nehemiah (6.14) in the epithet of the prophet Noadiah, who is termed *הַנְּבִיאָה*.¹⁹ But was Noadiah a man or a woman? There is a Levite called Noadiah in Ezra 8.33 who is 'a son of Binnui', so he obviously must be a male. It is, of course, possible that this Noadiah may not be the same person as the Noadiah in our passage. Nevertheless, all the ancient witnesses to our text understand the prophet as being a male. Thus, it appears that the translator misunderstood the Aramaic emphatic ending on the form *נְבִיאָה* and translated it as a feminine absolute *הַנְּבִיאָה* instead of the correct masculine *הַנְּבִיאָ*. Additional support for our contention is to be found in the *Peshitta* version, since it too regards our prophet (called *יִדְעִיָּה* 'Yodaiah') as a man and reads *נְבִיאָ* 'the prophet'.

Two representative examples of mistranslation are to be found in the taunts of Sanballat which occur in 3.34. In this verse Sanballat mocks the Jews for undertaking the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem, and sarcastically asks if they can really do the job by themselves in such a short time. Sanballat asks, 'What are the miserable Jews doing?' Then there follows a number of rhetorical questions of the type 'do they expect to finish in a day?', 'can they really raise up these stones from the dust heaps?' The Hebrew of these rhetorical questions is quite problematic. The first sarcastic question which reads *הֲיָעֹבְדוּ לָהֶם* is difficult to translate because none of the attested meanings of the root *עֹזֵב* seems to fit the context.²⁰ The difficulty may be appreciated by comparing a few recent translations. The Tanakh and the NRSV render, 'Will they restore (things)?'; the Old Testament Library offers, 'Are they going to leave it all to God?';²¹ and the Word Biblical Commentary translates: 'Will they commit their cause to God?'.²² Ehrlich²³ followed by Zimmermann²⁴ suggested that the verb *עֹזֵב* here is a mistranslation of an original Aramaic *שִׁבַּק*. For *שִׁבַּק* has two basic meanings, one of which, like *עֹזֵב*, is 'to leave', and the other is 'to permit'. The translator,

19. Zimmermann, *Biblical Books*, pp. 142-43.

20. See the detailed discussion in H.G.M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (WBC, 16; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985), pp. 213-14.

21. J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), p. 242.

22. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 213.

23. A.B. Ehrlich, *Mikrā ki-Pheschutō* (3 vols.; Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1899-1901), II, p. 419.

24. Zimmermann, *Biblical Books*, pp. 152-53.

by rendering הֵעִזְבוּ, chose the meaning 'to leave' but this does not make much sense in context. He ought to have chosen the meaning 'to permit' and rendered the Hebrew with נִיחָו, the imperfect of the verb נִחָה, which elsewhere is used to indicate the meaning 'to permit'.²⁵ The rendering then would be 'Will they permit them (to sacrifice)', or 'Will they be allowed (to sacrifice)', an allusion to the requirement mentioned in Ezra 6.9 and in the Elephantine Papyri of residents under Persian rule having to obtain royal permission before sacrificing.²⁶ It is instructive that the *Peshitta* version has retained this original sense: it reads שְׁבוּקִי לָהֶן, using שָׁבַק in the meaning 'to allow'! The sense of the *Peshitta* rendering 'will they permit them to sacrifice' is precisely what is required by the context.

The second rhetorical phrase, הֵיחֲיוּ אֲתֵּיהֶם אֲבָנִים, is usually translated as, 'Can they revive these stones (out of the dust heaps)?' and, since inanimate stones cannot be revived, is given a metaphorical interpretation by most commentators.²⁷ However, what the context requires is another rhetorical phrase like 'Can they raise up these stones (out of the dust heaps)?' To explain how 'will they revive' came into being, instead of an expected 'will they raise up', Zimmermann suggested that what we have here is a further mistranslation from the Aramaic.²⁸ The original Aramaic read קִימוֹן 'they will raise up', an *aphel* form of the verb קָם. In Aramaic, however, the *pael* conjugation of this verb means 'to revive'. The translator chose the wrong conjugation. Instead of rendering קִימוֹן as an *aphel* 'to raise up' which would be קִימוֹ in Hebrew, he took it as a *pael* 'to revive', and translated יָחִיו. This suggestion of mistranslation is corroborated by the *Peshitta* version which has

25. Judg. 16.26; Ps. 105.14; 1 Chron. 16.21, see BDB, 629a. J.C. Greenfield ('Aramaic Studies and the Bible', in J.A. Emerton [ed.], *Congress Volume*, Vienna, 1980 [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981], p. 129) pointed to a similar phenomenon in the speech of Laban in Gen. 31.28. There the Hebrew verb נָטַשׁ in the phrase וְלֹא נִטַּשְׁתִּי לְנֶשֶׁק לְבָנִי וּלְבָנוֹתַי 'you did not leave me to kiss my children' is similarly thought to be a calque on Aramaic שָׁבַק 'to allow' and the translation should read 'you did not allow me to kiss my children'.

26. Zimmermann, *Biblical Books*, p. 154.

27. Williamson (*Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 214) believes that the word is deliberately being used here sarcastically. The only other example of the *piel* of חָיָה with an inanimate object is in the phrase וַיֹּאבֵד יְחִיָּה אֶת-שְׂאֵר הָעִיר 'and Joab restored the rest of the city' (1 Chron. 11.8). This text is also problematic because elsewhere David is the builder, and Joab in charge of military matters.

28. Zimmermann, *Biblical Books*, p. 153.

retained the correct conjugation, the *aphel* form of קוּם, for it renders כְּנִסְמוּ דְּקִימוּ 'when they raise up these stones'. Once again the sense of the *Peshitta* rendering is precisely what is required by the context.

These three examples of mistranslations are representative of others which can be found throughout the book.²⁹ The fact that in all three cases what I claim to be the original Aramaic is found in the *Peshitta* version is most instructive, for in these cases we can corroborate the original Aramaic from which the translator mistranslated. When these mistranslations are added to the cases of the unmistakable Aramaic constructions I have already discussed, it is abundantly clear not only that parts of the book exhibit a wide range of Aramaic influence, but that it is quite possible that the entire book was originally written in Aramaic and subsequently translated. The person who did the translation from Aramaic to Hebrew was one who interspersed his more familiar native Aramaic constructions into his translation.

To sum up, there does seem to be evidence for Zimmermann's suggestion that the book of Nehemiah was originally translated from Aramaic. The evidence includes external factors, such as the fact that the Jews who returned from Babylonia during the Persian period spoke Aramaic, and that parts of the book of Ezra are actually extant in Aramaic, and that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah do not have a *Targum*. Within the book itself it can be shown that there are many Hebrew constructions which are demonstrably Aramaic. Many Hebrew forms occur in a manner expected of Aramaic morphology and syntax, but not that of biblical Hebrew. A further clue to a possible translation can be seen in the examples of bad or mistranslations. These are cases where a Hebrew translator misunderstood the intent of the author's written Aramaic. Finally, support for the translation theory is to be found in the *Peshitta* version, which preserves in its extant text the original forms from which the mistranslations occurred.

29. In the course of my work on the *Biblica Hebraica Quinta* project, I am currently assembling all the relevant examples.

BUILD-UP AND CLIMAX IN JEREMIAH'S VISIONS AND LAMENTS

Esther H. Roshwalb

Cyrus H. Gordon, a master of *explication de texte*, demonstrated time and again that in an effort to understand the structure and meaning of a written work an explicit analysis of its interrelated details must be considered fully. Accepting the invitation to contribute to this volume in his honor, I thought it most fitting to write on a theme that directly interests the scholar we are honoring—that of Build-Up and Climax (BUC).¹ For it was his suggestive² and now verified³ hypothesis that BUC can provide an alternative solution to the problem of repetition with variants of an episode with one theme in the biblical narrative, and

1. BUC is a literary phenomenon, common in the Old Testament and its contemporaneous literatures, involving a repetition with variants of an entire episode with one theme arranged climactically. Its typical characteristics are: (a) The repeated events require two steps to reach the given event's conclusion. Since the first step, build-up, fulfills only one part of the narrative's expected goal, it anticipates a second step, which is decisive in leading to the narrative climax. (b) The presence of the adverb שנית, 'a second time' (or עוד 'again') in the second episode's introductory statement implies that a previous parallel event had taken place, and demonstrates that the repeated events form a unit. (c) The characters in each repetition of the BUC are identical both characteristically and in number.

2. This pattern was first observed and named by Cyrus H. Gordon as a literary phenomenon required by traditional psychology and style of both Ugaritic and biblical literatures. See his 'Build-Up and Climax', in Y. Avishur and Y. Blau (eds.), *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Festschrift Samuel E. Lowenstamm; Jerusalem: E. Rubenstein's Publishing House, 1978), pp. 29-34.

3. Gordon's theory of BUC is demonstrated via concrete examples in both Ugaritic and biblical literatures and is clearly a major literary device in the construction of biblical narrative. See E.H. Roshwalb, 'Build-Up and Climax in Ugaritic Literature with Biblical Parallels and its Bearing on Biblical Studies' (PhD Dissertation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988). For further details of the function and contribution of BUC in the illumination of obscure biblical passages see pp. 154-65.

that it need not always be the result of an editorial patchwork. It is for his many years of devoted teaching and for being a constant inspiration through his scholarly contributions to the field that I am deeply indebted to him. I therefore dedicate to him with gratitude this study on an excerpt from the book of Jeremiah demonstrating the BUC and its bearing on the unity and meaning of a biblical text.

Jeremiah's visions (1.11-14) and his laments (15.10-21) consist of a repeated dialogue, with variants on the same theme, between God and Jeremiah. Scholars' main problems in each text are twofold: first, the literary unity and historical connection of the repeated dialogue, and, second, the obscurity of some images, such as (1.13) *סִיר נִפְחָה... וּפָנִי* (1.13), *מִצִּיּוֹן חֲפָתָה הָרְעָה* (v. 14), *מִפְנֵי צָפוֹנָה* (v. 14), *בְּרוֹזֹל מִצִּיּוֹן וְנַחֲשָׁה* (15.12).

While scholars rarely dispute the thematic unity of the two visions (1.11-12, 13-14), they widely debate their chronological and literary connection to each other. Scholars are especially troubled by the adverb *שֵׁנִית*, 'a second time', in the third introductory statement (v. 13), although they acknowledge that the occurrence of this adverb indicates that the first and second visions are linked. But they question whether the two visions (vv. 11-12, 13-14) have an original, historical connection or are simply a result of an editorial work in which each vision is an independent literary unit.⁴

The main problem which scholars find in Jeremiah's repeated laments (15.10-14, 15-21), each of which consists of a lament by Jeremiah and an oracle by God, is also the determining of the degree of unity between the first and second dialogue. They claim that a decision about the structure of vv. 10-21 cannot be made with any confidence because of textual uncertainties. Scholars tend to isolate vv. 11-14 as a pocket of textual obscurity and include it with hesitation in view of its unconvincing sense. They regard these verses as a damaged variant of

4. J. Bright, *Jeremiah* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), pp. 3-8; R.P. Carroll, *Jeremiah* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), pp. 89-111; P.C. Craigie, P.H. Kelley, and J.F. Drinkard, Jr, *Jeremiah 1-25* (WBC, 26; Dallas: Word Books, 1991), pp. 1-18; W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah: A Fresh Reading* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1990), pp. 8-24; *idem*, *Jeremiah. I. Ch. 1-25* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), pp. 20-46; W. McKane, *Jeremiah* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), I, pp. 6-25; J.A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), pp. 143-58; A. Malamat, *ירמיהו פרק א' לבעית ההקדשה והמראות הנבואיים* ('Jeremiah Chapter One, On the Question of the Consecration and Prophetic Visions'), *Iunim* 21 (1963), pp. 12-59.

17.1-4 which interrupts the connection between v. 11 and v. 15.⁵ J. Bright, who struggles with v. 12, simply omits the verse from his English translation.⁶ Here, too, scholars treat each lament as an independent literary unit.

Scholars' efforts to explain the meaning of these images—סיר נפוח, מוצפון הפתח הרעה (1.13-14), and ברזל מוצפון ונחשת (15.12)—resulted in a forced interpretation which is both unnecessary and misleading.

While they claim that Jeremiah literally saw an almond branch, מקל שקד, in the first vision (v. 11) and a seething pot, סיר נפוח, in the second (v. 13), they insist on giving each image a different literary interpretation resulting in a thematic confusion, if not contradiction. To the first image, מקל שקד, they provide a literal meaning 'almond rod', claiming that the sound of שקד resounds in the שוקד of God's answer. Thus, they make a transition from שקד (blossoming early, Rashi, Kimhi), to the thought that God's fulfillment of his word is imminent, שוקד (to watch or to hasten). To the second image, סיר נפוח (v. 13) and to God's answer מוצפון תפתח הרעה (v. 14), scholars give a symbolic interpretation, assigning to them the meaning of 'the enemy from the north' (Babylon) which will be God's agent in devastating Judah. Their conventional translation of this verse is: 'I see a boiling pot facing away from the north', contending that the 'north' refers symbolically to no other than 'the foe from the north'; thus, they claim that this interpretation lends the metaphor a concrete historical sense.⁷

5. See, for example, McKane, *Jeremiah*, pp. 344-48.

6. Bright, *Jeremiah*, p. 109.

7. See Carroll, *Jeremiah*, p. 104. Traditional and modern scholars' interpretations of the image סיר נפוח are confusing. First, they present numerous details describing the pot—its face, its fire, the direction it points to and its content. Second, they provide a symbolic meaning of this image comparing it to 'the enemy from the north', since the verse's second half (v. 13b), ופניו מפני צפונה, is translated literally: '...and its face (surface?) is from the face (side, direction) of the north' (Bright, *Jeremiah*, p. 5). It is clear that Bright had great difficulty defining the term פניו. Scholars' struggles to understand this term cause further confusion. Rashi suggests that פניו refers to the scum on the surface of a pot's boiling contents; then the pot is tilted towards the south, so that when the contents boil over, Judah will be scalded. (See also McKane, *Jeremiah*, p. 17). Kimhi maintains that פניו is the side of the pot into which liquid is being poured. However, he claims היה לו לאמר אל פני צפונה ('he should have said "towards" the *šaponah*'), that is, the word אל, 'towards', is missing. But Kimhi, who opposes amending the text, contends that by omitting this expression, the text means to express two ideas: that the face of the

Concerning the image ברזל מצפון ונחשת (15.12), traditional and modern commentators unanimously agree that it is also connected to the north.⁸ They claim, after Rashi, that this iron from the north is known to be the strongest iron, and that a mixture of iron and copper is stronger than iron by itself. The conventional translation of this verse is: 'Can iron crush iron from the north and bronze?'⁹ Here, too, scholars contend that the allusion to the north is connected with the threat posed by the enemy from the north, and that the foe is, no doubt, Babylon.¹⁰

Comparing the סיר נפוח and the ברזל מצפון to 'the enemy from the north' is, I assert, a forced interpretation, since the book omits mention of that foe in its first 19 chapters, as Y. Kaufmann observes.¹¹ In con-

pot is turned towards the north, and that the cook is from a land lying in that direction. Thus, the symbolic image would clearly refer to Babylon, which is to the northeast of Israel. A similar variation of the meaning of פניו is suggested by A.S. Hartom (*Jeremiah* [ed. U.M.D. Cassuto; Tel Aviv: Yavneh Publishing House, 1960], p. 11), while S.D. Luzzato states: 'when God asked Jeremiah what he saw, He did not ask him to which direction it was turning. Jeremiah should not have answered in this manner.' S.D. Luzzato, פרושי שר"ל על נביאים וכתובים (The Commentaries of S.D. Luzzato on Prophets and Writings) (Jerusalem: Makor Publisher, 1969), p. 2. However, in order to eliminate the difficulty of this term, G.R. Driver went further and amended ופניו 'and its face' to ופניו 'and it is turned'. His translation thus reads: 'I see a cauldron blown upon (heated and so boiling) and turned away from the north' ('Linguistic and Textual Problems: Jeremiah', *JQR* 28 [1937], p. 97). Some scholars accepted this emendation, stating that it yields the same sense and disposes of the difficult פניו (McKane, *Jeremiah*, p. 17), while others reject it (Bright, *Jeremiah*, p. 5; Malamat, ירמיהו פרק 8, p. 44; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, pp. 105-106). S.L. Harris claims that the interpretation of pot boiling over an open fire, with its contents spilling over in a southerly direction, is not explicitly expressed in the text. His translation reads: 'I see a kindled thorn facing from the north', interpreting סיר as a flora, as the Hebrew indicates (Amos 4.2; Isa. 34.13; Hos. 2.8; Eccl. 7.6) ('The Second Vision of Jeremiah: Jer. 1.13-15', *JBL* 102 [1983], pp. 281-82). Carroll maintains that the two visions, while not continuing vv. 4-10, increase the call's authenticity and simultaneously change the prologue's focus from God's commissioning of Jeremiah to be a prophet unto the nations, to words of judgment against Jerusalem to be carried out by 'the foe from the north' (Carroll, *Jeremiah*, p. 102).

8. Rashi, McKane, *Jeremiah*, p. 349.

9. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, p. 324, McKane, *Jeremiah*, p. 349.

10. McKane, *Jeremiah*, p. 348, Rashi.

11. Y. Kaufmann, תולדות האמונה הישראלית (The Religion of Israel) (8 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute & Devir, 1976), VI-VII, pp. 404-405.

trast to most scholars' view,¹² Kaufmann insists that the interpretation of הַגִּי' מִצָּפוֹן as 'the arch-enemy from the north' is clearly wrong: 'But one thing is clear, that this nation is not Babylon'.¹³ One wonders whether one needs to twist the meaning of these images, in God's answers to Jeremiah, when His word is always explicit and requires no interpretation. Or, how can it be possible that Jeremiah would be comforted by his people's downfall at the hand of Babylon without protesting? What is, then, the meaning of the term *mšpn* in these texts? Using the BUC interpretive approach in analyzing both texts demonstrates (a) that each conforms with the BUC structure; (b) that each is coherent (there are no ambiguities); (c) that each comprises a single literary unit; and (d) that the term *mšpn* is not 'the foe from the north', but, rather, an epithet of God.

1. *The BUC Analysis of Jeremiah's Two Visions*

Both visions (1.11-12, 13-14), narrated in a dialogue between God and Jeremiah, demonstrate Jeremiah's active participation in which he sees an image and understands its meaning. This repeated event gradually reinforces the prophet's conviction that he is witnessing a divine event. God 'appears' to him not merely through words,¹⁴ but also gradually through a 'great sight'.¹⁵ The following BUC analysis illuminates the

12. McKane supports this idea by quoting *Targum Jonathan*, which paraphrases סִיר כְּדֹד as 'a king boiling like a pot' (מֶלֶךְ שְׂרֹוֹחַ כְּדֹד). He concludes that 'we are left in no doubt that Nebuchadrezzar has been identified as the enemy from the north, and both Rashi and Kimchi identify that enemy with Babylon' (*Jeremiah*, p. 21). Bright claims that the second vision brought Jeremiah his first intimation of 'the foe from the north', 'but the identity of this foe, later clearly Babylonians, is here left vague' (*Jeremiah*, p. 7).

13. אבל דבר אחר ברור שהג' הזה הוא לא בבל. Kaufmann, תולדות, VI-VII, p. 404.

14. In Jeremiah's first dialogue with God (1.4-10) which, I claim, describes only an introduction to Jeremiah's call to be a prophet and not his call proper as all scholars maintain. In E. Roshwalb, 'Jeremiah 1.4-2.3, New Interpretation' (unpublished paper).

15. Since 'Man must gradually train his intellectual powers to achieve the perception of the Divine, its light increasing as the dawn shines forth.' Bahya ben Asher in his commentary on Moses's first revelation, Exod. 3.1, H.D. Chavel (ed.), רַבְּנֵי בַחֲיִי בִּיאֹר שֶׁל הַתּוֹרָה (The Commentary of Rabbi Bahya on the Book of Law) (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Harav Kook Institute, 1977), II, pp. 2-21.

gradual unfolding of this process. A detailed comparison of the repetitions follows:

	First vision (vv. 11-12)	Second vision (vv. 13-15, 16-19)
Introductory Statement	ויהי דבריה אלי לאמר: <i>Then the word of the Lord came to me, asking:</i>	ויהי דבריה אלי שנית לאמר: <i>When the word of the Lord came to me, a second time, asking:</i>
God's Question	מה ראית, ירמיה? What do you see, Jeremiah?	מה אתה ראה? What do you see?
Jeremiah's Response	מקל שקד אני ראה. <i>A staff of an almond I see.</i>	סיד נפוח אני ראה, ופניו מפני צפונה. <i>A burning thornbush, I see, and its appearance has the likeness of Saphonah.</i>
God's Explanation	היטבת לראות, כִּי־שקד אני על־דברי לעשות. <i>You have seen well; indeed, I will hasten my word to perform it promptly.</i>	מצפון תפתח הרעה על כל יושבי הארץ. From <i>Spn</i> [God] the evil shall begin upon all the inhabitants of the land.
God's Will		כי הנני קרא לכל־משפחות ממלכות צפונה . . . For, I will call all the families of the north (15- 19). ויהי דבר ה' אלי לאמר. <i>But the word of the Lord came to me also, saying: (2.1-3).</i>

This comparison shows a similar format in both visions:

1. They are narrated in a dialogue which opens with the same introductory statement.
2. They are followed by an identical question from God to Jeremiah.¹⁶

16. In v. 13a, Jeremiah's name is missing; however, LXX adds his full name, 'Jeremiah', as in v. 11.

3. Jeremiah's response describes the objects he sees.
4. God explicitly explains the significance of what is seen by means of paronomasia: שָׁקֵד \ שֹׁקֵד צִפּוֹנָה \ צִפּוֹנָה.

The variations between the two are:

1. The *waw* conversive in the word וַיִּהְיֶה in each introductory statement conveys a different meaning: in the first dialogue, *then*; in the second, *when*.
2. The adverb שְׁנִיחַ is added to the second vision's introductory statement (v. 13).
3. Different imagery is used in each dialogue: in the first, מִקֵּל שָׁקֵד (v. 11b), in the second, סִיר נְפוּחַ...וּפְנֵי מַפְנֵי צִפּוֹנָה (v. 13b).
4. God's praise of Jeremiah's acuity of perception, הִשְׁבַּח לִרְאוּת (v. 12), is found only in the first vision.
5. The subject and content in God's explanations of each object seen by Jeremiah are different: In the first vision, the subject is אֲנִי (v. 12), and the message שֹׁקֵד עַל דְּבָרֵי לַעֲשׂוֹתוֹ (v. 12). In the second, the subject is מִצָּפֹן (v. 14), and the message תִּפְתַּח הָרְעָה.
6. God's will is pronounced only at the conclusion of the second vision (vv. 15-19; 2.1-3).

Ironically, as the following BUC analysis shows, all the differences between the two dialogues lead to the narrative's climax and thus contribute to an understanding of the entire text's meaning and a proof of its unity.

A. The Analysis of the First Vision—The Build-Up Step

The first vision (vv. 11-12) is introduced immediately after Jeremiah's first encounter with God (vv. 4-10) in which he is compelled to deliver God's word. God senses Jeremiah's doubts, and in order to assure Jeremiah of the Caller and His mission, God provides a sequel to the first encounter by adding an active participation. Rendering the *waw* conversive in וַיִּהְיֶה of the vision's introductory statement as *then* contributes to both the literary connection with, and the thematic continuation of the preceding dialogue (vv. 4-10).¹⁷ Jeremiah's exclamation thus

17. The *waw* conversive also, depending upon the text's context and according to basic syntax, 'expresses often an informal inference or consequence, *so, then*, esp. at the beginning of a speech'. See BDB, p. 245. See also above, n. 14.

reads: 'Then the word of the Lord came to me, asking:¹⁸ What do you see Jeremiah?' In his response, Jeremiah identifies what he sees as an almond staff, מקל שקד. God immediately commends him for his acuity of perception saying: היטבת לראות, 'you have seen well'; and adds an explanation of the object seen by using a play on words: שקד\שוקד. Why does Jeremiah's answer merit immediate praise from God, and why only in this vision?

Jeremiah should have answered only one word: מקל, 'A staff, I see', since he was not asked to identify the image's nature. His explicit response was, thus, an exercise in comprehending the Divine state of mind. Traditional commentators point out that, despite the fact that the מקל which Jeremiah saw lacked leaves or blossoms, he was able to identify it as a staff from an almond tree, שקד.¹⁹

The vision's importance lies in the prophet's ability to grasp the primary object's symbolic meaning.²⁰ Jeremiah passed this test; he 'saw' (with his eyes) the most suitable object and also 'saw' (understood) its underlying meaning. This double meaning of ראה (to 'see' an object and to 'perceive' its symbolic meaning, as in Job 9.11) regarding the image מקל שקד is also implied in the midrash. As the traditional literature shows, its significance is: first, מקל and its synonyms מטה, שבט, rod, staff, club and scepter (as in Isa. 10.24; 14.5; 28.27; Jer. 48.17; Ezek. 19.14), symbolize both מלכות (royalty²¹) and גבורה (might, that is, the king's power to do good or evil²²). Both מלכות וגבורה

18. Some examples in which אמר suggests 'ask': Job 7.4; 9.12; Isa. 49.21; Gen. 16.13; 18.17; 21.7; 43.27, 29; 46.33; Exod. 3.13; Deut. 20.8; Est. 6.6; Ps. 79.10; Jer. 48.17, 19.

19. Kimhi: הראה לו במראה הנבואה מקל שקד בלא עלים ובלא פרחים והתבונן אליו במראה הנבואה והכיר בו שהוא מעץ שקד.

20. ירמיהו פרק א (Malamat, p. 39). In Kimhi's words הראה הנבואה אליו במראה הנבואה. Compare Zech. 4.2-5, in which the prophet sees an image, but does not know its meaning.

21. Gen. 49.10; Ps. 45.7; Isa. 14.5. See also מקל שקד כאילו דמות הוה יהיה ציור של המחזה של הוד שנענה בו.

22. Job 37.13; Ezek. 20.37; Mic. 4.14. On the subject of divinely-fashioned staffs that secure victory in East Mediterranean myth and saga, see C.H. Gordon, *Homer and the Bible* (Ventnor, NJ: Ventnor Publishers, 1967), no. 126, p. 56. See מדרש שוחר טוב ל, ד: מידת פורענויות אינה עושה פירות, מידה טובה עושה פירות (according to this midrash, a barren מקל symbolizes a measure of God's evil intent—מידת פורענויות, while a מקל that bears fruit symbolizes a measure of God's goodness—מידה טובה). See also L. Nemoy et al. (eds.), *The Midrash on Psalms*

However, the significance of שׂוֹקֵד in God's answer, besides

26. The literal Aramaic rendering of מִקֵּל שֶׁקֵּד is חֹשֶׁבַּת דְּלֹחָא, see *Tosafot* to *b. Bekh.* 8a.

involving the pun שְׁקֵד \ שֹׁקֵד, is that it can mean both that God will hasten to perform His word either to destroy (לְנַהוֹשׁ) or to build up (לְבַנוֹת) His subjects (Jer. 31.27; 44.27; Dan. 9.14). But then, what is the exact meaning of דְּבַרִּי: is it a message of doom or of hope?²⁷ This controversy about the meaning of דְּבַרִּי is found among traditional commentators. Malbim claims that, according to the sages, שְׁקִידָה implies the salvation of Israel;²⁸ *Targum Jonathan* and Kimhi claim the opposite, that is, that the almond branch symbolizes the swift devastation of Judah.²⁹ Since the almond staff Jeremiah sees is barren, is the implication that God's 'word' means an evil dispensation? Does *Targum*'s interpretation, מֶלֶךְ דְּמוּחֵי לֹא־בִשְׂטָן, predict impending destruction?

This first vision, the Build-up step, as is characteristic of the BUC structure, only partly fulfills the narrative's requirement of a call proper. The following questions remain unanswered:

1. What exactly is the content of God's word and who is the nation to be judged, Jeremiah's people or some other nation?
2. Who is the Caller (see Num. 12.6; Exod. 3.13)? Shouldn't He identify Himself particularly if the decree may be catastrophic?
3. Shouldn't Jeremiah, who is possibly sent with a message of doom to the people he loves, challenge God's intentions, and appeal to His mercy on their behalf?³⁰

This incomplete fulfillment anticipates a second, climactic step, resulting in another vision which brings the narrative to its satisfying close, one which fully reveals the Caller's complete identity prior to Jeremiah receiving an explicit decree.

27. Carroll observes: 'The interpretation of the word-play is difficult: what does Yahweh mean by saying he is watching over his word to perform it? Over what word is he watching?... So in v. 12 Yahweh is determined to perform his word—but the content of the word is not specified...' (*Jeremiah*, p. 103, emphasis added).

28. מלבים: לדברי חז"ל השקידה מרמות לטובה...ר"ל השקידה הזאת הוא. לטובת ישראל והצלחתם.

29. רד"ק: "...הראה לו מקל שקד להיות משל על הפורענות העתידה לבא על ישראל. ושתבוא להם במהרה כמו שעץ השקד ממחר לפרוח יותר משאר העצים..." And the Targum: מֶלֶךְ דְּמוּחֵי לֹא־בִשְׂטָן.

30. The prophet knows that above God's anger stands his mercy, and that the prophet's task is to pray for his people. See Amos 7.2-3, 5-6; Ezek. 9.8; 11.13; Jer. 3.12; 14.11; 18.20; 21.2; 32.16 ff.

B. An Analysis of the Second Vision—The Climactic Step

The rabbinic view, 'God does not bestow greatness on man until He tests him in small matters',³¹ also explains why a continuation of Jeremiah's experience can be anticipated. Since Jeremiah was tested in 'small matters' in the first vision, and since he 'passed', God is now ready to confer on him the 'greatness' he has earned. He does so via the second vision and its narrative's variations. Both the *waw* conversive and the addition of the adverb שנית, in the second vision's introductory statement, contribute to the developing of Jeremiah's experience and to its connection to the first dialogue. The adverb שנית 'a second time' with its implication of a prior event demonstrates that the two repeated visions form a pair composed of a first step with an insufficient result, requiring a second, more radical step, to achieve a narrative climax.³²

Translating this *waw* conversive as 'when' renders Jeremiah's speech as: 'When the word of the Lord came to me a second time, asking: What do you see?'

The decisive variation in the second vision is, therefore, the second image Jeremiah sees, and its added description: סִיר נִפּוֹחַ, אֲנִי רֹאֶה. וּפָנִיו מִפְּנֵי צִפּוֹנָה. The goal of this striking, unique image is, I maintain, to achieve Jeremiah's perception of the Divine. Its additional words of description, וּפָנִיו מִפְּנֵי צִפּוֹנָה, are also exclusively used by Jeremiah in order to accomplish this purpose. What is so special about the image סִיר נִפּוֹחַ that allows it to bring the story to a close? Why did the prophet not merit praise when he identified it?

In order to understand exactly what Jeremiah means here, I suggest a word-by-word translation, quite different from those suggested by most commentators:

סִיר = (סנה, שיח קוצני) thornbush.³³

31. תניא אין הקב"ה נותן גדולה לאדם עד שהוא בודקו בדבר קטן. On Exod. 3.1 in *The Legends on the Book of Law*, p. 42..

32. Kimhi claims that this adverb indicates that the two visions are of one subject: מִה שֶׁאִמְרָה שְׁנִית לִפְנֵי שֶׁשְׁתֵּי הַמִּרְאֹת הָיוּ בַּעֲנִין אֶחָד וְאֵף עַל פִּי שֶׁהַדְּבָרִים הַנִּרְאִים לּוֹ נִשְׁתַּנוּ אִמְרָה כִּי בַּעֲנִין זֶה נִרְאָה לּוֹ פַּעַם שְׁנִיָּה... וְכֵן יוֹדֵה דְּבַר ה' אֵל יוֹנָה שְׁנִית לִפְנֵי שֶׁדְּבַר עֲמוֹ בַּעֲנִין יִנָּה.

33. It may be the thorny bush *Poterium Spinosum* (Rosaceae), which is scattered in the waste land (בְּחָדָה) of the mountainous areas of Israel. See also Carroll, *Jeremiah*, p. 104. In Isa. 34.13; Hos. 2.8; and Nah. 1.10 סִירִים means 'thorn'. In Eccl. 7.6, 'thorns' and 'cooking pot' appear together as סִיר. See also W.L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*

נפוח = (נפח, נשכ אש) blown upon or to blow into flames.³⁴

מראה, תאר, דמות = פנים (from פני, פני appearance, or likeness, and figuratively = God's countenance).³⁵

צפון = צפון + 'he locale' (ירכתי צפון) the abode of God.³⁶

According to these definitions, the clause thus should read:

A burning thornbush, I see, and its appearance is like that of Šaphonah (that is, like that of God's countenance).

(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), p. 255, and *t. Sot.* 4.2. Harris, who notes that סיר, as a masculine noun, appears in the singular only in Jer. 1.13, suggests that it connotes 'thorn'. Using נפח as 'blow', in the sense of fanning a fire, he renders its meaning as 'a kindled thorn', which also hints at the impending disaster. Harris's translation thus reads: 'I see a kindled thorn facing from the north' ('The Second Vision of Jeremiah', pp. 281-82). Commentators, following traditional exegetes, interpret נפוח סיר as 'a pot boiling over an open fire', as in Job 41.12. Whether the metaphor is given the meaning of 'a pot' or 'a bush' makes no difference, since both symbolize God. The problem is that its description, ופניו מפי צפונה, is always given the same meaning, that of a direction facing north, referring symbolically to 'the foe from the north', thus implying a concrete historical sense. I maintain that these words of description focus on the image's essence, rather than on its direction; the key question is: what does the image, סיר נפוח, look like, rather than, as in most commentators, to which direction it is turning? I discard this interpretation since it does not agree with the biblical account, and prefer to render the image as a 'burning bush' as in Exod. 3.2: וירא אליו מלאך ה בלבת־אש מתוך הסנה. וירא והנה הסנה בוער באש ואינו אוכל. See also Exod. 3.4; Deut. 33.16.

34. Holladay, *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 241. See Job 20.26; Isa. 54.17 and Ezek. 22.21.

35. See Ezek. 1.28, and 'the face of God' in Gen. 32.31; 33.10; Exod. 33.14-15, 20, Hag. 1.12; Ps. 30.8; Dan. 8.23 and Jer. 1.13; 3.1, 26; 5.22; 6.7; 21.10; and Isa. 23.9 ומלאך פניו הושיעם. According to Ramban the angel's face is God. See also Holladay, *Hebrew Lexicon*, pp. 293-94. Most commentators render פנים as 'turned' only.

36. See Isa. 14.13; Job 26.7; Ezek. 1.4; 9.2; Ps. 48.1-3; 78.68-69; Jer. 3.12. 'As especially the divinity who (as *summus deus*) is enthroned at the north point of the universe.' See A. Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East* (trans. C.L. Beaumont; ed. C.H.W. Johns; 2 vols.; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), II, p. 13. In Ugaritic literature, 'Špn as a noun of a holy mountain associated particularly with Baal (51.iv:19; etc); Šrtr špn "the height of Šapan" (49.ii:29, 34; cnt.ii:21-22); note that *hlb špn*, *šrtr špn* and *mrym špy*... have similar literal meanings' (*UT*, p. 475). H.M. Pope, *Probative Pontificating in Ugaritic and Biblical Literature* (ed. M.S. Smith; Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), p. 85. In the mid-rash 'north' also symbolizes a source of evil and danger. Lehrer, *ילקוט שמעוני*, II, pp. 247, 263. See also *אנציקלופדיה מקראית*, p. 749.

What Jeremiah experienced here must have been a metaphysical vision of God disguised as *סִיד נֹפֶח*, a burning bush (*סִנֵּה בֹועֵר בְּאֵשׁ*). He must have experienced this as an exalted, awesome radiation of the Divine image, since Jeremiah immediately added its description: *וּפָנִי צִפּוֹנָה*, *‘and its appearance is like that of Ṣaphonah.’*³⁷ Jeremiah apparently further associates this radiation with both God’s abode, *צִפּוֹנָה*, and his countenance, *פָּנִים*. Since God’s face, *פָּנִים*, symbolizes His anger³⁸ or His good will (as in Jer. 3.12; Ps. 31.21), Jeremiah thus alludes to both the identity of the Caller, and His intention.³⁹

37. No mortal can see God face-to-face except he whom God chooses to see it (Exod. 33.20). Even then, God appears to his chosen in a disguised form. The Bible abounds with descriptions of God as smoke (Gen. 15.17), fire, clouds (Exod. 3.2-4; 24.15-18), wind, and a soft voice (1 Kgs 19.11-12). This kind of divine revelation, using the same terminology *פָּנִי* with the meaning of appearance, *מֵרָאָה*, also occurs in Job 26.8: *מֵאָחוּז פָּנִי כִסָּא פִּרְשׁוֹ עָלָיו עָנָנִי* (‘He is disguised in [or takes the appearance of] the form of a throne, he spreads his clouds over it’). Also, Ezek. 1.26; 10.1, his appearance is that of a *כִּסֵּא*. Jeremiah’s ‘seeing’ of God is probably like that in Ezek. 1.26; 43.7 or in Exod. 24.10, where the elders on Sinai ‘saw the God of Israel’, alternatively, Isa. 6.1, 5: ‘I saw the Lord’. What was actually ‘seen’ in Exod. 24.10 by the elders was what was ‘under His feet’, and in Isa. 6.1 ‘His skirt’. Jeremiah actually ‘sees’ God’s radiation, which he recognizes as belonging to the sphere of the *Ṣaphonah*. A.J. Heschel maintains that the prophet ‘experiences no vision of God’s essence, only a vision of appearance. *Revelation means, not that God makes Himself known, but that He makes His will known; not God’s disclosure of His Being, His self-manifestation, but a disclosure of the divine will and pathos, of the ways in which He relates Himself to man*’ (emphasis added), *The Prophets* (2 vols.; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), II, p. 265. The traditional commentators explain the significance of the sight as being beyond human ken, that is, one of God’s mysteries. This approach was echoed in the commentary of Abraham, son of the Rambam, on Exod. 3.2. ‘The phrase: “out of the midst of the bush” symbolizes that Moses became aware of the Divine call through the bush which figuratively glowed like the glow of the *Shekhinah*... But these are profound mysteries. Who can share His secrets?’ (*Books of Rabbi Abraham Son of Maimonides: Commentary on Genesis and Exodus* [Jerusalem: Sifrei Rabbanei Bavel Publisher, 1985], pp. 3-4).

38. See Rashi, who also cites *Targum Jonathan*, in Jer. 3.12; see also, Deut. 31.17; 32.20; Mic. 1.4; Isa. 64.6; Jer. 23.15; Job 23.15; Ps. 13.2; 34.17 and in 21.10 the expressions *fire* and *face of God* appear together.

39. Ramban expresses the same idea in Exod. 2.23-25, which marks the turning point from bondage to redemption: ‘The plain sense is that, at the beginning, God had hidden His face and they had been devoured (see Deut. 31.17 for the image). Now, God heard their cry and “saw” them, i.e., that He no longer hid His face from

Just as the staff, מִקֶּלֶט, in the first vision represents God's authority, so does the סִיר נֹפֵחַ, a burning bush, apparently represent Divine revelation or 'the throne of God'.⁴⁰

Both images (the staff and the bush), which gradually dawn on Jeremiah, are viewed as 'the King', and decidedly assure him of the Caller's identity.⁴¹ *Targum Jonathan* also attests to the idea that Jeremiah 'sees' a Supreme authority, 'the King'. His translation of this image reads: מלך דרתח כדור, אנה חזי 'I see a King who seethes like a cauldron'.⁴²

them but “took cognizance” (וידע אלהים) of their sufferings and their needs.’ Malbim explains this idea in Jer. 3.12: **לא אפיל פני. יש פנים של רצון שהוא ההשגחה** **לשוב והפוכה היא הסתרת פנים, ויש פנים של זעם, שהוא ההשגחה להעניש... ועו"א** **- לא אפיל פני להשגיח לדעת ואף לא אטור בלב שהוא הסתרת פנים כי ישוב להשגיח** **עליהם לטוב**

40. See Jeremias, *Old Testament*, II, p. 100: 'The thornbush is the throne of God. It is not to be separated from the mountain of God. In Deut. 33.16 (the blessing of Moses) God dwells in the thornbush. The blazing fire (*labbat-esh mithok ha-sene*) is the same as the flames of fire which in Gen. iii. 24 close the approach to the throne of God.' And 'The fiery appearance is part of the endowment of the *summus deus*' (II, p. 33). The fire as divine origin is also cited in Rashi on Gen. 15.10: "He divided them": The pillar of smoke and torch of fire that passed between the pieces constituted the messenger of the Divine presence, which is fire.' See also Ramban's commentary on Gen. 15.17 (p. 95), and on Exod. 3.2 (p. 287). The view that the angel is God's messenger and the fire represents Divine revelation is found in many *midrashim*; see Y.N. Halevi Epstein and A.D. Melamed (eds.), מכילתא דרבי שמעון בן יוחאי (Mekhilta of Rabbi Shimon Ben Yohai) (Jerusalem: Mekitzey Nirdamim Publisher, 1955), pp. 1-2. M. Margalit (ed.), מדרש הגדול על חמשה חומשי תורה ספר שמות (The Legends on the Book of Law) (Jerusalem: Harav Kook Institute, 1956), pp. 44-49.

41. The *Midrash* on Exod. 3.5 indicates the same idea: אל (שמות רבה ב יג) מלכות ה' תהיה. Quoted in Bahya, *The Commentary of Rabbi Bahya on the Book of Law*, p. 25. See also Isa. 6.5: צבאות ה' עמך, in which the title מלך is given to God, see also Exod. 15.18 and Jer. 10.7.

42. סִיר is taken here as a 'seething pot'. According to some commentators 'the King' in the *Targum's* rendering refers to 'the enemy from the north', that is, Nebuchadnezzar, since Rashi and Kimhi identify this enemy with Babylon (McKane, *Jeremiah*, p. 21). I understand the *Targum's* paraphrase of סִיר, to denote God, 'the king', as in Job 41.12, just as in the first vision מֶלֶךְ דְּמוּחִי also represents

Similarly, just as the almond, שקד, in the first vision symbolizes God's quick action, so does מַפְנֵי צְפוֹנָה symbolize not only God's abode, but, especially, His intent (that is, evil dispensation or goodwill).

Hence, God, in His second answer to Jeremiah, does not commend him for his acute perception: הִיטַבְתָּ לִרְאוֹת; since one cannot mistake such a striking vision. Jeremiah has been tested a second time and has passed. Again, he was able to 'see' and to 'perceive' the correct image and its meaning.⁴³

It is, therefore, at this moment that God reveals His name to Jeremiah, using the epithet *Ṣpn* (צִפּוֹן)⁴⁴ (thus also retaining the pun *צִפּוֹן* \ *צְפוֹנָה*) and adds His explicit explanation of the expected vision: מִצִּפּוֹן תִּפְתַּח הָרְעָה עַל כָּל יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ.

The term *מִצִּפּוֹן* is a prepositional phrase which consists of the preposition מִ = from (short from - מִן), and the noun צִפּוֹן, which can mean 'north', or (from the root צִפַּן) 'hidden', or (from the root צָפָה) 'look out', 'overlay' and 'foresee'. This noun is also used as a proper noun.⁴⁵ This prepositional phrase which lacks a definite article usually indicates a proper noun. It therefore cannot be rendered 'from the north', as most commentators suggest, but 'from North'—*mṢPN*, that

Him. Rashi's commentary on Exod. 3.12 expounds the same idea that God is the caller: 'The vision of the bush constitutes the sign that I have sent you, that you will succeed in your mission and that you may rely on Me for deliverance. Just as you saw the bush carry out My intent and remain unburnt, so shall you undertake My mission and come out unscathed.'

43. In his *Guide*, Rambam makes a similar point in explaining the meanings of תְּמוּנָה, and רִאָּה, חִזָּה, הִבִּיט: 'figuratively it is extended to viewing and observing something with the mind until it is properly understood... In this figurative sense it is employed in Nu 12:8 "he beholds the very likeness of the Lord"' (תְּמוּנָה ה' יִבִּיט). See Maimonides, *מִדְרַשׁ הַנְּבוּכִים*, I, Chapters 3–4, pp. 21–22. No post-Mosaic prophet succeeded as much as Moses in penetrating into the divine essence. As the rabbinic literature expresses this concept: Moses beheld the divine as though through a clear mirror, while the other prophets did so through a distorted one (a mirror which does not shine: כָּל הַנְּבִיאִים רָאוּ מִחוּץ מִלְּכִלְכַּת וּמִשַּׁה רִאָּה מִחוּץ "אֶסְפֶּקְלִירָא מִצִּחְצִחַת" (יִקְרָא רַבָּה א. וּבְבוֹחַ מֵט).)

44. See Exod. 3.6, 13–15; Isa. 6.8, 11; Ezek. 2.4; the revelation of God's name is different in each case. The Midrash explains the different names of God in Exod. 3.14, *The Legends of the Book of Law*, p. 54. Bahya expounds on this midrash, see *The Commentary of Rabbi Bahya on the Book of Law*, p. 29.

45. For full discussion on the term צִפּוֹן see U.M.D. Cassuto (ed.), *Biblical Encyclopedia* (8 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1955), I, pp. 747–52. See also *UT*, p. 475.

is, from God (*špn* as a proper noun to designate an epithet of God).⁴⁶

Rendering תַּחֲלִיל הָרָעָה על כל יושבי הארץ as 'to begin',⁴⁷ the clause then reads in modern Hebrew: מִצִּפּוֹן [מִהֶשֶׁם] תַּחֲלִיל הָרָעָה על כל יושבי הארץ, 'From *špn* [God] the evil will begin upon all the inhabitants of the land' (that is, God is the evildoer and from Him the evil will begin). This rendition demonstrates again (as was the case in the first vision) that God is the subject in the second vision; He will initiate the devastation. God's answer is again direct and explicit; it does not require interpretation. Hence, the anonymous symbolic meaning given to the second vision and its image, סִיר נֶפֶחַ, as 'the foe from the north', is forced and misleading.

C. Conclusion of the BUC Analysis of Jeremiah's Visions

Despite the double vision and the variation of imagery, both visions deliver one message: *It is God who is watching over His word to fulfill it hastily, and, it is from Him, špn, that the evil will begin.* The vision's repetition is needed for emphasis and assurance that *evil comes from God and will be imminently fulfilled*.⁴⁸

Anticipating the climax in the second vision, in which God Himself (*špn*) is the Caller from whom the evil will begin, is both powerful and reassuring for Jeremiah and the reader. It leaves them without any reservation about the Caller's identity, and prepares them to hear God's immediate will (vv. 15-19; 2.1-3). These two visions gradually reveal and strongly affirm the essential theme of Jeremiah's call. It not only

46. Note the divine name *špn* in Ugaritic literature: '*špn* (3.42; 9.4; 173.37, 46; 2004.3), *il špn* (17.13) and the pair *ba'al špn \ A'nt špn* (9.14, 17)' (UT, p. 475 and Pope, *Probative Pontificating*, pp. 63-90).

47. This idea is reiterated also in Jer. 25.29: כִּי הִנֵּה בֹעִיר אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שְׁמִי: עָלֶיהָ אֲנִי מֵחֵל לְהָרַע (For, lo, I will begin to bring evil on the city whereupon My name is called'). See also Ps. 49.5: אֲפָתָה בְּכִנּוּר חִידָתִי. All commentators translate this term as 'evil shall be opened', or 'stem forth'.

48. This consequence can also be gained from a similar situation, that is, Pharaoh's dreams as related in Gen. 4.1-8. The Bible emphasizes several times that despite the double imagery, cows and ears of corn, 'it was but one dream' (Gen. 41.8, 15; 17, 22, 25-26, 32), with but one message—the forthcoming seven years of abundance followed by seven years of famine. Joseph's speech provides the reasons for the dream's repetition: וְעַל הַשְּׁנוֹת הַחֲלוֹם אֶל־פִּרְעֹה פַעַמִּים כִּי־נִכּוֹן הַדְּבָר (41.32). The dream's double functions—to indicate that the event is determined by God and that He is hastening to bring it to pass—are echoed in Jeremiah's double imagery.

conforms with the traditional structure of the BUC (the gradual unfolding of a given story's main goal, that is, in Jeremiah's case 'knowing the Lord'), but also retains the requirements of an archetypal call (sight and sound) to God's messenger-prophet.⁴⁹ Thus, God's disclosure and the decree demonstrate the dialogues' literary connection to each other. One without the other would have provided an incomplete message.

A summary of the structure of the Build-Up and Climax is as follows.

The Structural Outline of BUC of the Double Vision

FIRST VISION

Introductory statement:	<i>Then the word of the Lord came to me, asking:</i>
God's question:	What do you see <i>Jeremiah</i> ?
Jeremiah's answer:	Image: <i>staff</i> ; symbol: <i>authority</i>
Description of image:	<i>Almond</i> ; symbol: <i>swift action</i>
God's answer:	<i>You have seen well, indeed, I will hasten to perform my word promptly</i>
Poetic device:	pun: שָׁקֵד \ שֹׁקֵד
Result:	<i>Insufficient</i> —the Caller is partially identified, and the decree is unclear. What is meant by דְּבַר?

SECOND VISION

Introductory statement:	<i>When the word of the Lord came to me a second time, asking:</i>
God's question:	What do you see [name is missing]?
Jeremiah's answer:	Image: <i>burning bush</i> ; symbol: <i>God's throne</i>
Description of image:	<i>Its appearance is from the likeness of Saphonah;</i> symbol: <i>God's abode, and his countenance</i>
God's answer:	<i>From Sphn the evil will begin upon all the inhabitants of the land</i>
Poetic device:	pun: צָפֹן \ צִפְתָּה
Result:	<i>Sufficient</i> —the Caller is identified by His staff, His throne, His epithet <i>Sphn</i> , and His intention (doom or hope)

CLIMAX

Experience is satisfactorily completed, includes: theophany and specific decree

49. A fundamental presupposition of biblical prophecy is that before the prophet hears the will of God he experiences a prophetic revelation in which God reveals Himself first. See Kaufmann, *The Prophet*, I-III, pp. 720-21; Heschel, *תולדות*, II, pp. 206-26, and see Exod. 3.1-15; 19.19; 1 Kgs 22.19; Isa. 6.5; Ezek. 1.4, 28; Job 42.5; 4.12-16. Also Gen. 12.7; 18.1; 26.2; 32.31; Exod. 3.2-7, 16; 24.10-11; 33.11, 23; Num. 12.6-8; 23.3; 24.4, 16; Ezek. 1.28; Jer. 23.18; and Dan. 10.

The main principle in the above BUC analysis is that the repeated dialogues maintain the narrative and imagistic symmetry:

1. Both images are common flora (almond and thornbush).
2. Both consist of an object (מקל, and סדר נפוח) and a description of each object (the first, שקד, and the second, צפונה).
3. Both symbolize God (His staff and His throne), and his message (swift action, doom and salvation).
4. Both retain the symmetry of the poetic structure: the introductory statements and God's questions are narrated in virtually identical words that resemble a refrain, and the second part, that of the images and God's answers, employs poetic devices of pun and parallelism.
5. Both demonstrate Jeremiah's full understanding of God's intended message.
6. Both also illustrate that the only characters throughout the visions are God and Jeremiah. Jeremiah only identifies the objects he sees and their symbols, while God (צפון = אֱלֹהִים) speaks, after each vision, directly and explicitly to Jeremiah to deliver his intended message in each image.

To validate further the hypothesis that *Špn* is a designation for God in the repeated visions, a poetical analysis of God's answers to Jeremiah will follow.

The semantic parallels between God's two answers to Jeremiah in the visions corroborate further that Jeremiah intentionally uses the designation *Špn*, and subsequently illuminates the meaning of God's word, דברי:

God's first answer:	(C) על דברי לעשות	(A) אֲנִי	(B) כִּי שִׁקְד
God's second answer:	(C) הִרְעָה	(B) תִּפְחַח	(A) מִצְפֹּן

Here we find a syntactic parallelism using a chiasmic structure between the word order of A and B:

(a) The Subject A, אֲנִי, in the first phrase, is parallel to the epithet צפון, in the second. (b) The verb B, שִׁקְד, in the first phrase, is parallel to תִּפְחַח in the second. However, with regard to the object C, דברי, in the first phrase, and הִרְעָה in the second, the word order corresponds syntactically.

Hence, this poetic structure contains perfect semantic parallelism, despite the syntactic modifications (that is, the chiasmic structure between the subject A and the verb B). The parallel lines strengthen each other:

אני = צפון, and רעה in the second phrase sheds light on, and intensifies the meaning of, God's word דברי in the first.

The idea that the רעה is from God, and that He is mentioned here by the epithet *Špn*, is repeated in Jer. 4.6:

מביא (B)	אנכי (A)	כי רעה (C)
(verb is missing) (B)	ושבר גדול (C)	מצפון (A)

Here, the syntactic structure is more intricate for, besides the chiasmic structure of the subjects A, אנכי and מצפון, and the objects C, רעה and שבר גדול, in both phrases, the verb B מביא is in an ellipsis configuration (that is, the omission of a word or phrase necessary for a complete syntactical construction but not necessary for understanding). The verb's omission in the second phrase not only does not detract from the verse's semantic power, but rather strengthens the poem's by avoiding redundancy. The reader is forced to fill in the missing component, and thus achieves greater literary and emotional satisfaction.

The nature of the object C רעה, in the first phrase, is illuminated and intensified by the parallel object שבר גדול in the second. The great disaster שבר גדול thus elucidates the meaning of God's word in his first answer: כי שוקד אני על דברי לעשותו. The semantic parallelism enforces the ideas that:

1. God is אני = אנכי = צפון.⁵⁰
2. The word of God דברי = רעה = שבר גדול.⁵¹

50. The epithets אני and אנכי used to designate God are abundant in the Bible. To quote but a few examples: אני, in Gen. 6.17; 9.9; 15.7; 17.1; 35.11; Exod. 6.2, 6-8; Deut. 32.39; Isa. 44.6. אנכי, in Exod. 20.2; Deut. 5.6; Isa. 43.2, 5; Jer. 1.9, 19; 30.11; 46.18; note Job 33.9, in which אני is in synonym with אנכי. Note also, 'that any is an appellation of Baal-zephon is proved by the fact that the same word appears as the standing appellation or emblem of Baal-zephon in an Egyptian papyrus of the thirteenth century B.C.' See W.F. Albright, 'Baal-Zephon', in W. Baumgartner, et al. (eds.), *Alfred Bertholet Festschrift, zum 80. Geburtstag, gewidmet, von Kollegen und Freunden* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950), pp. 4-5.

51. In the book of Jeremiah, there are over 100 verses with the word רעה. Over 40 of these bear the meaning of devastation; in all, God is the subject of this evil. In over 40 verses, this term is equated with the people's apostasy or wickedness. Some verses contain both meanings of רעה (apostasy and devastation), thus leading to the idea of 'measure for measure': God will pay רעה to those who do רעה.

2. *The BUC Analysis of Jeremiah's Laments (15.10-21)*

Jeremiah's laments consist also of two dialogues (vv. 10-14; 15-21) each of which includes a lament by Jeremiah and an oracle by God. Employing the BUC technique in the analysis of this text not only demonstrates that both dialogues are connected literally, but also corroborates the hypothesis that the image ברזל מצפון is not 'the foe from the north', but an 'iron from God'.

The comparison between the repeated dialogue shows that both dialogues are similar in form: Jeremiah makes his complaint regarding his bitter fate in life; he has been faithful in the discharge of his office, yet he suffers the hatred and loneliness that this has brought him (vv. 10, 15-17). God replies to Jeremiah in direct relation, trying to comfort him by promising to make him strong and to punish the people according to what they deserve (vv. 11-14, 18-21).

The difference between the two dialogues is shown in the intensity of Jeremiah's lament and God's answer to him. In the first dialogue Jeremiah's lament is in the form of a short soliloquy, and God's answer is indirectly in the form of a series of rhetorical questions. In the second dialogue both address each other directly in the second person with ascending force.

A. *The Analysis of the First Lament—The Build-Up Step*

Jeremiah's outcry is connected to the previous chapter, in which a terrible famine is inflicted on the land of Judah (14.2-7). Neither the people's prayers, nor Jeremiah's, are being answered by God. Moreover, Jeremiah adds to his people's agony due to famine a prophecy of doom and devastation. Jeremiah's people blame him for the evil inflicted on them and they curse him (14.15-16). Jeremiah's stress reaches its height when he breaks down with his first lament (v. 10). This lament is a private one; Jeremiah reveals his thought to himself: אֲנִי לִי אִמִּי כִּי יִלְדֵתִנִּי (v. 10). He bemoans the fact that his mother gave birth to him since he is a man of strife and a man of contention to all.

God hears Jeremiah's short monologue and replies also in an indirect way: First, אָמַר ה', 'The Lord said', is not directed specifically to Jeremiah ('אֵלַי', 'to me', is missing). Second, in a series of rhetorical questions: אִם לֹא שְׂרִיחֶיךָ לְשׁוֹב? אִם לֹא הִפְנַעְתִּי בְךָ בַּעַת צָרָה אֵת הָאוֹיֵב? לָכֵן אֵתָּן (v. 12) הִירַע בְּרֹזֶל בְּרֹזֶל מִצָּפוֹן וְנִחוּשֶׁת? חֶלֶךְ וְאוֹצְרוֹתֶיךָ

ולא במחיר...? (vv. 11-14), 'Have I not served you well? Have I not caused the enemy to appeal to you in time of evil and in time of affliction? Can iron crush iron from *Ṣpn* and copper?' (vv. 11-14). God ends his first reply to Jeremiah with words of comfort by promising further to punish the people according to what they deserve.

I shall restrict the analysis of the first dialogue to v. 12 only, since scholars claim that it is obscure, and since their interpretation of the image ברזל מצפון, as 'the foe from the north' is alien to the text. Verse 12, הירע ברזל ברזל מצפון ונחשת, as part of God's reply to Jeremiah uses the image ברזל twice. Why? What is the meaning of the image ברזל and ברזל מצפון ונחשת? A detailed analysis of each word and image according to its meaning in the Bible follows:

1. הירע—the prefix ה is used here as interrogative. The root is רעע or רעץ = to crush, שבר, רצץ (Ps. 2.9), or הרע = to inflict evil, גרם רעה, פגע (Jer. 10.5).

2. ברזל—iron. A strong metal used in the Bible figuratively to express opposing meanings: strength, חזק (Isa. 45.3) and wicked people and slanderous, אנשים הולכי רכיל, רשעים (Jer. 6.28; Ezek. 22.18, usually impure iron—ברזל סיגים).

3. מצפון—from *Ṣpn* (as a proper noun, since the definite article is missing).

4. נחשת—copper. A red or yellow soft metal useful for making bronze (with tin) and brass (with zinc) used figuratively in the Bible to express strength, חזק (Isa. 45.3; Job 6.12) and stubbornness, מצח נחושה עקשנות (Mic. 4.13).

The translation of this verse comprises two possibilities. First, 'Can [anyone] crush iron, [especially] iron from *Ṣpn* and copper?' According to this translation, the repeated word 'iron' conveys strength and both are compared to Jeremiah. The rhetorical question reads: 'Can anyone crush (or inflict evil on) you Jeremiah that you are as strong as an iron, especially, as strong and stubborn as a mixture of iron and copper from *Ṣpn*?'

Second, 'Can [one] iron crush [another] iron from *Ṣpn* and copper?' In this translation, after Rashi, the first iron, with the meaning of wicked and slanderous, is compared to the people of Judah, and the second iron, with the meaning of strength and stubbornness, is compared to Jeremiah. The rhetorical question reads: 'Can the people of Judah, who are wicked and slanderous, crush (or inflict evil on) you Jeremiah since you are as strong and stubborn as iron and copper from *Ṣpn*?'

Surely, both possibilities convey a negative answer since the mixture of 'iron and copper from *špn*' is much stronger than 'iron' alone or an impure iron, and are equally able to offer comfort to Jeremiah. Jeremiah is reassured that he will be able to withstand the difficulties he anticipates as a prophet of doom. However, Rashi adds that Jeremiah's iron is stronger than that of his people because Nebuchadrezzar will come from the north to attack them according to Jeremiah's own words.⁵² Rashi's added explanation of the reason why Jeremiah will endure is forced; first, it weakens the power of the image ברזל מצפון, and second, it raises the question of how it could be possible that Jeremiah would be comforted by his people's downfall at the hand of Nebuchadrezzar.

When we recall the former reference in which God promised Jeremiah to make him 'a pillar of iron and walls of copper' (1.18), the 'iron from *špn*' here may mean 'iron from God'. The translation of v. 12 will read: 'Can anyone crush (or inflict evil on) you Jeremiah since you are as strong as an iron, even an iron and copper from *špn* = God?' This meaning of the image is definitely more reassuring, since it implies a negative answer and thus Jeremiah's success in his struggle. For who could really crush iron and copper from God?

B. The Analysis of the Second Lament—The Climactic Step

Yet the above powerful answer by God does not console Jeremiah fully, nor satisfy his need to spell out all his anguish. On the contrary, God's indirect reply to Jeremiah's soliloquy makes him bolder, and in his second, climactic, lament, as the traditional literary convention of a biblical narrative requires, Jeremiah complains directly to God, in the second person, for he craves a direct, more reassuring reply from Him.

The second lament is ascending in force: Jeremiah not only addresses God directly, but also accuses Him of causing his mental breakdown. Jeremiah enumerates his deeds on God's behalf: *אֲתָהּ יָדַעְתָּ ה' זִכְרֹנִי וּפְקַדְנִי וְהִנָּקֵם לִי מִרְדֵּפָי אֵל לְאֹרֶךְ אַפָּךְ תִּקְחֵנִי דַע שְׂאֲתִי עָלֶיךָ חֲרַפְתָּ...*

52. Rashi adds a second interpretation, based in *Targum Jonathan*: The first iron is Pharaoh, who will come to help the Judeans, and the second iron is Nebuchadrezzar, who is both iron and copper from the north. The question is, therefore, can Pharaoh and you [the people of Judah] crush Nebuchadrezzar? In this interpretation God addresses the people, on a national level, pointing out the weakness of the Jews. One senses that this interpretation is irrelevant because it does not address Jeremiah's anguish directly as do the others.

(v. 15) 'I sacrificed my soul for God's words; fulfilled my role with honesty and joyfulness for God's name is upon me; in addition I led an abnormal way of life; never enjoyed friendly company, always was alone and suffering.' Jeremiah actually dares to accuse God of being *כמו אכזב מים לא נאמנו* (v. 18), 'as a deceitful brook unfaithful water'. Jeremiah hints that he wants to be free from the burden of prophecy, to escape serving God (also in Jer. 20.9).

God's second reply is also ascending in force and is addressed directly to Jeremiah (second person). God promises to make Jeremiah as strong as a copper wall (v. 20) *בצורה ונתתיך לעם הזה לחומת נחשת* (v. 20), providing that Jeremiah changes his mind and continues his mission. Moreover, he should not be influenced by his people's wickedness and slanderous ways; on the contrary they will come to him to ask for his advice. They will not overcome him, for I, God, will save him from their hands *נאסיה כי אתך אני להושיעך ולהצילך* (vv. 19-21).

C. Conclusion of the BUC Analysis of Jeremiah's Laments

In the second, climactic answer, there is a recapitulation of the idea of iron and copper from God in a clear statement (v. 20), whereas in the first dialogue, this idea was given figuratively in the form of a rhetorical question (v. 12). Naturally, if God (*אני*) speaks in the second dialogue, He is also the one who speaks in the first (*צפון*), since the characters in each repetition of the BUC pattern are always identical. It is clear that the image *ברזל מצפון* here means 'iron from God', and not 'the foe from the north', thus keeping the literary integrity of the repeated lament (15.10-21), the wit of the rhetorical question and the power of the image *ברזל מצפון*. Here too the repeated dialogues, which are needed for emphasis and assurance, again deliver but one message: *Jeremiah is as strong and stubborn as an iron from God, and it is God who will save him from the hands of his enemy.*

In conclusion, the BUC analysis in both texts, Jeremiah's visions and laments, demonstrates that the only characters are God and Jeremiah, and that the reference to God is *צפון—אני* (in reverse order).

3. The Bearing of BUC on the Bible

The BUC analysis of Jeremiah's visions and laments demonstrates clearly that the traditional style of biblical narrative calls for repetition with variants of an event. The function of this repetition, with its

climactic build-up, reveals and strongly affirms the essential theme of the narrative as well as its literary unity. It not only provides an alternative solution to the problem of repeated events in the Bible, but it also helps in the illumination of obscure biblical passages, such as the term *špn*, as found here. This term, *špn*, is also found in other biblical texts, for example, Isa. 14.31; Ezek. 1.4; Job 26.7; 37.22; Jer. 6.1; 13.20; 15.12; 46.20; 47.2; 51.48, and so on. In each case commentators insist on rendering this term as direction only, that is, north. As a result, their translation demonstrates an example of stretched imagination and much confusion. One example, Job 26.7, will be analyzed here to demonstrate the bearing of BUC on the meaning of an obscure text.

נָטָה צֶפֶן עַל־תְּהוֹ / תִּלָּה אֶרֶץ עַל־בְּלִימָה

The JPSV translation reads: 'He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth over nothing', and so most translations. Marvin H. Pope claims that 'the cosmic character of *šafon* leads to its use as a synonym for "sky" in Job 26.7'. His translation reads: 'Who stretched out *šafon* on emptiness who suspended earth on naught'.⁵³ In a hymn about divine omnipotence, Pope's intuition that *špn* stands for the sky makes sense, but where else do we find the term *špn* as a synonym for sky?

A poetical analysis of the verse, applying the hypothesis that the term *špn* is a designation of God, will demonstrate that the term *špn* is not 'sky', nor 'foe', but a designation of God.

עַל־תְּהוֹ (D)	[?] (C)	צֶפֶן (A)	נָטָה (B)
עַל־בְּלִימָה (D)	אֶרֶץ (C)	[?] (A)	תִּלָּה (B)

This verse illustrates a most intricate pattern because together with a corresponding syntactic parallelism between the verbs, נָטָה \ תִּלָּה, and the indirect objects, עַל בְּלִימָה \ עַל־תְּהוֹ, it also employs the ellipsis configuration in regards to both the subject A, in the second phrase, and the object C, in the first phrase. The omission of the object (C) שָׁמַיִם 'heavens', in the first phrase (which parallels אֶרֶץ 'earth'), and the subject (A) ה' (God), in the second phrase (which parallels צֶפֶן), surely do not detract from the semantic power of the verse. On the contrary, specifying them in order to achieve the full semantic understanding of this verse (that is, Who hung the earth, and what did He stretch over the

53. M.H. Pope, *Probative Pontificating in Ugaritic and Biblical Literature* (UBL, 10; Alternberg/Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), p. 85.

empty space) is superfluous.⁵⁴ Moreover, since there is no doubt of the identity of the subject A in this verse (the creator of heaven and earth) we further reinforce the hypothesis that *Špn* is used here to designate God. The verse (Job 26.7) according to this analysis reads:

Špn stretches [heavens] over empty space
[He] hangs the earth over nothing.

The book of Jeremiah abounds with passages using the term *špn* (for example, 46.10, 20, 24; 47.2; 50.3, 9, 41; 51.48). Examining some of them according to this hypothesis may help in the illumination of their difficulties.⁵⁵

54. Note especially that the content of Job 26 alludes clearly to the creation account with a striking resemblance to the Akkadian creation myth. See also Jer. 10.12; 51.15; Isa. 45.12; 44.24; 51.13; Zech. 12.1; Ps. 104.2; Job 9.8.

55. Further details on the use of *Špn* as an epithet for God in the book of Jeremiah in E.H. Roshwalb, 'Mythical Substratum in the Book of Jeremiah', article in progress.

THE NORTHERN ISRAELITE QUEEN MOTHER IN THE JUDAEAN COURT: ATHALIA AND ABI*

Ktziah Spanier

Textual evidence indicates that the Queen Mother was the most powerful female in the Judaeen royal family. She is sometimes referred to as the *Gebirah*,¹ or the king's mother, a term equivalent to the Sumerian *SAL.LUGAL GAL*, the Ugaritic *Rabitu*,² and the Hittite *Tawananna*,³ which have been translated as 'Great Lady' or 'Great Queen'. It is likely that the foreign-born woman came to her husband's court as a result of a diplomatic marriage which was part of a comprehensive treaty agreement. The extent of her authority was often determined by the terms of her marriage contract, which reflected the relative power of the treaty partners. When the polity representing the woman was in a superior position to the other, she would assume the position of chief wife upon her arrival, and her son would be the heir apparent to the throne, regardless of his hierarchal position among his agnatic siblings.⁴ This woman attained her full authority when her son took the throne,

* This is an expanded version of a paper presented at the 1995 SBL meeting. It is dedicated with much gratitude to my mentor, Cyrus Gordon, a true scholar and gentleman, whose teachings have inspired me with a great appreciation of the Bible and its ancient Near Eastern context.

1. See 1 Kgs 11.19; 15.13; 2 Kgs 10.13; Jer. 13.18; 29.2; 2 Chron. 15.16.

2. See C.H. Gordon, 'Ugaritic *RBT/RABITU*', in L. Eslinger and G. Taylor (eds.), *Ascribe to the Lord* (JSOTSup, 67; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), pp. 127-32.

3. G. Beckman pointed out, in private correspondence, that the title *Tawananna* was not equivalent to *SAL.LUGAL GAL*, but that the two terms were separate designations borne by the same woman.

4. The Chronicler, for example, acknowledges that Rehoboam's wife, Maacah, was not the first wife he married, and that her son, Abijah, was declared his heir apparent despite his minor position in the hierarchal succession order among all his agnatic brothers (2 Chron. 11.21-22). See also K. Spanier, 'The Queen Mother in the Judaeen Royal Court', in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Div.A (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), p. 77.

and usually retained her position for the duration of his reign. If her son predeceased her, she was expected to yield her position to the mother of his successor.

A manifestation of her importance is found in the succession formulae of the Judaeen kings. The name of the king's mother, together with her patronym and/or place of origin, appears in all but two of the formulae. The two exceptions are Jehoram, who is associated with Athalia, and Ahaz, who is listed as the father of Hezekiah son of Abi.⁵ These royal women were of northern Israelite ancestry. Athalia was an Omride princess, and Abi's father, Zechariah, was the last king of the dynasty of Jehu. The marriages which brought them to the Judaeen court marked the end of long periods of enmity between the two nations, and were motivated by strategic, economic and political considerations. The situation in the northern kingdom changed drastically during their tenures in the Judaeen court, and each witnessed the destruction of her ancestral family. The power base of the ousted dynasties then shifted to Judah, where factions of their surviving representatives were led by the Queen Mothers, who retained their positions for at least two consecutive reigns.

The terse biblical accounts concerning these women may be better understood through an examination of documents which deal with their counterparts in other ancient Near Eastern cultures. An Akkadian dossier from Ugarit, dealing with a royal divorce, illuminates the irrevocable nature and extent of the type of promissory obligation dictated by a diplomatic marriage agreement.⁶ Ammistamru, king of Ugarit, states that he married the daughter of Benteshina, sister of the king of Amurru, and that he has divorced the *Rabitu*. The original marriage agreement had apparently provided that this woman's son would be the successor to the throne. This is acknowledged in this document, and the son was allowed to remain in the position of heir apparent on the condition that he not follow his mother back to her ancestral home. It was further stipulated that following Ammistamru's death, the son would be forced to abdicate the throne if he allowed his mother to return to

5. This departure from the conventional formulation has been widely noted, but not much discussed. See H. Donner, *Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königmutter im Alten Testament*, *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1959), p. 107, among others.

6. See *Ras Shamra Texts* 17.159, J. Nugayrol, *Le Palais Royal D'Ugarit* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1956), IV, pp. 126-27.

Ugarit and reassume her position as Great Lady.⁷ The original agreement concerning the son thus remained in force even despite the woman's permanent ousting from her husband's domain.

Documentary evidence from the Hittite empire indicates that the Tawananna often retained her position in the court for several consecutive reigns. This woman was the wife of the reigning king but not necessarily the Queen Mother. The favorite wife of the successor to the throne could not, however, assume the Tawananna's post before her death or removal.⁸ While her official function was within the cultic realm, she was also active in international relations and the internal politics of kingdom. Tawananna, the wife of Shupiluliuma I, was a native of Babylon.⁹ She functioned as chief wife during her husband's reign, when she was consistently referred to as *SAL.LUGAL GAL*. Following the accession of Shupiluliuma's son, Arnuwandas, to the throne, she held the title of 'High Priestess of the Sun Goddess of Arinna'.¹⁰ The latter's reign lasted for only three years. His successor to the throne, Murshili II, sought to remove this woman from her position. In order to do so, he evidently needed to provide compelling evidence of her misdeeds. She was accused of replacing the Hittite ritual with Babylonian customs, and of misappropriating funds from the local cult to benefit the one which she represented.¹¹ She was also charged with casting a deadly spell on one of the royal wives.¹²

Murshili's mother, the Hurrian Danu-hepa, replaced Tawananna.¹³ Documentary evidence indicates that she had a large contingent of functionaries and several fortified cities under her command.¹⁴ She

7. *Ras Shamra Texts*, vv. 25-34.

8. See A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1957), pp. 85-95, also O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 68.

9. See *Ras Shamra Texts* 17.227 and E. Laroche, 'Documents Hieroglyphiques Hittites Provenant du Palais D'Ugarit', in C.F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1956), III, p. 101.

10. This position was traditionally held by the Queen Mother. See S. Bin-Nun, *The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975), pp. 193-206.

11. See *Keilschrifturkunden aus Bogazkoi* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1934), XIV 4, I 12; II 5-7, also Bin-Nun, *Tawananna*, p. 188.

12. See *KUB*, I and III, and comments by Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 68-69.

13. Beckman has pointed out that the identity of the biological mother of most Hittite kings is not certain.

14. See 'Hattushili's Prayer', *KUB*, XIV 7.I.19 (1934).

remained in her post for three consecutive reigns. She appears as the Great Queen on the seals of Murshili, his successor, Muwatali, and the latter's son, Urhi-teshub. She was evidently deemed to be so powerful that Urhi-teshub's agnatic uncle, Hattushili III,¹⁵ had her and her supporters destroyed as a result of a legal proceeding which he attributed to Murshili II.¹⁶

Hattushili's marriage to the next Great Queen, Pudu-hepa, was evidently undertaken prior to his usurpation of his nephew's throne. This woman was a native of Kizzuwatna, and, following her husband's accession to the throne, assumed the position of Great Queen. Goetze attributed great strategic importance to her place of origin. He located it within the Hurrian ecumene, and stated that it controlled the main thoroughfare between Syria and Hattusha.¹⁷ He further asserted, with Garstang, that one of the benefits of this marriage was to 'legalize, in a peaceful way, the annexation of Kizzuwatna by Hatti which had long since taken place'.¹⁸

Pudu-hepa's involvement in international affairs, and the fusion of this role with her cultic function, is evidenced in a silver tablet of a treaty between Egypt and Hatti, dated in Ramses II's twenty-first year, where she is identified as the female image of the princess being embraced by the goddess of Hatti. She is referred to as 'the queen of the land of Hatti, [priestess] of the [sun goddess] of Arinna, the lady of the land...the servant of the goddess'.¹⁹ During her husband's lifetime, she appears as the sole signatory in a case brought before the crown which involves litigants from different polities under Hittite hegemony.²⁰ She functioned as co-regent in the reign of her son, Tudhalia IV.²¹

15. See J.A. Wilson, 'Egyptian Treaty', *ANET*, p. 199, also H.G. Guterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazkoy* (Berlin: Archiv für Orientforschung, 1940), p. 13.

16. Wilson, 'Egyptian Treaty', I, p. 20, Guterbock, *Siegel*, p. 13, and Bin-Nun, *Tawananna*, p. 193.

17. A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 71, 76.

18. See Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 81, and J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London: Constable & Co., 1929), pp. 118-19.

19. See A. Goetze, 'Treaty Between the Hittites and Egypt', *ANET*, p. 201.

20. See *Ras Shamra* 17.133 in which she adjudicates a case on behalf of the king.

21. See *Ras Shamra* 17.159 and a bilingual seal in *Ras Shamra* 17.133, and Nougayrol, *Palais Royal D'Ugarit*, p. 115, also Laroche, 'Documents', p. 111,

Omri's rise to power brought about a major shift in Israel's relationships with Judah and other neighboring states. He had utilized his military acumen to gain the throne of Israel, and then proceeded to use diplomatic means to secure and enhance his domain. He forged a commercial network through a series of diplomatic and strategic agreements.²² According to Ginsberg, these agreements were motivated by the westward advance of the Assyrians and the restlessness of the different Aramaean states.²³ He made a treaty with the Phoenicians to the north and entered negotiations to end the existing state of hostility between Israel and Judah. Both treaties were ratified by diplomatic marriages. Jezebel, the daughter of the Sidonian king, Ethba'al, became the chief wife of Omri's heir apparent, Ahab. The marriage of the Omride princess, Athalia, to a member of the Davidic royal family was later consummated under the auspices of Ahab and Jehoshaphat.²⁴

The extent of the woman's authority in her husband's court often provides an indication of the balance of power between the treaty partners. Ethba'al's superiority over Israel may be discerned from the impact which his daughter had in the Israelite kingdom, while Athalia's influence within the Judean court suggests that Israel was the leading partner in its treaty with Judah. Jezebel arrived in Israel with a large entourage, which included a sizable contingent of cultic personnel, over whom she had complete autonomous control (1 Kgs 18.19).²⁵ Ahab built a temple in Samaria, dedicated to the worship of the Baal, making it the official cult in the royal court (16.32-33). Jezebel was in command of a military contingent which actuated her authority by destroying the Yahwistic opposition (18.4).²⁶ Like the Hittite Pudu-hepa, she

where Tudhalia is identified as the grandson of Murshili, son of Hattushili and of Pudu-hepa, in the exterior circle of the seal.

22. See C.F. Whitley, 'The Deuteronomic Presentation of the House of Omri', *VT* 2 (1952), pp. 137-52.

23. Another concern may have been an ongoing internal resistance to his rule. See H.L. Ginsberg, 'The Omrid-Davidid Alliance and its Consequences', in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), pp. 91-93.

24. According to the 'Chronology' of H. Tadmor in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, IV, pp. 246-310.

25. She evidently received a budgetary allotment for their maintenance. See A. Brenner, 'Jezebel', *Shnathon V* (*The Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*; Jerusalem: N. Newman Publishing House, 1982) p. 36 (Hebrew).

26. According to 1 Kgs 19.1, 2 the Israelite crown was represented by Jezebel, not Ahab.

was empowered to promulgate royal edicts on behalf of the king (21.7-11). Her assassination was the climactic event in the final destruction of the Omrides and Jehu's rise to the throne of Israel (2 Kgs 9.20).

Israel's advantage in its relations with Judah is evident from the great influence Athalia wielded within the Judaeen court. Her hegemony began when Jehoshaphat was the ruler, and continued through the reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah and her own six-year regency. Her influence may be found in the joint projects which Jehoshaphat undertook with the Omride kings Ahab and Ahaziah (2 Chron. 18; 20.35ff.). The magnitude of her impact on Jehoram and Ahaziah may be discerned from the negative textual assessment of their reigns, which is attributed to her influence. Jehoram is said to have followed in the ways of the house of Ahab 'because the daughter of Ahab was his wife' (2 Kgs 8.18). The Chronicler states that Ahaziah's mother was his advisor to do evil, and that members of the house of Ahab were his counselors, to his own detriment (2 Chron. 22.3, 4). These advisors, were, no doubt, members of Athalia's entourage.

The laconic and sometimes contradictory nature of the textual information regarding Athalia's paternity, and the identity of her husband, have been discussed, but never conclusively resolved.²⁷ The only patronym which appears in connection with her name is that of Omri (2 Kgs 18.26; 2 Chron. 22.2), yet she is commonly thought of as the daughter of Ahab. She is assumed to be the wife of Jehoram, but his Omride wife is never named.²⁸ Jehoshaphat is said to have intermarried with the house of Ahab, but the identity of this woman or of her husband is never mentioned (2 Chron. 18.1). Jehoram's matronym is never mentioned. It seems likely that Athalia was the daughter of Omri, and was under the jurisdiction of her brother Ahab.²⁹ He entered into a

27. See J. Begrich, 'Atalja, die tochter Omris', *ZAW* 53 (1935), pp. 78-79; H.J. Katzenstein, 'Who Were the Parents of Athaliah?', *IEJ* 3 (1955), pp. 194-97. See also T. Ishida, 'The House of Ahab', *IEJ* 25 (1975), pp. 135-37.

28. This woman could have been another, less important member of the Omride family.

29. It should be noted that Laban arranged his sister Rebecca's marriage (Gen. 34). Absalom's sister, Tamar, was under her brother's protection (2 Sam. 13 and 1 Chron. 3.9). In 2 Sam. 14.27, she is actually referred to as his daughter. This suggests that some later tradition misunderstood the fraternal relationship, and assumed it to be patriarchal. See also R.H. Pfeiffer and E.A. Speiser, *One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts* (AASOR, 16; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), no. 55, pp. 105-106, and E.R. Lacheman, *Family Law Documents* (Harvard Semitic

comprehensive treaty of cooperation and bi-lateral protection with the newly crowned Jehoshaphat. This agreement included the marriage of his sister, Athalia, to the Judaeen king or his heir apparent, and delineated the extent of her authority within the court.³⁰

Problems of chronology and designation are also evident in the textual reporting of Ahaziah's age and his relationship to Jehoram. He is said to have been twenty-two at the time of his accession to the throne, and is referred to as the בן חתן, 'son-in-law', of the house of Ahab (2 Kgs 8.26-27). The Chronicler, however, puts his age at forty-two (2 Chron. 22.2).³¹ He is alternately identified there as Azariah, son of Jehoram, and as Ahaziah, son of Jehoshaphat (vv. 8-9).³² The Chronicler may be alluding to the fraternal relationship between Jehoram and Ahaziah in an entry dealing with Athalia's cultic activities, when he states: 'The sons of Athaliah...had broken into the house of God, and had also used all the dedicated things of the house of the Lord for the Baals' (2 Chron. 24.7). The names given to the Judaeen kings during this period offer another indication of Athalia's influence. Both Jehoram and Ahaziah had the same names as their Omride counterparts.³³ While some of these inconsistencies may be explained away as scribal errors, their accumulation leaves open two possibilities. This may have been either due to a later lack of understanding of the position of the Queen Mother, or to a deliberate effort to obscure the actual extent of her power within the Davidic royal house.

Athalia came into the Judaeen court at the head of an entourage

Series, 19; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), no. 68, among others, which describe the brother having jurisdiction over his sister, even during the father's lifetime.

30. This sequence of events is based on the assumption that Ahab succeeded to the throne in 871 BCE, Jehoshaphat became sole ruler in 867 and Ahaziah was born in 865. See Tadmor, 'Chronology', p. 302.

31. This has been attributed to scribal error by J.M. Myers, *II Chronicles* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), p. 125.

32. The name Azariah(u) appears twice, in the first as well as the fourth position in the list of the brothers of Jehoram (2 Chron. 21.2). The order of the names on a list of the king's sons usually indicates their hierarchal order of succession (2 Sam. 3.2-5). See K. Spanier, 'The Queen Mother in the Judaeen Royal Court: Maacah', in A. Brenner (ed.), *A Feminist Companion to Samuel and Kings* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 188-91.

33. Josephus states that Athalia's son, Jehoram, had the same name as his maternal uncle. See Josephus, *Ant.* 9.4.1.

which constituted a partisan faction representing her personal interests as well as cultic and national concerns (2 Chron. 22.3, 4). Upon her arrival she assumed the position of the *Gebirah*, either as Jehoshaphat's wife or as his daughter-in-law.³⁴ Like the Hittite Great Ladies, she retained her position in the court for several reigns. Jehoram's matronym was omitted because Athalia's influence upon the court was so great that she replaced his mother in the position traditionally held by the Queen Mother.

Following Ahaziah's death at the hands of Jehu's forces (2 Kgs 9.27), Athalia had all heirs to the Davidic throne killed and assumed the throne as regent (2 Kgs 11.1, 3). Her behavior is consistent with that of Jehoram, who had killed all the other sons of Jehoshaphat upon his accession to the throne (2 Chron. 21.4). The elimination of all possible heirs to the Davidic throne was compatible with the desire of her faction to retain their power in Judah, particularly after the loss of the Israelite kingdom to Jehu. Reviv proposed that Athalia's accession to the throne blocked Jehu's advance into Judah and prevented him from achieving the reunification of Israel and Judah under his control. Having been a strong influence on Jehoram, and the *de facto* ruler during the reign of Ahaziah, Athalia was evidently in a strong enough position to muster the allegiance of the Judaeen armed forces, and to gain the support of those units in the Israelite army who remained loyal to the Omrides.³⁵ Her six-year tenure as regent served to maintain Judaeen independence, while the Yahwistic faction in Jerusalem assembled its own forces and gained enough local support to resist the Israelite assault. She was removed from the throne and assassinated by the forces of Jehoiada on the occasion of the coronation of the boy Jehoash, and in the course of comprehensive cultic reforms designed to re-establish the exclusive worship of Yahweh in Judah (2 Kgs 11.4-20; 2 Chron. 23).³⁶

34. A similar lack of clarity appears concerning the tenure of Rehoboam's chief wife, Maacah, who is listed as the mother of both Abijah and his son, Asa. This may be attributed to the extraordinary amount of power she wielded, which enabled her to retain her position during the reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah, and Asa (1 Kgs 15.10-13). See also the chronological inconsistencies for the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, which are connected with Abi's tenure.

35. See H. Reviv, 'On the Days of Athaliah and Joash', *Beth MiKra* 47 (1970), pp. 541-48 (Hebrew).

36. It should be noted that Yahwistic reforms generally took place following the

The biblical data concerning Hezekiah's mother, Abi, is limited to her son's succession formulae, where she is identified as the daughter of Zechariah (2 Kgs 18.1, 2; 2 Chron. 29.1).³⁷ No further information appears in the text regarding her familial affiliation or place of origin. It is my belief that Abi was the daughter of the last king of the Jehu dynasty. The diplomatic marriage which brought her to the Judaeon court had been arranged between Jeroboam II and Uzziah with his co-regent, Jotham. It was a union of the daughter of the Israelite heir apparent and his Judaeon counterpart.

A review of the historical developments in the period preceeding Hezekiah's birth provides the background and rationale for the marriage. The reigns of Rehoboam II and Uzziah ushered in a period of relative stability and economic growth in both Israel and Judah. Jeroboam apparently initiated a return to amicable relations between the two states, which had not prevailed since the demise of the Omrides. Both kings were energetic and able rulers, whose reigns were remarkable for their longevity.³⁸ Hallo has pointed out that their success was due, in no small measure, to Assyria's preoccupation with other parts of its hegemony, and to the fact that the Aramaeans were not yet fully recovered from the previous setbacks they had suffered. The west was thus left to its own devices, and the relatively stable reigns in Israel and Judah brought about a period of prosperity and expansion which had not been known since the heyday of the Solomonic era.³⁹

The Israelite kingdom reached the apex of its territorial and economic expansion during the reign of Jeroboam (2 Kgs 14.23-29). He succeeded in his battles against the Aramaeans, winning decisive victories in Gilead, where he restored to Israel cities which had been captured away in the previous reigns. He also increased his holdings in the

tenure of powerful Queen Mothers. Asa's reform included the removal of Maacah, and Jehu had Jezebel killed in the course of his Yahwistic revolt. Josiah's reform may also have coincided with the removal of the powerful Queen Mother, Meshullemeth.

37. In the Chronicler's account she is referred to as Abijah, daughter of Zechariah. This name appears once again as a female (1 Chron. 2.24) and occurs several times as a male name (1 Sam. 8.2; 2 Chron. 11.20; 1 Kgs 14.1). It is interesting to note that the names of Maacah and Athalia are also epicene.

38. Jeroboam is said to have ruled for 41 years, and Uzziah for 52, including the period of his co-regency with Jotham.

39. See W.W. Hallo, 'From Qarqar to Carchemish, Assyria and Israel in the Light of New Discoveries', *BA* 23 (1960), pp. 34-64.

lower Golan and in the south (Amos 6.13).⁴⁰ Uzziah is said to have re-established control over southern territories and considerably increased his holdings,⁴¹ and to have launched building projects in the city of Jerusalem, constructed military fortifications, and developed his agriculture and international trade connections (2 Chron. 26.4-15).⁴²

At the beginning of their alliance Judah seems to have been under the influence of the larger, more prosperous northern kingdom. The similarities have been noted between this period and that of the reigns of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, who ruled in Judah under the shadow of powerful Omride kings.⁴³ In the second quarter of the eighth century, as Judah gained military and economic strength, the vigor of the Israelite kingdom began to wane. Pressure from the Aramaeans began to mount and internal political conflicts became frequent and troublesome.⁴⁴ It was at some time during this period that the marriage of Abi and the heir to the Davidic throne was arranged, as part of an accord which was expected to yield strategic and economic benefits to both kingdoms. The Jehuïdes needed support in their struggle against the ongoing Gileadite insurrection, and Jotham sought to bolster and maintain the economic and military advances which had been achieved. The marriage between the daughter of the Israelite heir apparent and the future Davidic king would provide their offspring with legitimacy among the populations of both kingdoms.⁴⁵

The similarities in the textual treatment of this period and that of

40. See M. Haran, 'The Rise and Decline of the Empire of Jeroboam Ben Joash', VT 17 (1967), pp. 266-97.

41. It should be noted that J.M. Miller and J.H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), suggest that the Chronicler's account of the *great* accomplishments of Uzziah and Jotham are greatly exaggerated (see p. 311).

42. See M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988) p. 168. They point out that Jeroboam and Jotham (as co-regent with Uzziah) also cooperated on obtaining a census of Gilead and Bashan (1 Chron. 5.17).

43. See Miller and Hayes, *A History*, pp. 310-13.

44. The prophecy of Amos (4.1-3) reflects the existence of a powerful Transjordanian faction which must have wielded a great deal of influence within the court at Samaria. The subsequent Syro-Ephraïmite coalition was the result of an earlier conjunction of these forces.

45. According to Tadmor's chronology, Hezekiah was born in 752 BCE, approximately four years prior to Zechariah's accession to the throne of Israel. See Miller and Hayes, *A History*, p. 303.

Athalia are striking. The depiction of the inter-relationship between Ahaz and the Jehuïdes is similar to that of Jehoram and the Omrides. As in the case of Jehoram, no mother is ever mentioned in connection with Ahaz. His name is a variant of Jehoahaz, and, like Jehoram and Ahaziah, he was the namesake of an Israelite king, one of the Queen Mother's ancestors.⁴⁶ As in the case of the Omrides, several chronological problems also exist in the accounts of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel during this period, not the least of which is the apparent eleven-year age difference between Ahaz and Hezekiah.⁴⁷ Scholarly consensus has not been reached concerning the synchronic chronology of this period, but most agree that Hezekiah's birth occurred within the latter part of the reign of Jeroboam II, during the period of Uzziah's co-regency with Jotham.⁴⁸ Abi is usually assumed to be the wife of Ahaz, but may have been the wife of Jotham and the mother of both Ahaz and Hezekiah.

The negative textual assessment of the reign of Ahaz is attributed to his being under the influence of the Israelite kings (2 Kgs 16.3-4; 2 Chron. 28.2-3). As in the case of Athalia, this may be a reflection of the power of the Israelite contingent which had been brought into the court by Abi. The Chronicler's account of the burial of Ahaz provides another indication of the ancestral relationship between Ahaz and the dynasty of Jehu. It states that he was interred in the city of Jerusalem 'but they did not bring him to the tombs of the kings of Israel' (2 Chron. 28.27).⁴⁹ It is likely that, not unlike the treatment of the

46. In the annals of Tiglath Pileser III, the name of the Judæan king appears as Jehoahaz (Iauhazi) of Judah. See D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), I, no. 801, pp. 287-88.

47. Ahaz is said to have begun his rule at age 20 and to have been on the throne for 16 years (2 Kgs 16.2). Hezekiah was 25 years old at the time he succeeded Ahaz to the throne.

48. See, for example, the differing opinions of E.R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961). Also W.F. Albright, 'The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel', *BASOR* 100 (1945), pp. 16-22; J.H. Hayes and P.K. Hooker, *A New Chronology for the Kings of Israel and Judah* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1988), and N. Naaman, 'Historical and Chronological Notes on the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the 8th Century BCE', *VT* 36.1 (1986), pp. 71-92; W.H. Barnes, *Studies in the Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

49. Myers, *II Chronicles*, attributes this to the Chronicler's 'predilections for the Davidic line as the legitimate one in "Israel"' (see p. 161).

material concerning Athalia, the accumulation of textual inconsistencies is a result of a scribal effort to diminish the importance of the Queen Mother, who represented northern Israelite interests in the Davidic court.

Zechariah was assassinated six months after he had assumed the throne, in the course of a revolt led by Shallum the Gileadite. This brought to an end a century of Jehuide rule, and Israel was thrown into turmoil. It is likely that many members of the northern nobility, who had been in the service of the royal family, flocked to Jerusalem, where Abi functioned as the titular head of the Israelite contingent, and her son was the heir apparent to the throne. Ahaz succeeded Jotham to the throne five years later.⁵⁰ Pekah, who had usurped the Israelite throne, joined forces with Rezin of Syria, and together they commenced a war against Judah (Isa. 7.1ff.).⁵¹ The long-held scholarly view on the purpose of the Syro-Ephraimite war against Ahaz was expressed by Begrich, who posited that the war was launched in order to coerce Ahaz to join the coalition which was forming in the face of an impending Assyrian onslaught.⁵² Oded, on the other hand, asserted that the war was fought in order to dislodge Judah from its Transjordanian possessions.⁵³ An additional motive may be adduced from the coalition's attempt to replace Ahaz with the son of Tab-El (Isa. 7.6). In view of the extremely unstable conditions in Israel, it is likely that there was considerable agitation within the populace to come under Judaeon rule, where a descendant of the house of Jehu would be the king. The familial relationship between that house and the Davidic dynasty posed a potent threat to Pekah, who could make no claim to hereditary legitimacy to the throne. In order to secure his rule over Israel, it was incumbent upon him to bring an end to the rule of the Davidic dynasty at Jerusalem, and to place an outsider on the throne. Tab-El was a member of the ruling family at Tyre, which had familial ties with the Omrides through Jezebel.⁵⁴

50. This according to Tadmor's 'Chronology'.

51. See also 2 Kgs 15.37 and 16.5 as well as M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (London: A. & C. Black, 1960), pp. 259-60.

52. See J. Begrich, 'Der syrich-ephraimitische Krieg und seine weltpolitischen Zusammenhänge', *ZDMG* 83 (1929), pp. 213-37.

53. See B. Oded, 'The Historical Background of the Syro-Ephraimite War Reconsidered', *CBQ* 34 (1972), pp. 153-65.

54. See G.W. Ahlstrom, *The History of Ancient Palestine* (Minneapolis:

The western campaign of Tiglath Pileser III was launched in order to re-establish Assyrian hegemony in the area.⁵⁵ Ahaz quickly declared his allegiance to the Assyrian ruler, became his tributary and sought his help against the Syro-Ephraimite threat (2 Kgs 16.7-10). In the course of the ensuing Assyrian campaign Damascus was destroyed and Israel's territory was much reduced. The Transjordanian territories were overrun and their population taken into exile (2 Kgs 15.29; 1 Chron. 5.6). Pekah was removed from the throne and replaced by Hosea, who remained on the throne until the subsequent final destruction of Israel a decade later.⁵⁶ The devastation of the northern kingdom and the migration of large numbers of its citizens into Judah foreshadowed the final destruction of the northern Israelite state and greatly intensified the desire to re-unite all of Israel under the rule of Hezekiah, the descendant of the Davidic dynasty as well as of the house of Jehu.

The position of the foreign-born Queen Mother in the Judaeen court is similar to that of the Great Lady at Hatti, Ugarit, and elsewhere in the ancient Near East. The extent of her power was determined by the strategic and political circumstances which brought about her marriage. The diplomatic marriage contract included provisions which insured the woman's primary status in the polygamous royal household, and her son's position as the heir apparent to the throne, regardless of his chronological position among his agnatic siblings. This woman was accompanied by an entourage which included cultic personnel and political advisors, who comprised a partisan faction within her husband's royal court. The primary interest of this contingent was to serve the interests of the woman and her ancestral family.

Athaliah and Abi were the only Northern Israelite royal women who became Queen Mothers in the Judaeen court. Contrary to custom, their influence spanned over several reigns. Their tenures, which were a century apart, mark the beginning and the end of the house of Jehu. Athalia was the Judaeen Queen Mother during the destruction of the Omrides and Jehu's rise to power in Israel. Abi was in the court of Judah when her father, the last king of the dynasty, was assassinated. In both instances, the Judaeen court then became the center for the activities of the Israelite survivors of the ousted dynasties. These women's

Fortress Press, 1993), pp. 630, 633-36. For a different interpretation, see W.F. Albright, 'The Son of Tabeel (Isa. 7.6)', *BASOR* 140 (1955), pp. 34-35.

55. See Ahlstrom, *Ancient Palestine*, p. 629.

56. See Miller and Hayes, *A History*, pp. 330-32, and *ANET*, p. 284.

tenures were marked by a strong Israelite influence over the Judaeen throne, and a serious threat to the survival of the Davidic dynasty.

The lack of textual clarity, and the pattern of similarities in the rendition of the reigns of Jehoram and Ahaz, may be attributed to the authors' ambivalence in recording the careers of the Queen Mothers who personified the extraordinary Northern Israelite influence on the Judaeen kingdom. Their reigns were immediately followed by sweeping Yahwistic cultic reforms, which included, in each case, an attempt to unify the two kingdoms under Davidic rule.

FRAGMENTS OF A DEUTERONOMY SCROLL FROM MASADA:
DEUTERONOMY 33.17–34.6 (1043/A-D)

Shemaryahu Talmon

The excavation of Masada, led by Yigael Yadin, yielded a considerable number of inscribed materials, among them remains of fifteen parchment documents written in Hebrew square characters, and one papyrus fragment penned in the ancient Hebrew alphabet. Yadin published in full the extant fragments of a Ben-Sira Scroll,¹ and a fragment of שִׁירוֹת עוֹלָת הַשַּׁבָּת,² a work known from more extensive finds in the Qumran Caves.³

Seven items stem from copies of biblical books: Genesis, Leviticus and Psalms (two scrolls each), Deuteronomy and Ezekiel. Of six further small pieces which evidently come from non-biblical compositions, some can be identified with a measure of confidence, while others escape identification.⁴ Yadin recorded these finds in his excavation

1. Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem: IES and The Shrine of the Book, 1965).

2. C. Newsom and Y. Yadin, 'The Masada Fragments of the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice', *IEJ* 34 (1984), pp. 77-88.

3. J. Strugnell, 'The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran—Serek Širot 'Olat Haššabbat', in J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume: Oxford 1959* (VTSup, 7; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), pp. 318-45; C. Newsom, 'Širot 'Olat Hashabbat', in E. Eshel *et al.* (eds.), *Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1. Qumran Cave 4. VI* (DJD, 11; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 173-401.

4. Three more items without any identifying sigla turned up in Yadin's *Nachlass*. One scrap, measuring 5.6×2.4 cm, contains a few letters of three partially preserved lines. On another almost rectangular piece of parchment, which measures 3.5×2.0 cm, legible parts of seven written lines are extant. The third item consists of one fragment measuring 5.4×5.0 cm, which contains the beginnings of three lines of Ps. 18.26-29. On two additional snippets, which seem to belong with it, the remains of a few letters are extant which cannot be deciphered. Most probably, these three items do not stem from Masada, but rather from Qumran. Yadin probably acquired them on the antiquities market. See S. Talmon, 'Unidentified Hebrew

report,⁵ but it was not given him to publish them. The publication was entrusted to me in the framework of the comprehensive edition of the Masada excavations (forthcoming).⁶

In the present paper I shall discuss the fragments of a Deuteronomy scroll. Yadin did not mention this item in his first excavation report,⁷ since it was only discovered in the second season. But he referred to it in the published text of his 'Qumran and Masada' lecture,⁸ and later described it shortly in *EAE*:⁹

Deuteronomy. Fragments of this scroll were found hidden beneath the floor of the synagogue.¹⁰ The top of the last parchment with several verses from chapter 33 was mainly preserved. To the left of the text was a wide blank sheet, which was rolled up and sewn to the scroll to make it easier to unroll it.¹¹

Fragments from Y. Yadin's Nachlass', *Tarbiz* 66 (1997), pp. 113-21 (Hebrew).

5. See Y. Yadin, 'The Locus of the Scrolls: The Documents and Inscriptions', *The Excavation of Masada—1963/64. Preliminary Report, IEJ* 15 (1965), pp. 79-82, 103-105 = 117-115 (השכ"ט ידעות כ"ט (השכ"ה)).

6. For a preliminary publication of the non-biblical items, see S. Talmon, 'Fragments of Scrolls From Masada', *Eretz Israel* 20, *Y. Yadin Volume* (ed. A. Ben-Tor, J.C. Greenfield and A. Malamat; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989), pp. 278-86 (Hebrew); *idem*, 'Fragments of an Apocryphal Book of Joshua from Masada', *JJS* 47 (1996), pp. 129-39, rev. translation of a paper published in *Hebrew Language Studies in Honor of C. Rabin at his 75th Birthday* (ed. M. Goshen-Gottstein, S. Morag and S. Kogut; Jerusalem: Akademon, 1991), pp. 147-57 (Hebrew). For the biblical items see *idem*, 'Fragments of a Psalms Scroll from Masada, MPs^b (Masada 1103-1742)', in M. Brettler and M. Fishbane (eds.), *Minhah le-Nahum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of his Seventieth Birthday* (JSOTSup, 154; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 318-27; *idem*, 'Fragments of Two Scrolls of the Book of Leviticus from Masada', in S. Ahituv and B.A. Levine (eds.), *Eretz Israel*, 24, *A. Malamat Volume* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), pp. 99-110 (Hebrew).

7. See Yadin, *Excavation*, pp. 103ff.

8. *BIES* 30 (1966), p. 138 (Hebrew).

9. Y. Yadin, 'Masada', *Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (ed. M. Avi-Yonah; Jerusalem: Masada, 1975), p. 813, and cf. p. 810.

10. Like the fragments of an Ezekiel scroll. See S. Talmon, 'Fragments of an Ezekiel Scroll from Masada', *OLP* 27 (1996), pp. 29-49. Yadin considered these finds an added proof that the locus in which they were discovered was indeed a synagogue. See Y. Yadin, *Masada: In Those Days—At This Time* (Haifa: Shiqmona/Maariv Library, 1966), pp. 187-88 (Hebrew).

11. The item is kept in the Rockefeller Museum under glass mounted on a silk base. The arrangement of its constituent four fragments is reflected in a

Description

MasDeut consists of four inscribed or partially inscribed fragments of parchment of unequal size: (a) measures 8.0×8.0 cm and contains most of the preserved text, the beginnings of seven lines of the last column on the sheet. A part of the top margin of this column is extant to the width of 3.4 cm. The largest fragment (b), 13.8×10.0 cm, consists primarily of a blank length of parchment,¹² sewn on to the preceding last written sheet, and a strip of the left-hand margin of the last column of that sheet. Next to the margin the endings of seven lines are preserved, five of which are the continuations of those on (a). Fragment (c) is considerably smaller, 4.0×3.3 cm, and holds parts of four written lines. On the other small fragment (d) which measures 2.0×4.5 cm, letters from the middle parts of six lines are extant. (c) and (d) can be conjoined on the strength of their contours and textual sequence. They will henceforth be designated (c). Similarly, (a) and (b) can be aligned. Since the extant text is identical with MT, all components of MasDeut can be appropriately placed with confidence in the proposed restoration of its text.

The color of the parchment is of various shades of brown. The right-hand side of (a) is of a dark brown hue; its left-hand side is much lighter. (b) and (c) are of a light brown color. The upper right-hand part of (b) is flaked. Therefore, the writing on it has become illegible. The edges of all fragments are rugged, and all, foremost (b), are perforated by holes of various sizes, which resulted from the deterioration of the material, with some probably made by vermin.

The blank stretch of parchment measuring 9.7×11.0 cm, which makes up most of (b), is evidently the remainder of the handle sheet that served as a protective wrapper for the written columns, and was probably stitched to the scroll after the completion of the writing.¹³

photographic mock-up which was found in Yadin's *Nachlass* together with a proposed reconstruction of its text, and which with some changes serves as the basis of the ensuing discussion.

12. See below.

13. I am indebted to Professor H. Stegemann for the following observation: Judging by the lineaments of the deteriorated material, the leather of the handle sheet, and probably of the entire scroll, was about twice as thick as that of the Hodayoth Scroll from Qumran (1QH), and approximately 2.5 mm thicker than that of the Temple Scroll (11QTemp). Moreover, it had been very tightly rolled.

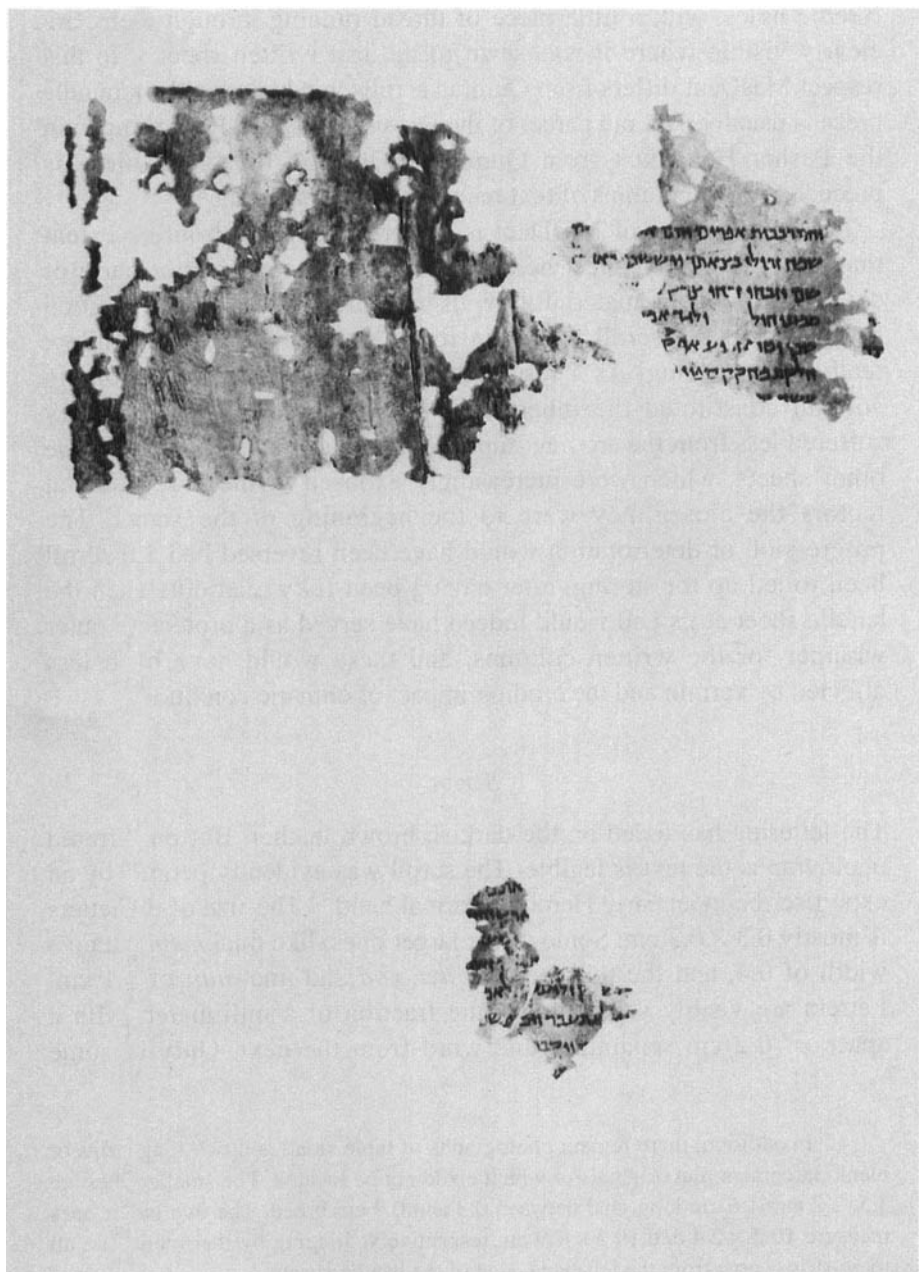


Figure 1. *Fragments of a Deuteronomy Scroll (Masada 1043/A-D)*

Needle holes, with a little piece of thread running through them, are clearly visible where it was sewn to the last written sheet.¹⁴ In this respect MasDeut differs from Qumran scrolls in which the blank handle piece is usually part and parcel of the last written sheet. For example, in the Peshar Habakkuk from Qumran (1QpHab), the blank piece is preceded by six columns of text recorded on the same sheet.

The handle sheet of MasDeut is preserved to a much larger extent than the last written sheet before it, which is mostly lost because of deterioration of the material, like all preceding sheets. This condition suggests that the scroll had been rolled up from end to beginning, readied for reading. As a result, the handle sheet and the adjoining column constituted the innermost part of the roll. Therefore they suffered less from the eroding impact of climate and/or vermin than the other sheets, which were increasingly exposed to these detrimental factors the closer they were to the beginning of the scroll. The progression of deterioration would have been reversed had the scroll been rolled up for storing, after having been fully read out. Then the handle sheet at its end would indeed have served as a protective outer wrapper for the written columns, and these would have been less affected by vermin and the eroding impact of climatic conditions.

Script

The lettering has faded on the darkish brown leather. But on infrared photographs the text is legible. The scroll was evidently penned by an expert scribe in an early Herodian formal hand.¹⁵ The size of the letters is mostly 0.3×0.3 cm. Some of the larger ones, like final *mem*, attain a width of 0.4, and the thin letters *waw*, *yod* and final *nun* of 0.1 cm. Letters are visibly separated by the fraction of a millimeter, with a space of 0.2 cm separating one word from the next. Only in some

14. In addition, there remain photographs of three small and two long strips of blank parchment, the originals of which could not be located. The smaller ones are 3.5, 2.2 and 1.6 cm long, and between 0.3 and 0.9 cm broad. The two larger ones measure 10.2×2.4 and 10.2×1.9 cm respectively. Judging by their contours, all these strips come from the left-hand edge of the handle sheet.

15. See F.M. Cross, Jr, 'The Development of the Jewish Scripts', in G.E. Wright (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W.F. Albright* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961; reprinted Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1979), p. 138, fig. 2, ll. 3, 4.

instances two letters will be contiguous, as, for example, בתך in תך (a, l. 2), גר in גר (a, l. 4), ספן in פו (a, l. 6), גור in גו (b, l. 7) or עב in עב (c, l. 6). There are no dry rulings. But the scribe nevertheless managed to keep his lines straight and parallel to each other, with an inter-line space of c. 0.8 cm, measured from the letter tops in one line to the letter tops in the next. Also, the line beginnings on (a) are perfectly adjusted.

Transcription

(b) + (a)	
והם רבבות אפרים והם אלפי מנשה	1
שמח וזבולן בצאתך ויששכר באהל[י]ף [עמים] הר יקראו	2
שם יובחו זבחי צדק כן [ש]פע ימים יינקו ו[שפני]	3
טמוני חול ולגר אמר]	4
שכן ושרף זרוע אף ק[דקד] ו[רא רא] שיה' לו [כי] שם	5
חלקת מחקק ספון [ויחא ראשי עם] צדקת יהוה	6
עשה ו[שפשו] עם ישראל ולדן אמר דן גור	7
נ[פחל]י שבע]	8
ולא[שר]	9
(c) + (d)	
ואת כל נ[פחל]י	1
ארץ יהודה	2
[בקעת]	3
יהוה אליו זאת	4
לי צחק וליעק[ב] לאמר	5
ו[שמה] לא חעבר וימת שם	6
יהוה ויקבר]	7
א[יש]	8

Comments

The extant fragments of MasDeut contain parts of Deuteronomy 33–34, with (a) holding most of the preserved text. Opposite the endings of ll. 4 and 5 on (a), across the margin which separates this column from the one before it, a *resh* can still be discerned, which is the last letter of לשמ (Deut. 32.46) at the end of the parallel line in the preceding column. Beneath it, the word דבר of the phrase לא ידבר (Deut. 32.47) is legible. We can therefore conclude that the preserved

fragments are remains of the last inscribed sheet of the scroll which contained the closing part of Deuteronomy.¹⁶

The preserved text of MasDeut is identical with MT, with the exception of the defective spelling שפני at the end of (b) + (a), l. 3, as against the MT plene spelling שפני (Deut. 33.19).¹⁷ Although the crucial letters are only partially preserved on the fragment, the reading is not in doubt. Remnants of not more than four letters can still be seen: the top of the first is patently the head of *sin/shin*; the second intact letter is a *peh*;¹⁸ and the last one a *yod*. Only a fraction of the somewhat rounded top of the third letter remains, similar to the top of *nun* in נחני at the beginning of the next line, and different from the pointed head of *waw* which precedes *nun* in that word. Now, while *waw* could have been omitted in a defective spelling of שפני, the *nun* is indispensable.

This sole slight divergence does not impair the overall textual agreement of MasDeut with MT, which is underlined by its agreement with the masoretic section system. The Masada fragment exhibits a blank in (a + b), l. 4 after the word חול with which the blessing of Issachar ends (Deut. 33.19). MT (A¹⁹ and L²⁰) marks there a closed

16. It follows that MasDeut differed significantly from a Deuteronomy scroll found in Qumran Cave IV (4QDeut⁴), which is represented by a fragment containing the ending of Deut. 32. To the left of the written column there is an 'extremely wide left margin, with no trace of stitching, after the ending of Deut. 32'. This shows 'with certainty that Deut. 33 and 34 were never intended to follow it in this copy, so that we are not dealing with parts of a complete scroll'. See P.W. Skehan, 'A Fragment of the "Song of Moses" (Deut 32) from Qumran', *BASOR* 136 (1954), pp. 12-15. See now *DJD*, XIV, pp. 137-42.

17. However, some printed editions exhibit the defective spelling שפני.

18. Cf. the letter *peh* in ספני (l. 6). Note that the word is spelled with a פ, as in MT, while in l. 3 it is spelled with a פ both in MT and in MasDeut.

19. The exceeding importance of the Aleppo Codex (A) was highlighted in a series of publications after the manuscript became available for scholarly investigation in the 1950s. See *inter alia* I. Ben-Zvi, 'The Codex of Ben Asher', *Textus* 1 (1960), pp. 1-16; D.S. Loewinger, 'The Aleppo Codex and the Ben Asher Tradition', *Textus* 1 (1960), pp. 59-111. For the section system of A, compared with that of L (Codex Leningrad), see M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'The Authenticity of the Aleppo Codex', *Textus* 1 (1960), pp. 17-58, and in reference to Qumran Isaiah manuscripts and commentaries, Y. Maori, 'The Tradition of Pisqā'ōt in Ancient Hebrew MSS: The Isaiah Texts and Commentaries from Qumran', *Textus* 10 (1982), pp. 1-50 (Hebrew).

20. See J.M. Oesch, *Petucha und Setuma* (OBO, 27; Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979). In A this word opens a new line, and is followed

section, פרשה סתומה. The evident concurrence suggests that MasDeut probably contained the MT sections throughout.²¹ This supposition was taken in account in the proposed restoration of its text by positing blanks at pertinent junctures: (a + b), l. 7, before the blessing of Dan (33.22, MT: closed section), with the line containing 29 letters and seven inter-word spaces; (a + b), l. 9, before the blessing of Asher (33.24, MT: closed section), with the line containing 32 letters and seven inter-word spaces;²² and an especially large blank after תדרך, the last word of the eulogy which is adjoined to the blessings of the tribes (33.29, MT: closed section). That line would have held only 20 letters.²³

The textual identity of MasDeut with MT provides a secure basis for the restoration of the last two columns of the scroll.²⁴

Restored Text

	Column I
באוני העם הוא והושע בן נון ויכל משה לדבר	1
את כל הדברים האלה אל כל ישראל ויאמר	2
אלהם שימו לבבכם לכל הדברים אשר אנכי	3
מעיד בכם היום אשר תצום את בניכם לשמך	4
לעשות את כל דברי התורה הזאת כי לא דבר	5
רק הוא מכם כי הוא חייכם ובדבר הזה תאריכו	6
ימים על האדמה אשר אתם עברים את הירדן	7
שמה לרשתה	8
וידבר יהוה אל משה בעצם היום הזה לאמר עלה	9
אל הר העברים הזה הר נבו אשר בארץ מואב	10
אשר על פני ירחו וראה את ארץ כנען אשר אני	11
נתן לבני ישראל לאחזה ומת בהר אשר אתה עלה	12
שמה והאסף אל עמך כאשר מת אהרן אחיך בהר	13
ההר ויאסף אל עמיו על אשר מעלתם כי בתוך בני	14

by a blank of eight spaces. The line ends on אמר.

21. But see below.

22. However, since the number of spaces in the line approximates the average of 40, MasDeut possibly did not contain here the *parashah* marked in MT.

23. All three cases are listed by Maimonides. See Oesch, *Petucha und Setuma*, p. T 2+. In A the line opens with an indentation in which five letters could be accommodated.

24. I cannot offer any explanation of the wedge-like sign over the first letter of קדקד in (a + b), l. 5.

15	ישראל במי מריבת קדש מדבר צן על אשר לא
16	קדשתם אותי בתוך בני ישראל כי מגד תראה את
17	הארץ ושמה לא תבוא אל הארץ אשר אני נתן
18	לבני ישראל
19	וזאת הברכה אשר ברך משה איש האלהים את בני
20	ישראל לפני מותו ויאמר יהוה מסיני בא וזרח משעיר
21	למו הופיע מהר פארן ואתה מרבבת קדש מימינו
22	אשדת למו אף חבב עמים כל קדשיו בידך והם
23	תבו לרגלך ישא מדברתיך תורה צוה לנו משה מורשה
24	קהלת יעקב ויהי בישרון מלך בהתאסף ראשי עם
25	יחד שבטי ישראל יחי ראובן ואל ימת ויהי מתיו
26	מספר וזאת ליהודה ויאמר שמע
27	יהוה קול יהודה ואל עמו תביאנו ידיו רב לו
28	ועזר מצרייו תהיה וללוי אמר תמיד ואורידך
29	לאיש חסידך אשר נסיתו במסה תריבחו על
30	מי מריבה האמר לאביו ולאמו לא ראיתיו ואת
31	אחיו לא הכיר ואת בנו לא ידע כי שמרו אמרתך
32	ובריתך יצרו ויורו משפטיך ליעקב ותורתך לישראל
33	ישימו קטורה באפך וכליל על מזבחך ברך יהוה
34	חילו ופעל ידיו תרצה מחץ מתנים קמיו ומשנאיו מן
35	יקומו לבנימן אמר ידידי יהוה ישכן לבטח
36	עליו חפף עליו כל היום ובין כתפיו שכן וליוסף
37	אמר מברכת יהוה ארצו ממגד שמים משל
38	ומתהום רבצת תחת וממגד תבואת שמש וממגד
39	גרש ירחים ומראש הררי קדם וממגד גבעות
40	עולם וממגד ארץ ומלאה ורצון שכני סנה תבואתה לראש
41	יוסף ולקדקד נזיר אחיו בכור שורו הדר לו
42	וקרני ראם קרניו בהם עמים יגח יחדיו אפסי ארץ

Column II

1	והם רבבות אפרים והם אלפי מנשה ולזבולן אמר
2	שמח זבולן בצאתך ויששכר באהילך עמים חר יקראו
3	שם יזבחו זבחי צדק כי שפע ימים יינקו ושפלי
4	טמוני חול ולגר אמר ברוך מרחיב גר כלביא
5	שכן ושרף זרוע אף קדקד נירא ראשית לו כי שם
6	חלקת מחקק ספון ויחא ראשי עם צדקת יהוה
7	עשה ומשפטיו עם ישראל ולדן אמר דן גור
8	אריה יונק מן הבשן ולנפתל אמר נפתלי שבע
9	רצון ומלא ברכת יהוה ים ודרום ירשה ולאשר
10	אמר ברוך מבנים אשר יחי רצוי אחיו וטבל בשמן

11	רגלו ברזל ונחשת מנעליך וכימך דבאך אין כאל
12	ישרון רכב שמים בעורך ובנאותו שחקים מענה
13	אלהי קדם ומתחת זרעת עולם ויגרש מפניך אויב
14	ויאמר השמר וישכן ישראל בטח בדרך עין יעקב
15	אל ארץ דגן ותירוש אף שמיו יערפו מל אשריך
16	ישראל מי כמך עם נושע ביהוה מן עורך ואשר
17	חרב גאותך ויכחשו איביך לך ואתה על במותימו
18	תדרך ויעל משה מערבת מואב אל
19	הר נבו ראש הפסגה אשר על פני ירחו ויראהו
20	יהוה את כל הארץ את הגלעד עד דן ואת כל נפתלי
21	ואת ארץ אפרים ומנשה ואת כל ארץ יהודה עד
22	הים האחרון ואת הנגב ואת הככר בקעת ירחו
23	עיר התמרים עד צער ויאמר יהוה אליו ואת הארץ
24	אשר נשבעתי לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב לאמר לזרעך
25	אתננה הראיתיך בעיניך ושלמה לא תעבר וימת שם משה
26	עבד יהוה בארץ מואב על פי יהוה ויקבר אתו בגי
27	בארץ מואב מול בית פעור ולא ידע איש את קברתו
28	עד היום הזה ומשה בן מאה ועשרים שנה במתו לא
29	כהתה עינו ולא נס לחה ויבכו בני ישראל את משה
30	בערבת מואב שלשים יום ויחמו ימי בכי אבל משה
31	ויהושע בן נון מלא רוח חכמה כי סמך משה את ידיו עליו
32	וישמעו אליו בני ישראל ויעשו כאשר צוה יהוה
33	את משה ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל כמשה אשר ידעו
34	יהוה פנים אל פנים לכל האותות והמופתים אשר שלחו
35	יהוה לעשות בארץ מצרים לפרעה ולכל עבדיו ולכל ארצו
36	ולכל הירד החזקה ולכל המורא הגדול אשר עשה משה
37	לעיני כל ישראל

Measurements

The fully restored two columns give us a handle for calculating with a high degree of probability the height and the width of the individual column in the MS, the number of columns it contained, and the overall length of the scroll. The reconstruction shows that there were most probably 37 lines in the last, not fully written out column of the scroll,²⁵ and in the preceding one, which may be considered to be representative of the average column size, 42 lines.²⁶ Accordingly, the height of the

25. With a slight margin of error.

26. A column in MasEzek held exactly the same number of lines.

scroll can be ascertained by the following computation: A written column contained 42 lines, with 41 inter-line spaces of 0.8 cm each,²⁷ and one blank line at the bottom marking an open section, like in MT at the end of Deuteronomy 32. Thus, the fully written out column would have been c. 33 cm high (41×0.8). With the almost fully preserved top margin of 3.5 cm, and a bottom margin of presumably the same size, the scroll attained a height of approximately 40 cm.²⁸

We arrive at the width of the standard column by the following computation: A line holds an average of 33 letters and seven inter-word spaces, that is, forty spaces in all. Line 25 in col. II contains the largest number—37 letters and eight inter-word spaces—and line 18, in which we posit a substantial gap marking a closed section, contains the smallest number—22 letters and six inter-word spaces. The average written line is 8.5 cm long. Together with the right-hand margin of c. 1 cm, col. II is 9.5 cm wide. Being the last column, it connects directly with the blank handle sheet. Therefore its margin is probably somewhat narrower than that of the preceding column, which comes to 1.2–1.4 cm where its width can be ascertained (to the right of col. II, ll. 4 and 5).

On the basis of these figures we can try to assess the original length of MasDeut: The reconstructed two last columns contain Deut. 32.4–34.12. This portion constitutes approximately the nineteenth part of the text of Deuteronomy. From here it follows that in its entirety MasDeut would have held 38 columns. Now, the combined width of the last two columns comes to c. 21 cm. We may therefore conclude that the rolled out scroll was c. 4 m (19×21 cm) long.²⁹

27. See above.

28. The data are comparable with those of MasEzek, proving that these two scrolls were considerably larger than MasLev^b, MasPs^a and most Qumran MSS. For example, the average height of a written column of 1QIsa^a is 22.0 cm. With a top margin of 2.0 and a bottom margin of 3.0 cm, that scroll stands c. 27.0 cm high. The comparable figures for 4QpalExod are: $24.7 + 2.7 + 4.3 = 31.7$ cm; 1QapGen: $26.0 + 2.5 + 2.8 = 31.3$ cm; 1QS: $19.8 + 1.5 + 2.7 = 24.0$ cm.

29. This makes it one fifth longer than MasLev^b (3.25–3.35 m). The difference in length would roughly tally with the difference in the number of verses contained in these books. The Masoretes counted 859 verses in Leviticus and 955 in Deuteronomy. A page count in printed editions of these books without an apparatus gives practically the same results—70 versus 56, and in BHK—59 versus 43. 1QIsa^a holds 68 smaller columns. Rolled out, the scroll is 7.34 m long. The book of Isaiah has about 20 per cent more verses than the book of Deuteronomy: 1201 as against 955, comparable to the difference in the number of pages: 88 versus 70 in an

One other point needs to be brought under scrutiny. As said, MasDeut, like MasEzek, was discovered in a cavity under the floor of the synagogue. Yadin termed this cavity '*genizah*'. If the application of this technical term can be justified, some further comments are in order. Traditionally, the term '*genizah*' defines a chamber in a synagogue which is set aside for the storage of 'holy books', foremost of Torah scrolls, which have become unfit for public use, either because their text is found to be faulty to an excessive degree or because they are tattered beyond repair, and therefore have to be taken out of circulation.³⁰ In order to prevent the desecration of deteriorated scrolls or books, which because of their content, language and past ritual function were still considered 'holy', one would deposit them in a *genizah* attached to a synagogue.³¹ If this was indeed the case in the instance under review, one would have to conclude that MasDeut had been affected by considerable deterioration, and therefore was put away in that cavity which served as a *genizah*. This would imply that the scroll had been in use for a considerable, but no longer definable length of time prior to the fall of the fortress in 73–74 CE. These considerations would support the dating of MasDeut on the basis of paleographic criteria to at least the beginning of the Herodian era.³²

edition without apparatus, and 93 versus 59 in *BHK*.

30. See S.Z. Leiman, 'Withdrawal of Biblical Books', in *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence* (Hamden, CO: Archon Books, 1976), pp. 72–86.

31. The classical example is the famous 'Cairo Genizah', which was discovered towards the end of the last century in the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustat (Old Cairo).

32. I wish to thank my assistant Jonathan Ben Dov for help with the preparation of this paper.

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Part III

NORTHWEST AND UGARITIC STUDIES

A RITUAL FOR THE COUNTRY'S SALVATION,
KTU 1.162: A REAPPRAISAL

G. del Olmo Lete*

The existence of text RS [varia] 20 (KTU 1.162) has been known of for many years.¹ It belongs to a private collection, and only recently has it been officially published. The *editio princeps* and first thorough commentary of the text were made by P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee.² This paper, therefore, seeks to offer a series of alternative suggestions, without citing the opinion of these authors and without entering into a discussion on the points already covered in their commentary.

The tablet was presumably recovered in clandestine diggings, which means that we do not know the precise archaeological context in which it was found. It measures 62 × 42 × 23 cm; it is complete and in a good state of preservation.³ Its calligraphy is certainly not, however, in the best Ugaritic scribal tradition.

The text, which appears on both sides, is simple, and its translation does not present any special difficulties, with the exception of a few words that we shall discuss in some detail. These are: *bldn*, *nskt ql'*, *amšrt*, *mslm (mrkbt)*, *mtrn*.

* It is a great honour to take part in this homage to Professor C.H. Gordon, teacher and friend, to whom all the Ugaritologists are so much indebted.

1. Cf. J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica V* (Mission de Ras Shamra, XVI; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale / Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1968), p. 45; J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit d'après les textes de la pratique en cunéiformes alphabétiques* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique, 19; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1980), many times (vd. index, p. 202; the separation points aluded to in p. 52 n. 14 do not exist in the tablet).

2. Cf. P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, 'Textes ougaritiques oubliés et "trans-fuges"', *Sem* 41-42 (1993), pp. 23-58 (42-53). The text is also reproduced in *KTU*², p. 151 [1.162].

3. A good photograph of the tablet is published in *Sem* 41-42 (1993), p. 45.

Its surface structure is also quite distinct: a double heading (ll. 1 // 2-4), separated from the rest by lines; a central body of homogeneous syntactic arrangement (ll. 5-19); and finally, what could be described as an epilogue/closing, which in fact is the continuation of the previous section, though with a slightly different syntactic arrangement.

From the literary point of view the text can be assigned to the genre of cultic texts/lists of gods: it recounts the sacrificial offerings to be made to various deities on the occasion of a cultic celebration or festivity; it therefore has the same content and distribution as the usual Ugaritic cultic texts.

1. The ritual action is, first, described as *dbḥ il bldn*, 'sacrifice/festival of the gods of the country',⁴ a kind of *dbḥ špn* (KTU 1.148) or 'national cultic feast' in which all the gods of Ugarit are honored. It is highly significant in this context that this cultic celebration is recorded in KTU 1.91.6 as one of the *dbḥ mlk*,⁵ the festivals the king must attend and participate in. The implication is, therefore, that the enumeration of all the deities, in one way or other, will play a highly significant role; the implied 'totality' may have some relation with the word *mtrn*, which appears at the end of the text.

2. The second heading, separated from the first by a line, contains the

4. The word is to be interpreted according to Bordreuil and Pardee as an example of a derivative 'qatalān' pattern, highly frequent in both Semitic and Ugaritic (cf. *UT*, p. 63), rather than as a correlative of Arabic *buldān*, which is a broken plural formation. Nevertheless, other analyses of *bldn* can be offered: (1) *bld-n*, 'our country'; (2) *bld-n*, 'the country'. But on the one hand, the determinative *-n* seems to be a morpheme peculiar to magical texts, as an Akkadian loan-morpheme, attached to the subject of their main clause (cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Mantik in Ugarit* [Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas, 3; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1990], p. 104); on the other hand, the use of first personal pronouns (cf. A. Caquot, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* [Paris: Letouzey & Ané, Editeurs, 1979], col. 1405; P. Xella, *Testi rituali di Ugarit*, I [Studi Semitici, 54; Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1981], p. 341) is unusual in cultic texts. Other options cannot be taken into account: 'God of Injustice' < *bl dn* (cf. J.C. De Moor, *UF* 2 [1970], p. 225); '(repas) sacrificiel à El, au ldn' (toponyme) < *b ldn* (de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, p. 168); 'Il Bēl-dīni' = 'Göttlicher Gerichtsherr' (cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, 'Religiöse Texte', in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testament*, B. II, Lief. 3 [Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1988], p. 322 n. 6a).

5. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea según la liturgia de Ugarit* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa, 3; Sabadell [Barcelona]: Editorial AUSA, 1992), p. 174, where Caquot's translation ('notre pays') is accepted.

expression *nskt ql'*. Its first word is easily identifiable by the Ugaritic verb /n-s-k/, 'to pour (liquids)', used in mythological texts, its derivative (cultural) meaning > 'to smelt (metals)'⁶ and the noun *nsk*, 'smith, foundry worker' of different tools and weapons, frequent in administrative texts (specifically, among others, *nsk ḥzm*, 'founder of [heads of] arrows'; allophone, *nsk ḥdm*). The lexeme *nskt* appears in cultic texts only here and in KTU 1.105.22 (*nskt ksp w ḥrṣ*). As such, either a general meaning 'libation' > 'effusion' > 'offering' (supported by hb. *nāsîk*, *nesek*, /n-s-k/; syr. *nsokō*, *neskeṯō*, /n-s-k/; ar. *nasîkat*, *nusk*, /n-s-k/) or a more specific meaning of 'founding' > 'smelted object, statue' (supported also in hb. *nāsîk*, *nesek*, *massekāh*; syr. *nsîkō*, *neskeṯō*, /n-s-k/; ar. *nasîk*, *nasîkat*) is feasible.⁷ While a version: (*un objet*) *fondue* (*en métal précieux*): *un bouclier* would be much too epiexegetic and somewhat tautological; the simple expression should be *ql' ḥrṣ/ksp*, *un bouclier en or/argent*, as in many other cases, for instance, *ks/gl/tql ḥrṣ*; ritual texts tend to be terse and sparing.⁸ On the other hand, the offering of a 'statue' (Herdner, Lipiński, Dietrich-Loretz) to a 'god' (being himself a 'statue' should be 'his own statue') is rather awkward in a standard ritual; the (re)making, consecration and renovation of divine statues must have being something both unique and unusual,⁹ unless reference is being made here to small votive

6. Properly 'to pour smelted, liquified metals'. The same semantic 'glide' is present in Lat. *fundere*, *effundere*.

7. Cf. the dictionaries of Koehler–Baumgartner, 3rd edn, Brockelmann and Hava.

8. Similarly, the version of *nskt ksp w ḥrṣ ṯt* (KTU 1.105.22) as (*un ou des*) *objet(s) foundu(s) en argent et deux (sicles) d'or*, besides splitting the normal syntagma *ksp w ḥrṣ*, would seem to be too imprecise and tautological (a silver object must by nature be a melted object), while the translation of *ḥrṣ ṯt* as '*deux (sicles) d'or*' is grammatically incorrect, since the numeral *ṯt* always accompanies the enumerated item in dual (-*m*) and implies a feminine noun; cf. Gordon, *UT*, p. 44 (although *ṯn* does appear sometimes with feminine nouns also); cf. for instance the correct elliptic (*tql*) concordance in *ḥmšt ḥrṣ*. . . *ḥmšt 'šrt ksp* (KTU 4.341.5) and *ḥrṣ ṯltt* (KTU 1.43.5).

9. Cf. in this connection J.-M. Durand, 'La religion de Siria durante la época de los reinos amorreos según la documentación de Mari', in G. del Olmo Lete (ed.), *Religión y Mitología del Oriente Antiguo II/1. Semitas occidentales (Ebla, Mari)* (Estudios Orientales, 8; Sabadell [Barcelona]: Editorial AUSA, 1995), pp. 272 ff. However, the translation 'ingot' (Xella, followed by Del Olmo Lete) does not recommend itself either. The offering of 'silver and gold' (*ksp w ḥrṣ*) when put together seems to correspond to an unspecified standard amount (cf. KTU 1.90.3-4

statuettes. I would prefer for *nskt* within this text type, that is, a cultic text (halfway between mythological and administrative), a general meaning 'offering/effusion' as a *cultic technical expression* applied to the offering of precious metals or metallic objects,¹⁰ reflecting in this way the confluence of the basic meaning of the basis /n-s-k/ with the cultural one applied to the 'fusion' of metals (cf. Spanish *versar* [pour down] said of liquids and money).

The expression *nskt ql'*, 'the offering of the shield', might be understood as the first 'object' presented to the divinity in this ritual, but it remains isolated, the classic offering formula coming immediately afterwards (DN + X). A better explanation might be that it is a sort of 'title-name' for the ritual which specifies the first more general *dbḥ il bldn* (cf. for instance KTU 1.41/87.1: *byrh riš yn bym ḥdṭ šmtr uṭkl*; 1.40.26: *wšqrb 'r mšr mšr bn ugrt*). The ritual could in this way be entitled 'The offering of the shield' and may correspond to a ceremony of entreaty to the gods for protection and help against enemy attacks on the country; this is the derivative meaning that 'shield' (*māgēn*) obtains in biblical Hebrew (for instance, Gen. 15.1). It will have its 'pendant' in 'magical' texts like KTU 1.103+ (cf. KTU 1.127.30) and 'rituals' like 1.119 (with its explicit invocation to Baal in the same sense). The simple mention of *ql'* places the text in a military context or semantic field.¹¹ And this unprejudiced observation finds a curious confirmation in the mention of *mrkbt* again in the epilogue of the tablet and gives a hint of the cultic setting of this ritual.

On this occasion the supreme and ancestral god and head of the pantheon or 'divine family', 'the God-Father' *ilib*¹² is entreated and honored in the first place, according to the classic Ugaritic sacrificial system: *šrp wšlmm*,¹³ with victims offered in holocaust (*alp wš*) and as peace-offerings (again *in alpm wtn šm*).

and par.; 1.105.22); when both elements appear separately, the precise object or quantity is specified (*ks*, *gl*, *ṭql*; cf. e.g. KTU 1.43.10, 12; 1.112.3-4).

10. This a correction to my own version of KTU 1.105.8 (*lingote*) in the wake of Xella.

11. On the other hand, gods do not use defensive arms such as the shield; cf. G. del Olmo Lete, 'The Divine Panoply (KTU 1.65.112-14)', *Aula Orientalis* 10 (1992), pp. 254-56.

12. Cf. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea*, p. 55-56; K. van der Toorn, 'Ilib and the "God of the Father"', *UF* 25 (1993), pp. 379-387.

13. Cf. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea*, pp. 29-30; *idem*, 'The Sacrificial Vocabulary at Ugarit', *SEL* 12 (1995), pp. 44-45.

3. The following section, after repeating, as the pattern *šrp-šlmm* requires, the same offering to *ilib*, although this time duplicated, continues the allocation of victims to a series of ten great deities or divine entities of Ugarit: *il, b'l, dgn, yrḥ, ym, il t'dr b'l, 'nt ḥbly, amšrt, dr il wphr b'l, špn*. All of them receive the offering of a *š*, except the last two who get a *gdlt*; the reason for such a distribution is unknown; the sacrificial offerings are, nevertheless, the usual in the Ugaritic cult. The series of gods is well known from the gods' lists and rituals, though this sequence has not been reported elsewhere. All the names appear in the canonical pantheon (cf. KTU 1.118 and par.) though here they are distributed differently: the first group (*ilib, il, b'l, dgn*) is the same in both texts with a slight change in order; this is followed by three advocations (*yrḥ, ym, il t'dr b'l*) that occupy places 29, 13 and 25 in the pantheon; afterwards come the two great goddesses (*'nt*,¹⁴ *amštr*) who, according to my interpretation, occupy numbers 21 and 19 respectively; finally, the avocation *dr il wphr b'l* signifies the cultic unification of the entire divine world, combining *pḥr ilm* of the canonical pantheon (number 28), with the above-mentioned *il t'dr b'l*. This combination is in accordance with the cultic tradition (cf. KTU 1.39.7; 1.41.16/1.87.17-18) and has a special significance, since *dr ilm* and *pḥr b'l* appear in the Baal cycle as two separate and contrasting groups of gods that maintain their own significance even in the canonical pantheon.¹⁵ In cultic praxis the mythological rivalry is forgotten, and all the gods are invoked together.

There is, nevertheless, one feminine DN which is quite unknown, a *hapax*, namely *amšrt*. The editors of the text make no suggestion as to her identity. The term presumably conceals the name of a goddess, and it is coupled with *'nt (ḥbly)*. However, what is most surprising is the absence of the great mother-goddess *atrt*¹⁶ in this series. It is tempting,

14. The translation of the determinative *ḥbly* as *la mutilée*, by allusion to KTU 1.6 I 1-5, seems improbable: in this text we have a cliché applied also to Il who is never called *ḥbly*, however. The context in which the epithet appears would favor an active meaning 'destructive', reflecting the general 'combative' character of the goddess and in this way her readiness to help the country and the dynasty (cf. KTU 1.102:11, *'nt ḥbly*).

15. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaán* (Fuentes de la ciencia bíblica, 1; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1981), pp. 67-70; *idem*, *La religión cananea*, p. 57.

16. Nevertheless, this was also the case in KTU 1.102. But this text represents

therefore, to see in *amšrt* a scribal (hearing-)error/ allophone of *ašrt*, in the wake of the latter evolution of the phoneme /t/ > /š/ (*Attiratu* > *Ašera*), analysed and resolved with the help of a sonant /m/.¹⁷

4. In the final section the syntactic pattern suddenly changes, not only with regard to the word order, as was the case with the first element of the series *šlmm* (l. 56: 'X l ND', instead of the following fixed word order 'l ND X'), but also with regard to the introduction of completely new syntactic elements. These can be analysed as: a numeric clause (*wpamt in l'šrm*), a syntagma (*mlsm mrkbt*) and a lexeme (*mtrn*), without a verbal predicate. The numeric clause has a clear meaning: 'twenty-two times'. This kind of numeric idiom is usually preceded or followed by the object (victim) or action to be repeated by the number of times stated.¹⁸ In this case, it implies that what follows should be considered as the numbered item, with the last word serving the function of recipient, assuming that here we are dealing with the same ritual pattern of offering. Otherwise we should have to supply the subject: 'and *that...*'. But how is 'that' to be interpreted? Are we to understand the entire series of offerings or just the final one? Whatever the case, this syntax is quite exceptional in Ugaritic ritual texts.

But why precisely 'twenty-two times', the same number as in KTU 1.41.43? Maybe we have here the ritual convention of a 'sacred number' ($3 \times 7 + 1$).¹⁹ But it may have a special meaning. If we maintain

the 'dynastic' pantheon in which neither *il-ilib* nor *dgn* was present; cf. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea*, pp. 45-47.

17. Scribal errors like *hqqpt*, *tily*, *ynp'* are seemingly of the same kind; cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, 'Rasuren und Schreibfehler in den keilalphabetischen Texten aus Ugarit. Anmerkungen zur Neuauflage von KTU', *UF* 26 (1994), pp. 33-34. Another error in this text: *hl* for *il* in l. 7.

18. Cf. KTU 1.39:20: *wpamt ilīm (...)* *gdlt l*; KTU 1.41.36 // 1.87.39-40: *w'šrm l ridn ilīm pamt*; 1.41.42-43 // 1.87.46-47: *in l'šrm pamt šl[...]*š; 1.41: 52: *š šrp alp w š lmm šb' pamt* 1.109:30: *ilīm pamt š*; 1.43:26: *mlk p'mm ylk šb' pamt*. Text KTU 1.173:15 is fragmentary: *ilīm pamt*, and in text KTU 1.106.16 the new reading eliminates the idiom. The only text without any specific mention of the object is KTU 1.110.11, but this Hurrian text does not mention any victims at all which are to be offered to the different deities that are mentioned (*wpamt šb'*); the repetition refers obviously to the entire ritual whose victim(s) are given for granted. Correct the reading of KTU 1.162:20: *w pam*, as is evident in the photograph in *Sem* 41-42 (1993).

19. In the 'conquest' of Jericho the turn around the town was performed once (*p'm 'ht*) during six days and seven times (*šb' p'mym*) the seventh day (Josh. 6.3-4, 11-15)—thirteen times in all.

the supposition presented at the beginning of this paper, that this is a festival of 'all gods' of the country, this number, twenty-two, added to the eleven deities explicitly quoted in the ritual adds up to thirty-three, that is, the number of gods included in the canonical 'pantheon' KTU 1.118.²⁰ In any case, this synthesis, not unknown in the Ugaritic cult,²¹ helps us to understand the final word of the text, also a *hapax*: *mtrn*. It must be, as has been correctly suggested by Bordreuil and Pardee, a 'maqtalān' form of the base /y-t-r/ (> *mawtarān* > *môtarān*) with the semantic value of 'surplus' > 'the rest', namely, 'of the gods', the addressees of this final offering. But in this case a *l-* of attribution could be expected, though not necessarily (cf. 1. 3).²² Therefore, I propose another solution, which I will present below. However, we cannot separate *mrkbt mtrn* of the text from *mrkbt mtrt* of KTU 4.180.3, for which different interpretations have been put forward.²³ They could be either by-forms or scribal variants (error: *t/n*). But *mtrt* could also be a feminine adjective of an unattested Ug. **mtr*, corresponding to Akk. of Nuzi *w/matru* (< /w-t-r/).²⁴ I will comment on that later.

The only remaining interpretation to be dealt with is that of *mlsm mrkbt*, the most difficult point in this text. Assuming it is a syntagma, we have in the first word the base /l-s-m/, represented in the Ugaritic literature only by the verb *lsm* in KTU 1.3 III 19 and par. (stereotyped formula) and the noun *lsmm* of KTU 1.6 VI 21 whose meaning is imprecise,²⁵ but related to the basic meaning 'to run fast',²⁶ ascertained in

20. Cf. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea*, pp. 54-58, where this number (33) of gods is discussed.

21. Cf. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea*, p. 149.

22. Cf. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea*, p. 19 (on the syntactic offering pattern 'X + ND').

23. Cf. K. Aartun, *Studien zur ugaritischen Lexicographie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), pp. 94-95; but a hand-drawn cart, if such a cart ever existed and was mentioned in the texts, would not be named *mrkbt*, but rather **glt* (Heb., Phoen.) or '*rq* (Ug., Akk.: *erequ*): *hrš 'rq*, 'carter, cartwright' (KTU 4.46.13-14; 4.243.2).

24. As a matter of fact we find the Akk. form (*w*)*attartu* said of chariots (and horses): *narkabtu* (*w*)*atartu*; cf. *AHw*, p. 1493. *CAD A/II*, pp. 510, interprets *attartu* as 'wagon with solid wheels' (< *atartu*, 'deck wheel'; according to *AHw*, p. 1483, (*w*)*atartu(m)* [hesitantly: 'dazu?'] is f. of *watrum*). The semantic derivation could be: 'excess' > 'reinforcement' > 'brace', said of a special kind of wheel and consequently of a car using it: 'reinforced, braced'.

25. For the different versions cf. R.M. Good, 'The Sportsman Baal', *UF* 26

Akkadian from where it would appear to have been loaned, and said of horses and messengers. The lexical text RS 20.123 + II 18 offers the equation $KAR = la-sà-mu = i-z[u]-ri = m[a]-al-sà-mu$, translated by the editor as 'coureur'.²⁷ However, this interpretation seems to have been made rather hastily. In fact, recent analyses of this Polyglot Vocabulary cast doubts on such an interpretation.²⁸ In Akkadian, as in Ugaritic, 'the one who/that runs fast', be it a 'courier, messenger', a 'sportsman', a 'courser' or any other 'running beast', corresponds to a 'qātilu/qatlu' formation: *lāsim / lsm*, apart from other derivative patterns ('qattal', 'qutul') attested in Akkadian, all of which have no preformative. Similarly, Akk. *malsamu* and Ug. *mlsm* point to a 'maqtal' pattern (corresponding to the Akk. inf. *lasāmu* of RS 20.123+ II 18), as implied by Huehnergard ('course') and also, presumably, by Van Soldt ('running'). Thus, the most obvious interpretation of *mlsm mrkbt* would be 'a chariot race'. Yet its presence in a ritual text is somewhat unorthodox, although not inconceivable: the sacrificial rite might have concluded with either a parade or a chariot race, as was the case in some Hittite festivals.²⁹

But it might also be the case that *malsamu* appearing in this lexical text has no morphological association with *mlsm* in the text under consideration. The preformative pattern strongly suggests a D participle **mulassim*, that could be applied, as a technical 'by-form' of *lsm* (G participle), to a kind of soldier or to the team of horses.³⁰ The first

(1994), pp. 151-52, which suggests the meaning 'gazelle' as being the most suitable.

26. Cf. *AHW*, pp. 538-39, 555: *lasāmu(m)*, 'laufen, galopieren'; *lāsimum*, 'Läufer, Kurier'; *lasmu*, 'schnellfüssig'; *lismu*, 'Schnellauf'; *CAD L*, pp. 104ff.: *lasāmu*, 'to run fast'; *lāsimu*, said of horses, 'messenger'; *lasmu*, 'running'; *lismu*, 'footrace'.

27. Cf. J. Nougayrol in *Ugaritica V*, p. 243; de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, p. 142.

28. Cf. J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Harvard Semitic Studies, 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), p. 143: n(oun). 'course(?)/courier(?)'; W.H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit Dating and Grammar* (AOAT, 40; Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker: Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), p. 305: 'running(?)'.

29. Cf. V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I, 15; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 417, 688.

30. For the meaning of the 'pi'el' pattern cf. Gordon, *UT*, p. 82; P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of the Biblical Hebrew*. I (Subsidia biblica, 14.1; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1993), pp. 151-56, and the bibliography quoted there.

suggestion is somewhat awkward in a cultic text, where only the gods are mentioned: I do not know of any case of allocation of rations to the cultic personnel,³¹ still less to 'secular' people, in the Ugaritic cultic texts (this also applies to the version *coureurs*, as a special military category).

The second solution would provide us with the awaited victim in this formula: horses as components of a chariot team (Sp. *tiro*). The reference in this context to the 'horses of Rašpu' and the 'horses of Milkatartu' (KTU 4.790.16-17)³² made by Bordreuil and Pardee is of interest.

This would introduce a new element into the liturgy of Ugarit: the sacrifice of 'horses'.³³ This was in fact practised by other peoples, initially by the Hittites, the overlords at that time, though always with 'royal' overtones.³⁴

However, the sacrifice of twenty-two horses would probably have meant too great an expenditure given that horses were scarce and constituted an invaluable element in the defense system. It is this that suggests the slight nuance in the meaning of *mrn* just put forward. The Akk. form *watrum* / *matrum* (Nuzi) is said, among other things, of

(Goetze, Jenni, Ryder), especially the last treatment of the question by B.K. Waltke and P. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN; Eisenbrauns, 1993), pp. 396-417. A possible factitive-causative meaning 'that makes run fast, accelerates', would apply easily to the team; but in this case a Š pattern should be preferably expected as in Akk.

31. The only possible exception, the fragmentary KTU 1.91.1 (*yn d ykl bd r*), is a record of festivals and items, not a ritual. On the other hand, we know the designation of such chariot soldiers (*kzy*, *tl̄*, *ql̄*...); cf. J.-P. Vita, *El ejército de Ugarit* (Banco de Datos Filológicos Semíticos Noroccidentales. Monografías 1; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1995), pp. 93-129 (on p. 128, Vita follows the opinion of Bordreuil and Pardee and translates *mlsm mrkbt corredores de carros*).

32. Cf. Bordreuil and Pardee, 'Textes ougaritiques', p. 52; P. Bordreuil, 'A propos de Milkou, Milkart et Milk'ashtart', in E.M. Cook (ed.), *Sopher Mahir. Northwest Semitic Studies Presented to Stanislav Segert* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), pp. 11-21; D. Pardee, 'A New Datum for the Meaning of the Divine Name Milkashtart', in D.J.A. Clines and P.R. Davies (eds.), *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie* (JSOTSup, 67; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), pp. 55-68.

33. Cf. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea*, pp. 32-33. Among equines, the 'donkey' ('r) was already known as a sacrificial victim by KTU 1.40.26, 34.

34. Cf. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, pp. 220, 417-18, 663, 856.

horses: 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA *ma-at-ru*, 'one reserve horse'.³⁵ This would seem to reflect the theory of Yadin who believed that the team of the Ugaritic chariot consisted of 'three horses', one of them a 'spare horse'.³⁶ We can speculate that these animals were second class team-horses, maybe already considered old, pledged in sacrifice to the gods in a ritual of entreaty called 'the offering of the shield', in which the protection of the gods of the country was sought against the enemies that threatened it. Maybe, 'si non è vero e ben trovato'.

Consequently, I propose the following translation of the text:

<i>dbḥ il bldn</i>	Sacrifice to the gods of the country

<i>nskt ql'</i>	(for) 'The offering of the shield':
<i>ilib alp wš</i>	<i>Ilib</i> , a male head of cattle and a ram,
<i>šrp wšlmm</i>	in holocaust. And as a peace-offering:

<i>ṭn alpm wṭn</i>	two male heads of cattle and two
<i>šm lilib</i>	rams to <i>Ilib</i> ;
<i>lil š</i>	to <i>Ilu</i> , a ram;
<i>lb'l š</i>	to <i>Ba'lu</i> , a ram;
<i>ldgn š*</i>	to <i>Dagānu</i> , a ram;
<i>lyrh* [š]</i>	to <i>Yarḥu</i> , [a ram];
<i>lym š*</i>	to <i>Yammu</i> , a ram;
<i>lil t*['dr]</i>	to the gods sup[porters]
<i>b'l š</i>	of <i>Ba'lu</i> , a ram;
<i>l'nt ḥbly [š]</i>	to 'Anatu <i>ḥbly</i> , a ram;
<i>la<mš>ṭ'rt š</i>	to <i>Aṣiratu</i> , a ram;
<i>ldr il</i>	to the family of <i>Ilu</i>
<i>wphr b'l</i>	and the assembly of <i>Ba'lu</i> ,
<i>gdlt</i>	a cow;
<i>lšpn gdlt</i>	to <i>Šapānu</i> , a cow.
<i>wpamt ṭn</i>	And times two
<i>l'šrm</i>	and twenty
<i>mlsm mrkbt</i>	a team-horse / a race of chariots
<i>mtrn</i>	from the reserve / (for) the rest (of the gods).

35. Cf. *AHw*, pp. 1492-93: (w)atru(m) 4), 'überzählig, zusätzlich'; *CAD* M/1, 414: *matru*, 'additional, supplementary'; 'reserve horse'. Cf. G.J. Selz, 'Eine Notiz zum Tiergespann aus vier Arbeitstieren', *ArOr* 61 (1993), pp. 11-12, on 'reserve animals' / 'Ersatztiere' already in Sumer.

36. Cf. Y. Sukenik (Yadin), 'Note on *ṭlt sswm* in the Legend of Keret', *JCS* 2 (1948), pp. 11-12; G. del Olmo Lete, *Interpretación de la Mitología cananea. Estudios de semántica ugarítica* (Fuentes de la ciencia bíblica, 2; Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1984), p. 179 n. 471.

‘SIEHE, DA WAR ER (WIEDER) MUNTER!’
DIE MYTHOLOGISCHE BEGRÜNDUNG FÜR EINE
MEDIKAMENTÖSE BEHANDLUNG
IN KTU 1.114 (RS 24.258)

Manfried Dietrich and Oswald Loretz

1. *Vorbemerkungen*

Während der Grabungskampagne im Frühjahr 1961 stieß C.F.A. Schaeffer im Bereich südlich von der Akropolis auf einen Gebäudekomplex,¹ der in mehreren Räumen zahlreiche Tontafeln fast ausschließlich religiösen Inhalts aus der Endzeit der Stadt enthielt. Da diese Tafeln in den drei damals gängigen Sprachen Ugaritisch, Hurritisch und Babylonisch abgefaßt sind, war dies ein kulturgeschichtlich höchst bedeutender Fund, der geeignet war, das geistig-religiöse Leben der Stadt weiter zu erfassen.

Im Mittelpunkt dieses Gebäudekomplexes liegt das Haus eines Priesters, der sich in seinen Ritualen und Beschwörungen häufig des Hurritischen bediente, weswegen es auch ‘Maison du prêtre hurrite’ genannt worden ist. In dessen ‘Cella’, Raum 10, fanden sich jene mythologischen und liturgischen Texte,² die den Priester, seine Kollegen und Schüler heute als herausragende Träger der ausgehenden ugaritischen religiösen Kultur erscheinen lassen.³

Die Texte des Archivs sind mit nur wenigen Ausnahmen in der einheimischen Alphabetschrift geschrieben. Da diese einen geradezu typischen groben Duktus aufweist, bereiten Lesung und Deutung der Tafeln dem modernen Entzifferer im Detail mitunter unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten. Ein weiteres formales Hindernis für ein Verständnis

1. Zur Lage siehe den Plan (Bordreuil und Pardee 1989: 313) zur Gliederung des Komplexes (Bordreuil und Pardee 1989: 298).

2. Zum Plan des ‘Maison’ siehe Bordreuil und Pardee 1989: 298; zur ‘Cella’ mit den Fundstellen der Tontafeln (Pardee 1988: 4).

3. Pardee 1988: 12.

der Texte ist die Mehrsprachigkeit der Priester, die, zumal in den Ritualen, einen hurro-ugaritischen Mischtext hervorgebracht hat.⁴ Darum nimmt es nicht wunder, daß Texte aus diesem Archiv häufiger als andere Gegenstand erneuter Studien geworden sind.

Als ein weiteres Merkmal der Texte aus dem 'Maison du prêtre hourrite' kann die Tatsache gelten, daß, nach dem gegenwärtigen Kenntnisstand, drei von ihnen auf Tafeln stehen, die schon einmal beschriftet waren und nach einer Ummantelung wiederverwendet wurden: KTU 1.114⁵, 1.116 und 1.131.⁶ Bei allen drei Tafeln finden sich einzelne Keile und Zeichenreste—ob auf dem nicht mehr beschrifteten oder auch auf dem wiederbeschrifteten Tafelabschnitt—, die zu einem früheren Text gehören und nicht zu dem neuen, mit dem wir es zu tun haben. Bei diesen drei Tafeln können wir also feststellen, daß der Schreiber für Texte aktueller Anlässe 'Palimpseste' bevorzugte. Über Gründe dafür kann man nur spekulieren: Bestand etwa Tonknappheit, so daß bei weniger wichtigen Texten Ton eingespart werden mußte? Oder handelt es sich bei den drei genannten Texten um Schülerübungen, für die bei Tonknappheit eine bereits gebrauchte Tafel verwendet werden konnte?

Im folgenden wenden wir uns dem zuerst genannten Text über das *marziḫu*-Gastmahl Els, KTU 1.114 (RS 24.258), zu und halten es für angebracht, unsere Beobachtungen zu diesem wichtigen Text nach 15 Jahren⁷ erneut zu unterbreiten. Dafür gibt es vornehmlich zwei Gründe: Zum einen ist 1988 die detaillierte Studie von D. Pardee⁸ mit einer sorgfältigen Autographie (S. 15) und guten Fotos (S. 16) erschienen, die eine Stellungnahme erfordert, und zum anderen haben wir unlängst erkannt, daß wir es bei der Tafel RS 24.258 mit einem 'Palimpsest' zu tun haben.⁹ Das bedeutet, daß die noch lesbaren Wörter des

4. KTU 1.111 (Orakelbescheid für ein königliches Sühneopfer), 1.116 (Opfer am Astarte-Fest), 1.132 (Festritual für die Palastgöttin Pidray), 1.148 (Palastopfer aus einem Festritual für Astarte).

5. Dietrich und Loretz 1993b.

6. Dietrich und Mayer 1996.

7. Dietrich und Loretz 1981: 88-89; unserer TUAT-Übersetzung (Dietrich und Loretz 1988: 342-45) liegen zwar neuere Erkenntnisse zugrunde, bietet jedoch keine Diskussion.

8. Pardee 1988: 13-74: 'Ilū s'enivre.

9. Zeichenspuren von zwei Zeilenanfängen nach dem Trennstrich am Ende des beschrifteten Abschnitts der Rückseite und verschiedentlich zwischen den Zeilen, wie beispielsweise in dem mittleren Bereich der Zeilen 36-38—der schlechte

‘Palimpsestes’ nicht in den Text einbezogen werden dürfen¹⁰ und daß wir vor der Notwendigkeit stehen, die in Diskussion befindliche kolometrische Gliederung und die Übersetzungen zu überprüfen. Einen ganz anderen Versuch, die Verwerfungen des Gedichtes im ersten Teil von KTU 1.114 zu erklären, schlagen jene ein, die diese nicht auf den Schreiber, sondern implizit oder explizit auf dessen Dichter zurückführen.¹¹

Da KTU 1.114 mit Sicherheit eine schriftliche Wiedergabe einer wie auch immer überlieferten medizinischen Anwendung mit mythologischer Begründung für eine medikamentöse Behandlung vorliegt, sind wir in erster Linie auf eine epigraphische und kolometrische Untersuchung der Tafel angewiesen. Mutmaßungen darüber, ob dieselbe von einem guten oder weniger guten Schreiber stammt,¹² müssen wir hintanstellen. Wir haben uns folglich in jedem Fall und zuerst mit der schreibtechnischen Qualität der Tafel auseinanderzusetzen und die Frage, ob dieser Text zugleich als Erstschrift eines zweitrangigen Dichters zu betrachten ist, vom Anfang der Untersuchung auf eine spätere Phase derselben zu verlagern.

Da der hochverehrte Jubilar, dem wir diese Studie widmen, sich vielfach mit dem *marziḫu*-Gastmahl Els, KTU 1.114, beschäftigt und wesentliche Impulse zu seinem Verständnis gegeben hat, weiß er selbst am besten, daß die Diskussion über diesen Text noch lange nicht abgeschlossen ist. So betrachten auch wir unser hier mitgeteiltes Ergebnis als einen weiteren bescheidenen Schritt in Richtung Verständnis dieses einmaligen Schriftstücks.

In unserer Studie stellen wir Probleme der Epigraphie und der kolometrischen Gliederung an den Anfang. Dabei bieten wir, unter

Erhaltungszustand der Vorderseite verwehrt entsprechende Beobachtungen dort— von KTU 1.24, einer Geburtsbeschwörung mit mythologischer Einleitung, könnten darauf hinweisen, daß der Text auch dieser Beschwörung auf einem Tafelkern geschrieben worden ist, der vorher für einen anderen verwendet worden war. Da KTU 1.24, wie die etwas vagen Angaben über den Fundort (*TEO*, I; 36) zu erkennen geben, aus dem Bereich der Akropolis nahe dem ‘Dagan-Tempel’, also aus dem weiteren Bereich des ‘Maison du Grand Prêtre’ stammt, könnte sie einen Hinweis darauf geben, daß in diesem ‘Maison’ ebenso wie in dem des ‘Prêtre Hourrite’ die Tradition der Wiederverwendung von Tontafeln gepflegt wurde.

10. Dietrich und Loretz 1993b: 133-36.

11. Siehe z.B. Pardee 1988: 24, der von der These ausgeht, daß der Verfasser von KTU 1.114 ein zweitrangiger Poet (‘un poète de second plan’) gewesen sei.

12. Dietrich und Loretz 1981: 97-98.

Zugrundelegung der Ausgabe KTU², eine neue Umschrift in kolometrischer Gliederung an und stellen ihr eine ebenso gegliederte Übersetzung gegenüber. In daran anschließenden Bemerkungen begründen wir den von uns erstellten Text und legen ein besonderes Augenmerk auf den Gebrauch der Tempora.

2. Text und Übersetzung von KTU 1.114 mit kolometrischer Gliederung¹³

l il dbḥ . <dbḥ> b bth .

mṣd . ṣd . b qrb 2 hklh .

ṣḥ . l qṣ . ilm .

tlḥmn 3 ilm . w tštn .

tštn y<n> 'd šb'

4 trṭ . 'd . škr

y'db . yrḥ 5 gbh . km . k[l]b .

yqtqt . tḥt 6 tlḥnt

il . d yd'nn 7 y'db .

lḥm . lh . <tḥt . tlḥnt>

w d l yd'nn 8 y.lmn

ḥtm . tḥt . tlḥnt

9 'ttrt . w 'nt . ymgý

10 'ttrt . t'db . nšb lh

11 w 'nt . <t'db> ktp [[x]]

bhm . yg'r . ṭgr 12 bt . il .

El hatte geschlachtet <ein Gemeinschaftsopfer> in seinem Haus, eine Verköstigung bereitet inmitten seines Palastes.

Er hatte zu den (Fleisch-)Schnitten die Götter gerufen:

Die Götter essen und trinken, sie trinken 'Wein' bis zur Sättigung, Weinmost bis zur Trunkenheit.

Yarihu richtet sein Rückenstück wie ein Hund her, zerreißt es unter den Tischen.

Der Gott, der ihn kennt, gibt ihm Brot <unter den Tischen>.

Aber der, der ihn nicht kennt, schlägt ihn mit dem Stock unter den Tischen.

Zu 'Attarte und 'Anat kommt er:

'Attarte gibt ihm ein Fleischstück und 'Anat <gibt> ihm ein Schulterstück.

Mit ihnen grollt der Torwächter vom Haus des El:

13. Die im poetischen Abschnitt Z. 1-24 eingetragenen Trennlinien dienen der Hervorhebung der poetischen Struktur und entsprechen nicht denen auf der Tafel. Diese hat nur eine einzige, und zwar die auf der Rückseite, die den mythologischen Teil von der medikamentösen Behandlung abgrenzt.

pn . lm . rlb . t'dbn 13 nšb .

l inr . t'dbn . ktp

14 b il . abh . g'r .

yṭb . il . w l 15 ašk[r] .

il . yṭb b mrzḥh
16 yšt . [y]n . 'd šb' .
trṭ . 'd škr

17 il . hlk . l bth .
yštql . 18 l ḥzrh .

y'msn.nn . ṭkmm 19 w šnm .

w ngšnn . ḥby .

20 b'l . qnm . w ḏnb . ylšn

21 b ḥrih . w ṭnth .

ql . il . km mt
22 il . k yrdm . arš .

'nt 23 w 'ṭrt . ṭšdn . šxxd/lt

24 qdš . b'l[]

'Gebt nicht einem "Hund" ein Fleischstück,
einem Köter gebt (nicht) ein Schulterstück!'

Mit El, seinem Vater, grollte er zugleich:

'El sitzt da, und zwar wahrlich volltrunken!'

El sitzt beim seinem *marziḥu*-Mahl,
trinkt Wein bis zur Sättigung,
Most bis zur Trunkenheit.

El ging zu seinem Haus,
er brach auf zu seinem Hof.

Es stützen ihn Šukamuna-und-Šunama

und da überwältigte ihn Ḥby:

Der mit Hörnern und Schwanz knetet ihn
in seinem Kot und in seinem Urin.

El war gefallen wie ein Toter,
El, wie einer, der zur Unterwelt hinabsteigt.

'Anat und 'Aṭtart streiften herum in den...
des Heiligtums. Herr []

(Rest der Vs. weggebrochen)

Rs. (Anfang der Rs. weggebrochen)

25 [xxxx]xn . d[]

26 ['ṭ]trt . w 'nt[]x[]

27 w bhm . ṭṭṭb . 'l'mdh

28 km . trpa . hn n'r

[. . .] . . [. . .]

'Aṭtartund 'Anat...

Und dadurch brachte sie sein gewohntes Verhalten zurück.

Nachdem sie geheilt hatte, war er, siehe da, (wieder) munter!

29 d yšt . l lšbh ḥš 'rk lb	Einer, der an seine Schläfe zubereiteten Thymian(?) streicht,
30 w riš . pqq . w šrh	soll gleichzeitig Leib und Kopf, Brustbein(?) und seinen Unterleib
31 yšt aḥdh . dm zt . ḥrpnt	mit dem Saft von frühreifen Oliven einreiben.

(Rest der Rs. nicht beschriftet)

3. Bemerkungen zum Text

1-2a. Die erste kolometrische Einheit begrenzt S.E. Loewenstamm mit Hinweis auf das die Kola abschließende Wortpaar *bt* || *hkl* zu Recht auf Z. 1-2a.¹⁴ Da er es ablehnt, den zutreffenden Vorschlag von M. Held aufzunehmen, im ersten Kolon eine Haplographie anzusetzen und *dbḥ* <*dbḥ*> zu lesen,¹⁵ gelingt ihm keine überzeugende Lösung für dieses Bikolon. Wenn wir jedoch die Überlegung M. Helds übernehmen, gelangen wir zu einem Bikolon mit ausgewogenen Kotalängen—12 || 13 nach der Anzahl der Konsonanten—und zu folgenden Wortpaaren: *dbḥ* || *mšd*,¹⁶ <*dbḥ*> || *šyd*,¹⁷ *b* || *b qrb*, *bt* || *hkl*.¹⁸ Für die postulierte Figura etymologica *dbḥ dbḥ* 'ein Opfer schlachten' spricht nicht nur das Ugaritische selbst (*dbḥn ndbḥ*, KTU 1.40.15. 23. 32. 40-41),

14. Loewenstamm 1980: 371-72, 419-22; Spronk 1986: 198; de Moor 1987: 135; Hvidberg-Hansen I 1990: 163; vgl. dagegen Pardee 1988: 23-24, der ebenso wie Caquot (1989: 73) weiterhin an der von Ch. Virolleaud eingeführten Gliederung *il dbḥ b bth mšd* || *šd b qrb hklh* festhält.

15. Loewenstamm 1980: 421 Anm. 10, zu M. Held, in Greenstein 1974: 92 Anm. 27.

16. Von *mšd šd* her wird nicht nur klar, daß im vorangehenden Parallelkolon der Symmetrie wegen *dbḥ* <*dbḥ*> zu lesen ist, sondern auch, daß im Keret-Epos (KTU 1.14 II 25-26, IV 7-8) zweimal das nominale Wortpaar *dbḥ* || *mšd* (nicht *hm šd*!) anzusetzen ist.

17. Loewenstamm 1980: 422, läßt offen, ob ein *šyd* II, Homonym zu *šyd* 'jagen', oder ein hypothetisches protosemitisches *dyd* vorliegt; Spronk 1986: 198 Anm. 5, *šdy* 'to give a banquet'. Es ist jedoch nicht auszuschließen, daß *mšd* mit *šyd* 'verpflegen' (HAL, 956: *šyd* hitp 'sich als Wegzehrung mitnehmen'; AHw, 1074: *šadû* 'als Verpflegung erhalten') zusammenzubringen ist. Das Opfer wird in dieser Perspektive als eine 'Verpflegung', eine Versorgung mit Nahrung verstanden.

18. Zum Wortpaar *bt* || *hkl* siehe Dahood 1972: 153, Nr. 130; Avishur 1984: 284-85, 310, 579, 581-83.

sondern auch die hebräische Parallele *zbh zbh* 'für ein Gemeinschaftsopfer schlachten'.¹⁹

Hinsichtlich der Frage, ob in der Figura etymologica das Nomen oder das Prädikat vorne steht, sei auf das folgende *mšd šd*²⁰ verwiesen, wo es klar ist, daß das Nomen betont vorangestellt ist.

Bei einer Verteilung der Figura etymologica *mšd šd* auf das erste und zweite Kolon, wie dies verschiedentlich geschieht,²¹ bleibt unerklärt, warum der Dichter zwei verschiedene Nomina der einen Wurzel *šyd* 'jagen' genommen haben soll, wo doch das Keret-Epos (siehe Anm. 14) das Wortpaar *dbh* || *mšd* bezeugt. Die Vertreter dieser Interpretation sind zudem genötigt, mit dem unklaren punischen Ausdruck *dbh zd* zu argumentieren.²²

2b. Wenn das erste Bikolon mit dem Wortpaar *bt* || *hkl* abschließt, entfällt eine Möglichkeit, das folgende Kolon *šh l qš ilm* (2b) mit der vorangehenden Einheit zu einem Trikolon zu vereinen.²³ Da zugleich eine Verbindung mit dem folgenden Trikolon nicht zur Debatte stehen kann, liegt in 2b ein Monokolon vor.²⁴

Die Deutung von *qš* als 'Abgeschnittenes, Abgetrenntes, Stück' (Fleisch von einem Tier), 'Filet(s)'²⁵ stützt sich auf Ableitung von der Wurzel *qšš*²⁶ 'abschneiden', wozu *mrğtm td* || *qš mri* 'Säugende der Brust' || 'Abgeschnittenes, Filets vom Masttier' (KTU 1.4 III 41-43, VI 56-58; 1.5 IV 13-14; 1.17 VI 4-5 — entgegen Lloyd 1990: 177, dürfte in KTU 1.3 I 6-8 doch <*mrğtm*> *t* || *qš mri* zu lesen sein²⁷) zu vergleichen wäre.

19. HAL, 251: *zbh qal* 2.

20. Loewenstamm 1980: 372, zu *mšd* als inneres Objekt zu *šd*.

21. So z.B. Pardee 1988: 23, *mšd* 'gibier' || *šd* 'proie'; Caquot 1989: 73, 'gibier' || 'venaison'.

22. Siehe z.B. Pardee 1988: 29, *zbh šd* 'sacrifice de gibier'; vgl. dagegen DNWSI, 959: *šd*₁ - 'subst. word of uncert. meaning in the com. *zbh šd*'.

23. Vgl. dagegen Pardee 1988: 33, der seine Argumentation zu Gunsten eines Trikolons mit den angeblichen Parallelismen *mšd* || *šd* || *qš* und *il* || *ilm* begründet.

24. Spronk 1986: 198; de Moor 1987: 135; Caquot 1989: 73.

25. Vgl. Lloyd 1990: 175, *qš mri* 'cutlets of fatling'. Zu Diskussion über die Bedeutung von *qš* siehe ausführlich u.a. Pardee 1988: 34-35; McLaughlin 1991: 277.

26. HAL, 1019: *qwš* II; 1046: *qšh* I; 1050 *qšš*; AHw, 457: *kašāšu* I.

27. Zur Frage, ob in KTU 1.1 IV 2 *qš* zu lesen ist, vgl. u.a. Smith 1994: 134, 139, der *šh l qb[š ilm* vorschlägt.

2c-4a. Die Gliederung des Abschnitts 2c-4a in ein Trikolon ist *opinio communis*.

Differenzen entstehen erst bei der Übersetzung des Trikolons, wenn teils gesagt wird, daß hier eine Beschreibung des Mahles und teils eine Einladung zum Mahl gemeint sei.

Unter dem Aspekt der Epigraphie ist hierzu festzuhalten, daß in Z. 3 eine Auslassung zu notieren ist: y<n>.

4b-8. Hinsichtlich der kolometrischen Gliederung des Abschnittes 4b-8 bestimmen erhebliche Differenzen die Diskussion:

— Pardee 1988: 21-22, 35, 44: Trikolon + Pentakolon (Bikolon + Trikolon);

— Spronk 1986: 198-99; *ARTU*, 135; Hvidberg-Hansen I 1990: 163: drei Bikola;

— Caquot 1989: 74: drei ungegliederte syntaktische Einheiten der Prosa(?).

Eine Lösung der kolometrischen Probleme in diesem Abschnitt hängt wesentlich von einer Einordnung des zweimal wiederkehrenden Ausdrucks *ṯḥt ṯḥnt* 'unter dem Tisch' ab. Aus kolometrischer Sicht besteht die Frage, ob dieser Ausdruck einmal redundant geschrieben oder gar einmal ausgelassen wurde, so daß wir mit seinem dreifachen Auftreten zu rechnen hätten. Wenn wir uns für letzteres entscheiden, ergibt sich die oben vorgeschlagene Gliederung des Textes in drei symmetrische Bikola.

Es dürfte strittig bleiben, ob im ersten Bikolon *km klb* (5), das hier am Ende des Kolons zu stehen kommt, in Janus-Position richtig steht oder ob es eher an den Anfang des zweiten, folgenden Kolons gehört.

4. 'db 'geben, nieder/hinlegen, zubereiten', siehe Dietrich und Loretz 1985: 105-16; Renfroe 1992: 20-21: 'db 'put, place, prepare, make'.

5. Für *gb* in der Bedeutung 'Rücken(stück)' vgl. *HAL*, 163: *gb* I - 1. 'Rücken'; zur Diskussion siehe u.a. Pardee 1988c: 36-38, 42-42; Caquot 1989: 74.

yqtqt: Deutung und etymologischer Anschluß von QT(T) sind umstritten. Üblicherweise wird es an arab. *qatta* 'ausreißen, entwurzeln' (Wehr 1002) angeschlossen, vgl. Dietrich und Loretz 1981: 92-93; 1985a: 118-119: 'wegziehen'; Pardee 1988: 35-43, übersetzt *gbh* ... *yqtqt* mit 'sa coupe...il (la) remplit' und stützt sich hierbei auf

P. Bordreuil und A. Caquot; A. Caquot (1989: 74) hat diese Übersetzung inzwischen jedoch aufgegeben: *gbh...yqtqt* 'un (morceau d') échine...il le traîne'. In KTU 1.2 IV 27 übersetzt Smith 1994: 323, 351: *yqt b'l* 'Baal drags'.

6. Zum Hund, der sich unter dem Tisch von Brosamen ernährt, vgl. Ri 1,7; Mk 7,28.²⁸

Es ist unklar, welche Symbolik dem beizumessen ist, daß an dieser Stelle der Hund unter dem Tisch zur Sprache kommt. Sicher dürfte sein, daß der Hund nicht zur vornehmen Tischgesellschaft gehört und seinen Platz unter dem Tische hat, wo er Abfälle von Fleisch und Brot erhält. So wurde angesichts dessen, daß in Z. 15 vom *marzihu*-Mahl Els die Rede ist, auch schon gefragt, ob der Hund hier mit dem Totenkult in Verbindung steht—zur Diskussion siehe u.a. Pardee 1988: 43; McLaughlin 1991: 278-79.

yd' (auch Z. 7) in der Bedeutung 'kennen, acht geben auf etw., sich darum kümmern' ist gut belegt: *AHW*, 188: *edû* III B 7) Am. e. *ana* 'sich kümmern um'; Ges.¹⁷ 287: *yd'* qal 3) acht geben auf etw., sich darum kümmern, m.d. *acc.*; zur Diskussion siehe u.a. Pardee 1988: 44-45.

8. Der Trenner in *y.lmn* ist sicher fehlerhaft gesetzt.—Zu *hlm* 'schlagen' vgl. *HAL* 239: *hlm* 'schlagen'.

Die Form *h̄tm* ist gewiß als Nomen *h̄t* 'Stock' im Sing. + angehängtem adverbialen *-m* zu analysieren.

9. Als Monokolon leitet diese Zeile, deren Subjekt *Yarihu* ist, zu einer neuen Handlung über.²⁹

10. *nšb* meint hier wahrscheinlich ein bestimmtes Fleischstück von einem geschlachteten Haustier oder Wild, vgl. etwa KTU 4.247:18: *tn nšbm* 'zwei Fleischstücke (vom gemästeten Rind)'; zur weiteren Diskussion siehe Pardee 1988: 50; Smith 1994: 126.

10-11a. In dem Bikolon Z. 10-11a stört das Mißverhältnis 13 || 7 der Kolalängen. Falls es zutrifft, daß der Schreiber am Ende des zweiten

28. Pardee 1988: 43.

29. Spronk 1986: 199; de Moor 1987: 135; Caquot 1989: 74; vgl. dagegen Pardee 1988: 22, 48, der Z. 9-11a zu einem Trikolon verbindet.

Kolons ein *l* getilgt hat, liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß er versucht war, das *lh* vom Ende des ersten Kolons überflüssigerweise zu wiederholen. Ein Vergleich des Bikolons mit dem von 12b-13 suggeriert, daß der Schreiber die Wiederholung des *t'db* im zweiten Kolon—parallel zum Wortpaar *t'dbn* || *t'dbn* im folgenden Bikolon 12b-13—vergessen hat:

<i>t'trt t'db nšb lh</i>	14 (5 + 9) ³⁰
<i>w 'nt <t'db> ktp [[l]]</i>	7 <11> (3 + 8)

11. *ktp* 'Schulter' beschreibt den Körperteil, von dem das Fleischstück des Schlachttiers stammt: 'Schulterteil, Schulterstück', siehe HAL, 481: *ktp*; AHw, 465: *katappātu* 'ein Teil der Brust beim Tier?'; CAD, K, 303: *katappātu* sternum or part of the ribs.

Die Rasur am Ende des Kolons, die ein zuerst durchkreuztes und dann mit dem umgekehrten Griffelstiel geblocktes *l* zeigt, deutet an, daß der Schreiber dem *lh* des vorangehenden Kolons (Ende Z. 10) eine Doppelfunktion beigemessen hat.

Zu *g'r b* 'schelten, zurechtweisen' siehe HAL, 192: *g'r*; Smith 1994: 356 Anm. 247.

11b-12a. leitet als Monokolon in Parallele zu Z. 2b und 9 eine neue Handlung ein. Der neue Sprecher wird vorgestellt.

12. *bt il* 'Haus des El' meint den Tempel oder den Palast des El. Der Torwächter übt das Amt eines *arbiter elegantiarum* aus—vorläufig fehlt die Möglichkeit zur Identifikation dieser Gestalt, zumal sie nicht mit den später genannten Helfergottheiten Šukamuna und Šunama in Verbindung gebracht werden müssen.³¹ Es wäre auf jeden Fall abwegig, aufgrund der Notiz von der Gegenwart des *bt il*-Wächters darauf zu schließen, daß der Ort des hier beschriebenen mythologischen Gelages konkret im Königspalast oder im El-Tempel von Ugarit stattgefunden haben könnte, oder daß der Wächter als Teilnehmer am Fest anzusehen und seine Tätigkeit als die von einer gehobenen Position aus einzustufen ist.

rlb ist, allgemein akzeptiert, ein Schreibfehler für *klb*.

14-18a. Bei der Deutung des Abschnittes Z. 14-18a geht die Meinung

30. Die Ziffern beziehen sich auf die Anzahl der zu einem Kolon gehören den Konsonanten.

31. Pardee 1988: 52-53.

der Interpreten weit auseinander: Die einen sehen in ihm eine direkte Rede des Torhüters mit der Aufforderung an El, nach Hause zu gehen,³² und die anderen betrachten ihn als Bericht über das weitere Verhalten des Gottes.³³ Es ist anzunehmen, daß die Rede des Torhüters mit Z. 15a abschließt, so daß der anschließende Teil (15b-17) das Betragen Els im *marzīhu*-Haus und seinen Aufbruch nach Hause berichtet.

14. Die Bezeichnung Els als Vater (*abh* 'seinem Vater') durch den Torwächter—der Schreiber verzichtet auf die Wiederholung des Subjekts *ṭgr bt il* (siehe Z. 11b-12a)—ist eher ein Hinweis darauf, daß El der Schöpfer auch seines Torwächters ist, als darauf, daß hier eine Genealogie angedeutet ist.

Am Ende der Zeile stehen, etwas auf den rechten Rand gezogen, die Buchstaben *w* und *l*, die syntaktisch zu Z. 15 gehören.

14-15a. Dieser Abschnitt zerfällt in zwei Monokola, in denen Einführung und Rede jeweils auf ein Kolon beschränkt sind.

15. Die Lücke am Zeilenanfang nach *ašk* ist in KTU² zu lang angesetzt. Der Platz nach einem etwas breiter geschriebenen *k* bis zum Worttrenner vor *il*, dessen 'Kopf' noch sichtbar ist, reicht gerade für ein *r*, das in diesem Text eine ungewöhnliche Länge hat. Das damit ermittelte *aškr* ist ein Steigerungsadjektiv (Elativ) in der Bedeutung 'sehr betrunken'.³⁴

14-16. Die neuen Lesungen im Kolon 14b-15a bedingen eine Neuinterpretation des Abschnitts 14b-15, der bisher als Bikolon gedeutet worden ist:

— de Moor 1984: 356, *il ytb k b ašk[rr] || il ytb b mrzḥh* 'Ilu is sitting as if he is on the henbane drug || Ilu is sitting with his society'

— Pardee 1988: 54, *yṭb il kr ašk[rh] || il yṭb b mrzḥh* 'Ilu s'assoit, il rassemble [sa] beuve[rie] || Ilu s'assoit das son festin-mrzh'

— Margalit 1989: 276-77, *yṭb il {w} l atr[h!] || il yṭb b mrzḥh* 'El sat at/in [his] ATR || El sat at/in his MRZH'.

32. Spronk 1986: 199; de Moor 1987: 136.

33. Pardee 1988: 22; Caquot 1989: 76.

34. Vgl. BGUL, 43.26, Patterns with prefixes, mit dem Beispiel *aliy* 'very strong'.

Ein Bikolon 14b-15 ist nicht mehr vertretbar. Stattdessen ist der Abschnitt 14b-15a als Monokolon zu verstehen, auf den ein Trikolon (Z. 15b-16) folgt. In diesem Trikolon variiert der Dichter den Topos des Trikolons Z. 2b-4a.³⁵

15. *mrzḥ* bezeichnet einen/eine 'marzīḥu-Raum/Halle';³⁶ angesichts der Verbindung mit *yṯb b* 'sitzen, thronen in' könnte auch an eine Örtlichkeit gedacht werden, in der das hier beschriebene 'marzīḥu-Mahl' stattfand; vgl. Smith 1994: 144; zu der parallelen Wendung *il yṯb b m[rzḥh(?)]* in KTU 1.1 IV 4 siehe Smith 1994: 131, 134, 140, 144.

17-22a. Da mit dem Bikolon 17-18a die Beschreibung der Heimkehr des betrunkenen El³⁷ beginnt, gehen wir bei einer kolometrischen Gliederung des ganzen Abschnitts 17-22a am besten von der Beobachtung aus, daß die Bikola Z. 17-18a und Z. 21b-22a den Rahmen der Beschreibung bilden. Der Mittelteil 18b-21a verteilt sich dann von selbst auf zwei Bikola. Dadurch gewinnen wir die vorgetragene Kolometrie.

17. Dem Parallelismus *hlk* || *šql* ist der des *mgy* || *šql* (KTU 1.100.67-68) an die Seite zu stellen, siehe Watson 1994: 323.

Für den Ansatz eines Gt-Stammes von *šql* siehe Tropper 1990: 78-80.

18b-22a. Für die kolometrische Gliederung des Abschnitts 18b-22a, dessen Deutung äußerst umstritten ist, liegen u.a. folgende Lösungen vor:

— Bikolon + Monokolon + Trikolon: Spronk 1986: 199; ARTU, 136.

— Bikolon + Trikolon + Bikolon: Pardee 1988: 22-23.

— Bikolon + Bikolon + Monokolon + Bikolon: Caquot 1989: 76-77, zu Z. 17-22a.

35. Vgl. dagegen Pardee 1988: 22, 54, stellt Z. 15b zu Z. 14-15a und behandelt Z. 16 als ein Bikolon; ähnlich Spronk 1986: 199; ARTU, 136; Hvidberg-Hansen I 1990: 164, die Z. 14b-16 auf zwei Bikola verteilen, wobei sie letzteres von diesen auf Z. 16 beschränken: *yšt yn 'd šb' || trt 'd škr*.

36. Vgl. Aboud 1994: 165-72, für die Belege der Einrichtung eines *marzīḥu*-Klubs.

37. Caquot 1989: 76, faßt Z. 17-19a zu einem Bikolon zusammen.

— Bikolon + Bikolon + Trikolon: Hvidberg-Hansen I 1990: 164.

18. Die Verbform *y'msn.nn*, der die Wurzel *'ms* 'tragen'³⁸ zugrundeliegt und bei der das Obj.-Suff. durch einen Trenner abgesetzt ist, wird entsprechend der Deutung der beiden Namen entweder als zwei durch *w* 'und' gereihte Namen von zwei einzelnen Gottheiten (*Šukamuna* und *Šunama*) oder als Doppelnamen für eine einzige Gottheit (*Šukamuna-und-Šunama*) als G Imperfekt 3.m.Sg. bzw. als G Imperfekt 3.m.Du. bestimmt.³⁹

Für den Namen *Šukamuna* vgl. Becking 1995a: 1631-34.

19. Zu *šunama* vgl. Becking 1995b: 1467-69.

Die von der Helfersgottheit geleistete Tätigkeit wird durch ein adversatives *w* 'aber' eingeleitet.⁴⁰

Hinsichtlich des *ngš* '(be)drängen, auf-, antreiben, über jmd. Kontrolle gewinnen' besteht entgegen Pardee 1988: 60, keineswegs eine allgemeine Übereinkunft darüber, daß es 's'approcher' bedeutet. Es werden dafür im vorliegenden Kontext immerhin zwei Deutungen vorgetragen:

1. Eine Reihe von Forschern geht von hebräisch *ngš* 'herzutreten, sich nähern' (*HAL*, 633-634: *ngš*; *AHW*, 710: *nagāšu* 'hingehen') aus: Xella 1986: 17, 23 Anm. 5, lehnt die Korrektur *w <y> ngšnn* ab und übersetzt *w ngšnn ḥby b'l qnm w dnb* mit 'e gli si avvicina *Ḥby*, il signore dalle due corna e dalla coda'; *CARTU*, 154, *ngš* G 'approach', D 'bring near' (*KTU* 114:19); Verreet 1988: 96-97, bezieht *ngš* gleichfalls auf *Ḥby* und bestimmt *ngšnn* als G Inf. abs. energ. + Sf. 3. m. Sg.: *w ngšnn ḥby b'l qnm w dnb* 'Und *Ḥby*, der mit den Hörnern und dem Schwanz, nähert sich ihm gewiß'; Pardee 1988: 22, 60, 'Alors *Ḥby* s'approche de lui,...'; Caquot 1989: 76, 'Ḥabay s'approche de lui'; Smith 1994: 124 Anm. 14, 'The root **ngš* probably refers in 1.114.19 to *Ḥby*'s "approaching" and not "attacking" El...and **ngš* in 1.23.68 describes the approach of the "beautiful gods" to the watchman of the sown.'

Hier ist auch die These zu erwähnen, daß *ngš* 'sich nähern' eine

38. *'ms* 'tragen'; Stamm 1980: 137-43; Jackson 1983: 515; Heltzer 1986: 239-47.

39. Verreet 1988: 93.

40. Vgl. *HAL*, 248: 15; *BDB*, 252: *w* 1e.

Nebenform zu *ngt* 'sich wohin begeben, sich nähern' sei (WUS, 1749-50; vgl. Gordon, UT, der zwischen *ngš* 'to meet' [Nr. 1611] und *ngt* 'to seek' [Nr. 1612] unterscheidet).

2. Ugaritisch *ngš* = hebräisch *ngš* (HAL, 633: *ngš* '[Wild] aufjagen, [Abgaben] eintreiben, [Menschen] zur Arbeit treiben, [den Schuldner] drängen': van Zijl 1972: 199-200, 259; Ullendorff 1977: 120, 'I was overpowering Aliyn Ba'al'; Dietrich und Loretz 1986: 451-52, 'aber es jagt ihn auf Ḥby'; Grottanelli 1988: 178, 183-184, 'e lo sospinge ḥby').

Zur Klärung des Bedeutungsansatzes seien nachfolgend die Belege an zwei anderen aufschlußreichen Stellen erörtert:

—In KTU 1.6 II 21-23 liegt ein Trikolon mit den Parallelismen *ngš* || '*db k imr* || *k lli ḥt*' vor. Die poetische Einheit wird chiasmisch von *ngš* - *ḥt* umschlossen. Hierzu vergleichbar ist in KTU 1.4 VIII 17b-20 der parallele Chiasmus '*db k imr* - *k lli ḥt*'. Aus diesen Parallelen ergibt sich, daß *ngš* eine gewaltsame Tätigkeit gegenüber jemandem, kaum aber ein Herangehen an jemanden oder an etwas bedeutet. Für das Trikolon KTU 1.6 II 21-23 ist folgende Kolometrie und Übersetzung vorzuschlagen:

<i>ngš ank aliyn b'l</i>	14 ⁴¹
' <i>dbnn ank <k> imr b py</i>	14 <15>
<i>k lli b ṭbrn q<n>y ḥtu hw</i>	16 <17>

Ich überwältigte Aliyan Baal,
ich machte ihn <wie> ein Lamm in meinem Mund,
wie ein Zicklein im Zermalmer meiner Röhre wurde er zerschmettert.
(KTU 1.6 II 21-23)

Aus der Parallelität *py* 'meine Mund' || *ṭbrn qny* 'Zermalmer meiner Röhre' geht hervor, daß letzterer Ausdruck wohl den Rachen bezeichnet und das ganze Bild auf einen Löwen zu beziehen ist.

—In KTU 1.23:68-69 ist nicht davon die Rede, daß die lieblichen Götter auf den Wächter der Saaten treffen, an ihn herantreten (WUS, 1749; ARTU, 126), sondern daß der Wächter diese bei seinem Wachdienst aufspürt und aufjagt, vor sich hertreibt (*ngš*; Grottanelli 1988: 184 Anm. 22).

Wir gelangen folglich zum Ergebnis, daß ugaritisch *ngš* etymologisch mit hebräisch *ngš*, arabisch *ngš* (Lane, 2771; SD, 93: *ngs*² 'gain control of town, trespass over boundaries'), äthiopisch *ngagša* 'become

41. Die Ziffern beziehen sich auf die Anzahl der zu einem Kolon gehören Konsonanten.

king, become ruler, rule, reign' (CDG, 392-93) zu verbinden ist. Ugaritisch *ngt* 'herantreten, sich nähern' ist dagegen an hebräisch *ngš* 'herzutreten, sich nähern' (HAL, 633-634: *ngš*, 1 Sam 9,18; 30,21 mit 't konstruiert), arabisch *nġt* (Lane, 2765-2766) und akkadisch *nagāšu* 'hingehen' (AHw, 710, wird zu *nagāšu* ohne Differenzierung zwischen *ngš* und *ngt* folgendes vermerkt: 'ug., he. hinzutreten'; 1577; CAD, N/1, 108) anzuschließen. *ngt* 'herantreten an, hinzutreten, sich nähern' ist an den Stellen KTU 1.1 V 4.17; 1.6 II 6.27; 1.12 I 40 (WUS, 1750) einem *ngt* 'suchen' (CARTU, 154, *ngt* G scrutinize, D seek; Smith 1994: 124-25) vorzuziehen. Während die vorgeschlagene Lösung in KTU 1.1 V 4.17 wegen der starken Zerstörung der Stellen als wahrscheinlich anzusehen ist, ermöglicht sie besonders in KTU 1.12 I 40 eine überzeugende Übersetzung. In KTU 1.6 II 6.27 wird nicht so sehr von einem Suchen der Göttin Anat nach Baal gesprochen (so z.B. TO, I, 258, 260; ARTU, 86, 88), sondern von der Tatsache, daß Anat erst nach Verlauf einer längeren Zeit an Baal herantritt:

ym ymm y'tqn
l ymm l yrhm
rh̄m 'nt tngth

Ein Tag, zwei Tage waren vergangen,
 Tage wurden zu Monaten,
 da trat Anat an ihn heran.
 (KTU 1.6 II 26-27)

Für ein 'Suchen' nach Baal lassen sich folglich kaum die Stellen KTU 1.6 II 4b-6a.26-27, VI 4-5 anführen. Auch das auf KTU 1.6 II 4b-6a.26-27 folgende Trikolon (KTU 1.6 II 6b-9a.28-30a) spricht nicht vom 'Suchen', sondern von der Liebe der Muttertiere zu ihren Jungen.

Explizit ist von einem 'Suchen' (*bqt*) nach Baal nur KTU 1.6 IV 20 die Rede. Die Verba *ngt* und *bqt* sind folglich nicht als Synonyma zu behandeln.⁴²

20. Ḥabay wird als ein 'Stierrmensch' dargestellt, vgl. Xella 1986: 18; id. 1995: 715-16.

Die Verbform *ylšn* leiten wir von *l(w)š* 'kneten' ab, vgl. HAL, 499: *lwš* 'kneten'; AHw, 540: *lāšu* I '(zu Teig) kneten'; Xella 1986: 23 Anm. 6; anders Pardee 1988: 62-64, arabisch *lšy?*; Spronk 1986: 199, *lšn* 'to scold'; ARTU, 136.

22a. Es besteht keine Notwendigkeit, in *yrdm* einen Pl. zu sehen;⁴³ zudem ist es unproblematischer, eine Genitiv-Verbindung durch ein

42. Vgl. Gordon 1986: 129-32; Grottanelli 1988: 183-86; Xella 1995: 715-16.

43. Vgl. Dietrich und Loretz 1988: 344; Pardee 1988: 65.

hervorhebendes Enklitikum *-m* aufzubrechen.⁴⁴

Inhaltlich hat der mythologische Teil des Textes hier seinen Höhepunkt erreicht: Der Herr des Pantheons wurde dem Menschen in seinem schwächsten Zustand, im Tod, ähnlich.

22b-23a. Mit der Angabe *'nt w 'ttrt tšdn* beginnt ein neuer Abschnitt. Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand von Z. 23b-27 erlaubt keine weitere poetologische Gliederung. Es muß folglich offen bleiben, ob Z. 22b-23a als Monokolon zu verstehen ist oder mit dem folgenden *šxxd/lt qdš*, das nicht mehr sicher zu deuten ist, ein Bikolon bildet — dieses setzen wir in unserer Textgliederung versuchsweise an —; möglich ist es auch, daß hier der Prosaabschnitt beginnt. Dafür könnten die Formulierungen der medizinischen Behandlung durch die Göttinnen 'Attart und 'Anat in Z. 27 und 28 sprechen.

Von daher ist die Frage berechtigt, ob die poetische Textstruktur überhaupt über den mythologischen Abschnitt 1-22a hinausging. Denn danach gehen die Göttinnen auf die Suche nach Heilkräutern, was offensichtlich einen neuen Textabschnitt darstellt. Auf jeden Fall schlagen wir ab hier keine kolometrische Gliederung mehr vor und geben den Text entsprechend der Zeilenaufteilung auf der Tafel wieder.

Sachlich wird mit *tšdn* 'sie jagten, streiften herum'⁴⁵ offenbar mitgeteilt, daß die beiden Göttinnen auf der Suche nach Heilkräutern in der Natur, hier offensichtlich ein mit *š* beginnendes Nomen, das durch *qdš* 'heilig; Heiligtum' näher bestimmt ist —vielleicht war hier in irgendeiner Weise von 'heiligen Gefilden' die Rede—, unterwegs sind.

24. Da die Tafel mit Z. 24 abbricht, ist nicht mehr sicher auszumachen, wie die Textstruktur weiterzuführen ist.

Die Frage ist auch kaum mehr zu beantworten, wie viele Textzeilen weggebrochen sind.⁴⁶ Tafelkrümmung und Kontext—dort, wo der Text auf der Rückseite wieder erfaßt werden kann (Z. 26), sind wiederum 'Anat und 'Attart die Handlungsträgerinnen—legen es nahe, daß nicht viele verlorengegangen sind.

27. Die Göttinnen *'nt w 'ttrt* sind bei ihrer Suche nach einem Heilkraut offenbar fündig geworden: Sie dürften, wie *bhm* 'mit deren Hilfe'

44. Pardee 1988: 65.

45. Siehe oben zu Z. 1 (Anm. 16).

46. Vgl. die Erörterungen bei Pardee 1988: 66.

anzeigt, mehrere Kräuter gemischt haben, um ihre Heilwirkung zu erhöhen.

Da die Verbform *ttb*, wie die in Z. 28 folgende, *trpa*, 3.f.Sg. sein dürfte,⁴⁷ scheint der Text die Tätigkeit der Göttinnen 'Attart und 'Anat ([*t*]trt w 'nt) *ad deam* konstruiert zu haben, so daß Überlegungen überflüssig sind, welcher Art die kurze Form ist.⁴⁸

Mit den Heilkräutern haben 'Attart und 'Anat das *lmd* 'gewohnte Verhalten'⁴⁹ des El bewirkt—an der Lesung von *lmdh* können, wie die Zeichenreste nach dem Worttrenner zu erkennen geben, kaum Zweifel bestehen.

28. Für die Deutung von *n'r* als Perfekt 3.Sg.m. des N der Wurzel 'wr 'aufwachen; wach, munter sein' schließen wir uns J.C. de Moor⁵⁰ und D. Pardee⁵¹ an.

29-31. Nach Z. 28 verläuft eine horizontale Trennlinie als einzige vom Schreiber vorgenommene Untergliederung des Textes quer über die Tafel. Das besagt, daß der Schlußabschnitt 29-31, formal und inhaltlich von dem vorangehenden Text abgesetzt, eigenständig zu verstehen ist: Der mythologische Teil des Textes ist abgeschlossen, und es beginnt eine medizinische Behandlung eines Patienten mit Heilkräutern nach der Art, wie 'Attart und 'Anat sie bei El angewandt haben. Diese vom Schreiber gewollte Abtrennung des letzten Abschnitts bedingt auf jeden Fall, daß mit Z. 29 syntaktisch ebenso wie sachlich etwas Neues beginnt und die nun folgende Aussage—zumindest formal—nichts mit dem vorangehenden *n'r* zu tun hat.

Hinsichtlich der Struktur des Textes steht fest, daß ab hier auf jeden Fall keine kolometrische Gliederung mehr möglich ist.

Für diesen Therapie-Abschnitt gibt es zahlreiche Interpretationsvorschläge, die zumeist erheblich voneinander abweichen. Der Grund dafür sind divergierende Auffassungen über Länge und Art des durch das Determinativpronomen *d* abhängigen Relativsatzes; also steht es auch zur Diskussion, wo der Hauptsatz beginnt.

47. Für andere Vorschläge (3.c.Du., 2.Sg.) siehe Verreet 1988: 224, mit Literaturhinweisen.

48. Vgl. Verreet 1988: 224; Pardee 1988: 67.

49. Vgl. nhebr. *limmûd* 'Gewohnheit' (Dalman 218).

50. de Moor 1984: 356 Anm. 12.

51. Pardee 1988: 68.

Zuerst muß festgehalten werden, daß *d* normalerweise⁵² persönlich und nicht sächlich, wie häufig angenommen,⁵³ ist. Demnach beginnt der Abschnitt über die Therapieanweisung mit dem Therapeuten als Subjekt und nicht mit Angaben zur Medizin. Daraus folgt, daß *yšt* (Z. 31) die Tätigkeit des Behandelnden ausdrückt und die—indirekten—Bezugsobjekte, zwei durch *w* 'und' paarweise aufgeführte Körperteile,⁵⁴ vorangestellt sind.

29a. Der Therapeut 'legt' an die 'Schläfe' (*lšb*⁵⁵) des Patienten etwas, das *hš* 'rk' heißt. Da trotz der Bedenken von D. Pardee⁵⁶ eindeutig ein *h* vor dem *š* steht, handelt es sich um ein Nomen *hš*, das mit 'rk' 'zubereitet, bereitstellt' verbunden werden kann. Denkbar ist, daß es sich hier um den Namen des Heilkrautes handelt, das die Göttinnen 'Atart und 'Anat für El gesucht und mit dem sie ihn wieder zu Kräften gebracht haben. Trifft dies zu, dann liegt es nahe, *hš* mit dem in der babylonischen Medizin gebräuchlichen *hašû* 'Thymian(?)'⁵⁷ zu verbinden. In Parallele zu den Angaben der babylonisch medizinischen Texte müßte 'rk dann konkret '(durch Pulverisierung) zubereitet' heißen.

29b-30. Paarweise werden hier Körperteile aufgeführt, die gleichzeitig mit dem Einreiben der Schläfe behandelt werden sollen. Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Körperteile in chiasmischer Stellung zu einander genannt werden — unten/ oben :: oben/ unten:

52. Vgl. *UT* §6.23-27–§6.27, auch Fälle aufgeführt werden, in denen *d* möglicherweise auch anstelle von *dt* stehen kann—; *BGUL*, 51.3—ohne Angabe von Ausnahmen.

53. Siehe Pardee 1988: 68f.

54. Siehe Dietrich und Loretz 1981: 96.

55. Dietrich und Loretz 1990: 145-47.

56. Pardee 1988: 20: Das Ergebnis der 'Lupenlesung' spricht gemäß Kopie (S. 15) übrigens weitaus eher für ein *h* als für einen Trenner, weil dieser Trenner einerseits viel tiefer stünde als die anderen und über dem 'Trenner' eindeutig ein weiterer Keil zu sehen ist; das besagt, daß der Einstich des vermeintlichen 'Trenners' nichts mit einem 'Trenner' zu tun hat, sondern der untere Unterteilungskeil eines Senkrechten ist.

57. *AHw*, 335a; *CAD*, H, 144-45: a plant yielding seeds used as a spice; vgl. auch *haši/uānum*, *hašānu* *AHw*, 334a: eine Pflanze; *CAD*, H, 138a: a plant, lit.: the *hašû*-like plant. Diese Pflanze diente in pulverisierter Form als Droge, die mit Flüssigkeit eingenommen werden konnte.

—*lb w riš* ‘Leib und Kopf’: Da ‘Herz’ bei der hier angesprochenen äußeren Anwendung nur dann sinnvoll wäre, wenn damit die ‘Herzgegend’, also die ‘Brust’ gemeint ist, scheint *lb*, wie auch sonst belegbar, den ‘Leib’ zu bezeichnen.

—*pqq w šrh* ‘Brustbein(?) und seinen Unterleib’: Für die Deutung von *pqq* geht man bisweilen von der These aus, daß es sich um den Namen einer Pflanze handle.⁵⁸ Das würde aber in keiner Weise zur vorgetragenen symmetrischen Struktur der therapeutischen Anweisung passen. Von daher ist den wiederholt vorgebrachten Versuchen der Vorrang einzuräumen, die *pqq* mit dem mhebr. *pqq* verbinden und mit ‘Knorpel, Knochen’, o.ä., übersetzen.⁵⁹ Da es sich, im Blick auf die chiasmatische Stellung, im Gegensatz zu *šr* ‘Nabel, Unterleib’ um ein Teil des Oberkörpers handeln dürfte, schlagen wir die Übersetzung ‘Brustbein’ vor.

31. Die Verbform *yšt* wird verschiedentlich von der Wurzel *šty* ‘trinken’ abgeleitet.⁶⁰ Dem ist zum einen entgegenzuhalten, daß eine innere Anwendung von Olivenöl frühreifer Früchte als eine überaus ‘harte Droge’ hier kaum in Frage kommen dürfte, und daß, zum anderen, die Körperteilpaare als indirekte Objekte keine syntaktische Einbindung hätten.

In der Anweisung liegt ein Beispiel für die in der Antike weit verbreiteten Öltherapie vor, die bei Mensch und Tier äußerlich angewendet wurde.⁶¹

4. Ergebnisse

1. Aufbau und sprachliche Strukturen von *KTU 1.114*

- I. Mythologischer Abschnitt: 1-28
 - I.1. Mythologische Entstehung der Krankheit (1-22a)
 - I.1.1. Göttermahl: 1-4a
 - I.1.2. Verunglimpfung des Yarihu als Hund, Zuwendung seitens der Göttinnen ‘Attart und ‘Anat: 1-13
 - I.1.3. Fehlverhalten des gastgebenden El: 14-22a
 - I.2. Mythologische Begründung für die Therapie: 22b-28
- II. Medikamentöse Behandlung: 29-31

58. Pardee 1988: 71-72.

59. Dietrich und Loretz 1981: 96; de Moor 1984: 356.

60. Pardee 1988: 72.

61. Mit Angaben zur Feinöl-Feiung bei Pferden vgl. z.B. Horn 1995.

Wie dargelegt, ist nur der Abschnitt I.1, der die mythologische Entstehung der Krankheit zum Thema hat, poetisch abgefaßt worden. Hier läßt sich dementsprechend eine kolometrische Gliederung nachzeichnen.

Für den Abschnitt I.2, der die mythologische Begründung für eine Therapie der mythologisch aufgezeigten Krankheit formuliert, läßt sich nach dem heutigen Zustand des Textes keine poetische Struktur mehr nachweisen.

Dasselbe gilt für Abschnitt III, der mittels eines Trennstrichs darauf aufmerksam macht, daß die mythologischen Ausführungen abgeschlossen sind und die Anweisung für die praktische Therapie eines Patienten per äußerer Anwendung enthält. In diesem Abschnitt fällt zudem der sehr spärliche Gebrauch von Worttrennern auf.

2. Beobachtungen zum Tempussystem

In der von uns vorgeschlagenen kolometrischen Gliederung des Gedichtes treten bemerkenswerte Hinweise auf den Verlauf der Handlung und den Gebrauch der Tempora an den Tag. Dabei erweist es sich, daß das Erzähltempus bei Handlungen durch Verbformen der Präfixkonjugation (PK) geschieht,⁶² wogegen die Formen der Suffixkonjugation (SK)—sofern eindeutig feststeht, daß es fientische und nicht nominale Formen sind—entweder Resultate⁶³ oder, das sei hier besonders hervorgehoben, die Gleichzeitigkeit ('dabei, zugleich, indem') einer Handlung mit der durch ein prallelgeordnetes Verb der PK ausgedrückten aufzeigt:

Die Suffixkonjugationsformen (SK: Perfecta) <dbḥ>, ṣd und ṣḥ in Z. 1-2a sind resultativ zu verstehen und geben zu erkennen, daß El die Vorbereitungen zum Mahl abgeschlossen hatte und zur Einladung bereit war;⁶⁴ sie beschreiben zugleich den Zustand, in dem sich der Gastgeber anläßlich des bevorstehenden Empfangs seiner Genossen zum Mahl befindet.

In dem anschließenden Trikolon 2b-4a folgt die Beschreibung des Mahles mit Hilfe der Präfixkonjugationsformen (PK: Imperfecta) *tḥmn*, *tštn* || *tštn*.⁶⁵ Das Verhalten der Götter beim Mahl wird im

62. Tropper 1995a.

63. Tropper 1995b: 510-12.

64. Vgl. Tropper 1995b: 510-12; Verreet 1988: 42-43.

65. Pardee 1988: 22; Verreet 1988: 42-43; vgl. dagegen die Deutung der Imperfecta als Jussivformen und des Trikolons als Aufforderung Els u.a. Spronk

Abschnitt 4b-8 mit den PK-Formen *y'db* (zweimal), *yqtqt*, *yd'nn* (zweimal) und *ylmn* weitergeführt.⁶⁶ Den Gang der Handlung setzt in Z. 9 *ymgy* 'er (Yarihu) kommt'⁶⁷ ebenso fort wie *t'db*, <*t'db*>, *yg'r* und zweimal *t'dbn* im Abschnitt 10-13.

Die Kette der PK-Formen zur Schilderung des Geschehens wird in Z. 14 durch *g'r* unterbrochen, das, sofern es sich nicht um einen Schreibfehler handelt, auf zweierlei Weise erklärt werden kann: zum einen als ein Nomen, ein extratemporales Partizip und zum anderen als eine SK-Form, die gegenüber der vorangehenden PK-Form eine Gleichzeitigkeit ('zugleich') ausdrückt.

In 14b-16 wird die Handlung mit den PK-Formen *ytb* (zweimal) und *yšt* (einmal) fortgesetzt.

Des Stilmittels vom parallelen Gebrauch der SK- und PK-Formen,⁶⁸ in der die erstere eine Gleichzeitigkeit mit der letzteren beschreibt ('indem'), bedient sich der Dichter im Bikolon 17-18a: *hlk* || *yšttl*—in der Übersetzung läßt sich diese Consecutio nur schlecht wiedergeben. Mit dieser Variation unterbricht er die Abfolge der PK-Formen und leitet so eine neue Phase des Geschehens ein.

Einen symptomatischen Formenwechsel bietet der Abschnitt 18b-21a, bei dem zwischen den PK-Formen *y'msnn* und *ylšn* die SK-Form *ngšnn* steht. Vom Inhalt her könnte man meinen, daß alle drei Verben eine fortschreitende Handlung aufzeigen. Also wirkt die SK-Form *ngšnn* geradezu störend, weil sie aus der Reihe fällt. Auf der Suche nach einem Grund dafür fällt der Subjektwechsel auf, so daß die Annahme nahe liegt, in *ngšnn* eine SK-Form der Gleichzeitigkeit ('dabei') zu sehen. Die mit *ngšnn* eingeleitete neue Handlung wird dann durch das folgende *ylšn* weitergeführt, das formal an *y'msnn* anschließt.

Den Abschluß der Erzählung über Els Abenteuer im *marzihu*-Haus (Z. 21b-22a) leitet das SK-Verbum *ql* mit resultativer Bedeutung⁶⁹ ein.

3. Inkompetenz des Schreibers

D. Pardee geht in seiner Beurteilung des Textes KTU 1.114 von der These aus, daß dessen Verfasser ein zweitrangiger Poet gewesen sei:

1986: 198; de Moor 1987: 135; Caquot 1989: 74; Hvidberg-Hansen I 1990: 163.

66. Pardee 1988: 22; Verreet 1988: 86, 144.

67. Spronk 1986: 199; de Moor 1987: 135; Pardee 1988: 22; Verreet 1988: 48.

68. Vgl. Held 1962: 281-90, zu *yqtl-qtl* (*qtl-yqtl*) bei identischen Verben im Hebräischen und Ugaritischen.

69. Tropper 1995b: 510.

'un poète de second plan'.⁷⁰ Diese Auffassung könnte eine Stütze darin finden, daß im Abschnitt 1-22a ein poetisch gestalteter Text vorliegt, bei dessen Wiedergabe dem Schreiber entsprechend dem von uns vorgeschlagenen Text allerlei Fehler unterlaufen sind: Z. 1 *dbḥ* <*dbḥ*>; Z. 3 *y*<*n*>; Z. 7 <*ṭḥt ṭḥnt*>; Z. 8 *y.lmn*; Z. 11 <*t'db*>; [[*l?*]]; Z. 12 *rlb* = *klb*.

Diese Fehler sind eine Verwechslung von *r* und *k* in Z. 12, ein falsch gesetzter Trenner in Z. 8 und eine Rasur in Z. 11 sowie vier Auslassungen. Es drängt sich folglich der Schluß auf, daß wir hier eher mit der Arbeit eines nachlässigen Schreibers als mit der eines zweitrangigen Poeten konfrontiert sind. Das ermöglicht die Bejahung unserer anfangs gestellten Frage, ob KTU 1.114 nicht das Produkt eines Schülers sein könnte, der vom Meister die Aufgabe gestellt bekommen hat, aus gegebenem Anlaß eine Krankheitsbeschwörung mit einer üblichen mythologischen Einleitung niederzuschreiben.

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ADAM, EDOM AND HOLOCAUST

Marvin A. Pope^{*†}

The cognate terms 'Adam' and 'Edom' both in the Bible and in the Ugaritic mythological poems evoke engaging reflections on human ego and ethnocentrism and inhumane feelings and acts over the past five millennia since the invention of writing. What happened in the long prehistory of the human race we can only surmise, but it is unlikely that peace and harmony prevailed.

In the first, though, younger account of human origin in the Bible, God made humanity on the sixth day in his own image as male and female (Gen. 1.26). This is the first of many instances in the Bible where it was deemed expedient to revise ancient polytheistic notions to conform to later concern to foster monotheistic ideology. Before monotheism became orthodoxy, humans naturally thought of their gods and goddesses as familial, with fathers, mothers, and children.

In the second, more primitive story (Gen. 2–3), the first human was a

* This article was written by the author and proof-read by the editors. Marvin Pope's passing was a great loss to the scholarly world. Rabbi Levi's commentary to Job 28.1-2 appropriately eulogizes him:

For there is a mine for silver, and a place for gold which they refine.
Iron is taken out of the dust, and brass is molten out of the stone.

He said, 'These things are essential to the world's needs, yet if lost they can be replaced; but who can replace a scholar' (Midrash Rabbah-Genesis).

† Apologies and explanation for the rough state of this offering are in order. This was handwritten far from home without access to books other than the Bible. I wished by all means to join in the tribute to Cyrus Gordon in his ninetieth year for his remarkable scholarly career. All students of the Bible and its broader background are deeply indebted to him for his manifold contributions to our better understanding. Graded numerical dicta in Ugaritic feature the numbers 77, 88, 99 but do not go on to 111, 222 or 666. Cyrus Gordon's acumen at 90 inspire the hope that he will go on at least to 111 and beyond to rival or surpass even Moses. *Yiṣar Kôhō*.

lone male formed from earth (*'adama-t*), the root *'dm* relating to both soil and redness; his earthly connection is precisely analogous to Latin *humus* and *humanus*. All earthly life is human in the sense that it comes from and returns to humus (Gen. 3.19). Recycling is the natural way of dealing with limited resources. In this second story the man was made before the animals, and he inspected all the animals and gave them their names but did not find among them any with whom he wished to socialize. So YHWH-God removed one of Adam's ribs and made it into a woman with whom he bonded immediately. How the pair discovered sexuality (which the gods had hoped to keep for themselves as something too good for the menial help) is a story too loaded with ramifications to pursue here. The shrewd snake seduced the woman to taste the forbidden fruit, and she shared the experience with her phlegmatic mate, and they immediately became like gods knowing good and evil. The punishment for this transgression was banishment of both from the Garden and from access to the tree of Life. For the man came toil and sweat, for the woman subordination to her husband and pain in childbirth, and for both mortality. YHWH would have been naive to suppose that the lively and curious woman would shun the forbidden fruit. Stolen waters are sweet.

In Greek myth the first woman Pandora (All Gifts) lifted the lid of the mystery pot Zeus had told her never to open. Crafty Zeus knew, of course, that Pandora would do just that, and he counted on her womanly curiosity to let loose on humanity a pot full of woes as punishment for having accepted from Prometheus the fire filched from the gods. (Hope was also in the pot, but it stuck inside and never got out.) Both Eve and Pandora are constructs of male chauvinism. Biblical misogyny is epitomized in Ben Sira's Wisdom (Ecclus. 25.12-26), for example, 'From woman is sin's beginning. Because of her we all die' (v. 25). Proponents of gender equality will have to recast this text radically to hide the blatant animus. Milton, with remarkable foresight, spoke of 'man's first disobedience', but surely did not intend to ignore the woman's complicity. If our first parents had it to do over, the bittersweet of toil, sweat and birth pangs would still be better than eternal gardening in Eden where the *'edna-t* was reserved for gods only.

The idea that God is somehow father of humanity is explicit and implicit in many biblical passages which need not be listed and discussed. This concept of the fatherhood of God, with its implicit corollary of the brother/sisterhood of all humankind, is rightly to be

recognized and celebrated as the *magna carta* for all humanity. It is noteworthy that this concept is pre-biblical; it is also to be lamented that some biblical attitudes contradict that ideal. The biological unity of the human species is proven constantly and perennially in the laboratory of human experience since the practical test of speciation is the ability to breed and produce viable offspring. Whatever differences exist among humans are negligible in face of the primal fact that they are a single species.

Several times in the Ugaritic mythological poems, El or God (the common Semitic noun is the participle of the 'hollow' root 'wl relating to primacy, as in the Arabic word 'awwal, 'first') bears the title AB ADM, 'abu 'adami, 'father of humanity'. El and his wife, Lady Athirat, or Qudš ('holiness'), are the parents of some seventy gods and goddesses. In later Jewish tradition these seventy-odd gods and goddesses became the guardians of the seventy heathen nations, the *gôyîm*, while Israel claimed special relationship to their national God with the ineffable name YHWH, who had been amalgamated with the patriarchs of the four generations of West Semitic deities, 'Elyon or Highest, Ba'l Shamayn or Lord Heaven 'El, and Ba'l or Hadd. These four correspond to the four generations of the Greek tradition, Hypsistos, Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus. That this tradition is very old is confirmed by the Canaanitish-Hurrian myths in the Hittite language which present the four-generation theogony and theomachy under the names Alalu, Anu, Kumarbi and Teshub, corresponding precisely to both the West Semitic and the Greek traditions.

In the third generation of the oldest and youngest extant accounts of the four generations of gods, the reigning elder deity (named Kumarbi in the Hurro-Hittite version and Kronos in the Greek) was deposed by the up-and-coming young Storm-God (written with the Sumerogram *dingir-IM* in the cuneiform Hurro-Hittite version and named Teshub/p). The elder god could not fight the young Storm-God and, in the Hurro-Hittite version, used the diorite giant named Ullikummi as his champion just as in the Greek version Kronos had the Titans fight the young weather-god Zeus. In both instances the Storm-God defeated the giant or giants and remained in power. The origins of this myth are manifestly from the climatology of Syria-Palestine where rain is vital and not from Mesopotamia where the irrigation system supplied life-giving water. In the Ugaritic myths, Mighty Ba'l defeats El's Beloved Sea, but El seems to retain prestige and nominal authority. El's approval is still

necessary for Ba'l to build a palace and both the leading goddesses, Athirat, mother of El's seventy children, and Virgin 'Anat, Mighty Ba'l's 'sister' and ally, intercede with El on behalf of Ba'l. But Athirat tells El, 'Our king is Mighty Ba'l // Our Chief, and none is above him'! 'Anat, for her part, threatens to bloody her father's gray head and beard if he does not allow Ba'l to build the palace he wants. In both instances the benign and kindly El seems mainly a figure-head whose power is largely formal. The biblical story of the contest on Mount Carmel between Ba'l and YHWH to prove which god actually supplies the vital rain was Israel's bid to replace the Cloud-Rider Mighty Ba'l with YHWH, who had been brought in a box from bone-dry Sinai to Jerusalem and later ensconced in his house built by Solomon who was known for his cosmopolitan theological tastes.

The unity of all humanity, on an equal basis before whatever gods may be, is a concept crucial to any religion that might unite the dysfunctional human family. This metaphor should be used for all its worth, but not pressed for detail beyond its utility. The evolution of life on this earth by the process of natural selection makes survival of the species the practical test of success. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and egocentrism and ethno-centrism are its corollaries. In the Bible the story of Adam/humanity (with reluctant recognition of the distaff side of the family) moves quickly to the alleged choice of Abraham and a select segment of his progeny for special divine favoritism. The idea that Israel was predestined before creation to inherit the land promised to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob collided with the historic reality that the land had been long preoccupied by several other peoples all descended from Adam and his lively spouse. No problem? YHWH simply promised to destroy these reprobate squatters who had moved into the reserved territory centuries before Abram came on the scene. Delivery on this promise has been delayed, though some still believe that it will happen soon, somehow.

Life in Adam's family has not gone smoothly from the beginning to the present. The first murder in biblical tradition was sparked by the perception of divine favoritism when Cain's effort to please YHWH with offerings of agricultural produce was spurned because of his predilection for animal offerings. In the *Mishnah* on this first murder the question is raised why Scripture (Gen. 4.10) says 'bloods' (of your brother). The answer is given that 'bloods' refer to the progeny Abel never had (like that of millions who perished in Nazi death camps

without survivors). This also explains why Adam/humanity was created singly (*y^ehîdî*) to teach you (and me) that whoever destroys a single soul Scripture charges as if he destroyed a world full, and whoever saves a single life Scripture credits as if he saved a world full. The latter is the motto which in Spielberg's cinedrama *Schindler's List* was engraved in the ring given by those whose lives Schindler had saved. 'Who saves a single life saves a world entire' is one of the noblest sayings in all human literature. Unfortunately, someone who did not believe all human life to be of equal value added twice the limitation 'from Israel', making Israelite lives all that matter. The phrase 'from Israel' sticks out like two sore thumbs and contradicts the continuing larger context, which goes on to elaborate the unity and community of the whole human family since the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be he, cast every human from the same mold (used) for the first Adam and yet no human is (exactly) like another. Accordingly, each one is obligated to say 'for me the world was created'. This latter assertion may take the coveted '*chutzpah* prize', but because anyone and everyone may say this, and some seem really to believe it, no one has more right than another to make such a claim, and hence it is meaningless except for the point that every life is precious. One might wish that Spielberg had taken more care at this point to make clear the context and import of the inscription in Schindler's ring, for all humanity needs to understand and take this message to heart and to know that it applies to all life, not just human life, and is certainly not limited to Israelite lives. It is thus startling to read in J. Neusner's recent translation of the *Mishnah* the concern limited to Israelite life with no note that this limitation (*miyyiśrā'ēl*) is absent in some manuscripts, obviously the original reading since the interpolated restriction contradicts the repeated emphasis of the passage on the unity and equality of all humanity as a single species all made from the same mold.

To turn quickly and briefly to Edom in the Bible and at Ugarit, there is a connection with the idea of human unity and equality and with a holocaust of enemies as the final solution.

At Ugarit the word *UDM* (with vowel harmony, '*Udum*') is the name of a city state, presumably in North Syria, with a king named *PBL*. *PBL*'s beautiful daughter *HRY* (with the old feminine ending *-ay* as in *Śarray*) was chosen by God/El as bride for the recently bereaved king *KRT*, whose whole family had been destroyed in a series of calamities. El in a dream told *KRT* precisely how to procure this wife. He should

raise a vast army and besiege *PBL*'s city Udum and demand in marriage the beautiful princess. *PBL* would, of course, protest and offer bribes, but *KRT* should persist and insist on getting the girl. The item of interest here is *PBL*'s protest that *KRT* should not besiege the city Udum because it had been divinely allotted. *PBL* remonstrated:

Take, O *KRT*, bribes galore.
Do not besiege great Udum,
Udum the grand.
Udum is the gift of God,
Present of the Father of Humankind.

The claim that territories were divinely allotted is explicit in Deut. 32.8.

When 'Elyon gave nations heritage,
When he separated Adam's children,
He fixed people's borders
By the number of Israel's children.

Scholars have long surmised that the text has been altered here to obscure the reference to God's children who were seventy in number. The LXX handled the matter simply by translating 'children' as 'angels'. Angels were minor gods who were servants and messengers for the great gods. The change of God to Israel in the traditional or received text creates many problems and solves none. Israel's sons were twelve and, counting the grandsons too, fall one short of the needed seventy, so that Israel has to be counted among his own children and grandchildren to get the number seventy. The NJV attempts to obscure the problem by translating(?) 'according to Israel's numbers' without reference to the Greek reading or to the fragment from Qumran which preserves enough to show that the oldest reading was 'God' rather than 'Israel'.

It is particularly noteworthy that the Ugaritic affirmation that '*Udum* is the gift of God, a present of the Father of Humankind' indicates that both the concepts of humanity and the sanctity of territorial borders antedate the Bible. Both these ideas are of such import that Paul, when he had the opportunity to speak briefly to the Athenians at Areopagus (or Mars Hill), stressed precisely both these points (Acts 17.26): 'He made from one [Adam] every nation of humanity to dwell on all the face of the earth, having predetermined times and bounds of their habitation'. Paul was well aware of Greek colonialism and of Jewish aspirations. Both Greeks and Jews divided humanity into two groups, Greeks and barbarians or Jews and heathen. Both presumed the world

was made for their sake. As Daniel (7.27) saw in his dream of the divine assize, 'The kingdom and dominion of kingdoms beneath the whole heaven will be given to the holy people of *Elyon*. Their rule will be an eternal kingdom and all dominions will serve and obey them. Here is the end of the matter'. United Nations under control of God's elect with Zion as seat of the Supreme Court, as in Isa. 2.2-4 and Mic. 4.1-3.

Edom in the Bible is a tragic story. The Israelites had some very close kin toward whom they were not kindly disposed, and none were more despised than the descendants of Jacob's twin brother Esau or Edom (Red). The Moabites and Ammonites were less closely related to the Israelites through Abraham's nephew Lot, and there was scandal connected with their ancestry since their progenitors were bastards by incest sired by their drunken grandfather on his own daughters who made him so drunk he didn't know what he was doing and thus was not culpable. (These were the same daughters whom sober Lot had offered to the Sodomites to spare his male guests.) There was inevitably some doubt about Lot's total innocence in this affair. Jacob and Esau fought already in the womb, which their mother regarded as a bad omen. Esau was born first, but Jacob was holding him by the heel, and that was the last time Esau ever come out ahead of Jacob. The fascinating stories of the twin brothers' rivalries are classic. Esau's mind was slow and his I.Q. low and clever Jacob, with his mother's help, made the most of his advantages. The political history of Israel and Edom need not be reviewed. Suffice it to note that the underdog Edom became the symbol of enmity toward Israel applied both to Imperial Rome and to Christianity (which began as a messianic movement within Judaism). The end of Psalm 137 presages the demonization of Edom in describing Edom's descendants as approving Babylon's destruction of Jerusalem. Revenge will be bashing their (Edom's and/or Babylon's) babies against a rock. Isa. 63.1-3 depicts Israel's God trampling Edom like grapes in a wine vat with blood dyeing his clothing (playing on *dam*, 'blood', and '*adom*, 'red') which became the inspiration for Julia Ward Howe's rousing 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' celebrating the Union Victory in the horrific 'Civil War' over the issue of slavery. Few who sing the *incipit* ('Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord/ He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored') have any idea of the meaning of the metaphor or of its provenience. Even more horrific is Isaiah 34, which is probably the proem to

the famous poetic corpus Isaiah 40–66, which is usually divided into two parts, chs. 40–55 and 56–66. C.C. Torrey,¹ however, argued cogently that chs. 34 and 35 are the introduction to the unified corpus 40–66 spliced onto the First Isaiah by the historical appendix (chs. 36–39) culled from 2 Kings 18 and 2 Chronicles 32.

Isaiah 35 is much read and quoted for its promises of transformation and redemption when the ransomed people of YHWH return via a holy highway to Zion with song and everlasting joy. The preceding chapter presenting the preliminary holocaust of Israel's enemies, however, is rarely read and studiously ignored for reasons readily transparent. The biblical term 'holocaust', 'whole burning', derives from Greek and Latin, translating the Canaanite term *'ôlah*, 'what goes up (in fire/smoke)'. The rationale of the term is explained in its first use in the Bible, Gen. 8.20. Noah, after the Flood, built an altar and took the extra clean beasts and birds he had brought aboard and made them go up in fire as a whole burnt offering to YHWH who savored the pleasing odor of burning flesh and was moved to promise never again to curse and destroy man and beast because of humanity and their bent to evil. In the Mesopotamian Flood Story, Noah's prototype offered incense of cane, cedarwood, and myrtle. The gods smelled the pleasing aroma and crowded like flies around the sacrificer. A swarm of gods who savor botanical aromatics is hardly less inspiring than a single god who prefers the smell of burning flesh. The term *'ôlah* (feminine singular participle of the verb *'ly*, 'go up') is used numerous times in the Bible for the whole burnt offering and translated 'holocaust' in the Vulgate. The term had long been used in English with reference to any massive destruction of human life, whether by fire, storm or battle. In neo-Hebrew the masculine singular participle *'ôleh*, 'one who goes up', designates a migrant to Israel because one must go up to get to Jerusalem. The verbal noun *'lîyāh* ('ascent'), is used for immigration to Israel. This preemption perhaps explains the failure to apply the classical biblical term *'ôlah* to mean the mass murder and incineration of European Jewry. The biblical term *šô'āh* ('storm') was used occasionally for this unspeakable horror, but since the mid-1940s the accepted designation has become *'the Holocaust'*. This appears to have come through Polish from the report of the massive Nazi repression of the Jewish uprising in the Warsaw ghetto as reported by the Polish under-

1. 'The Influence of Second Isaiah in the Gospels and Acts', in *Primitive Christianity and Judaism: Symposium* (Philadelphia, 1929).

ground newspaper *Nowy Dien* (New Day), May 14, 1943.² This Polish paper had observers close to the scene of the slaughter and in the report used the Polish word *calopalenie*, which corresponds to the Graeco-Latin compound 'holocaust'.

To return to Isaiah 34, the term '*ôlah*' is not used there, but the whole poem relates to the theme of the final and total destruction of Israel's enemies, the *gôyim*, or heathen nations, subsumed under the code word Edom, cognomen of Jacob/Israel's twin brother. It is YHWH himself who dooms or devotes the heathen to slaughter (v. 2), and he himself performs the butchery with his own bloody sword, first in heaven (vv. 2-5) and then on earth in Edom (vv. 6-9). Though the term '*ôlah*' is not used, the sacrifice is performed in anger by and for YHWH as Champion of Zion. (Note that in v. 8 *LYHWH* and *LRYP ŞYWN* stand in precise synonymous parallelism so that *rib şiyôn* is patently an attribute of the deity.) The introduction of pitch and brimstone, bitumen and sulphur, into the smoke would spoil the pleasing odor of a holocaust of burning flesh, thus the acrid smoke (vv. 9-10) comes from the continual burning of the land itself long after the populace has been immolated. The mention of he-goats and rams in v. 6 and bulls in v. 8 and the reference to Edom's princes or nobles in v. 12 evoke the use of '*allûp*' with reference to the royal sons of Esau in Gen. 36.1-30 and the kings who reigned in Edom before the Israelites had a king, Gen. 36.31-43. The use of terms for powerful animals as designations of noble ranks occurs in the Ugaritic Epic of King *KRT*. Presumably the eternal fire will have subsided before Edom finally grows over with briars and brambles and various sorts of wild and imaginary creatures that inhabit ruins make their homes there. The holocaust of Edom is premeditated and meticulously planned and recorded, as we see from the allusion to YHWH's Book or List (v. 16). Nothing is overlooked or missing, even the mates for creatures that nest, lay, hatch and brood in the ruins are provided according to plan and specification, though the identity of some of these creatures that will survive in the waste land remains unclear.

The demoness, Lilith, is mentioned only here (v. 14) in canonical Scripture, but she lives on in post-biblical lore. Her connection with Edom calls for brief explanation. She became, in post-biblical times, the wife of Samael, Prince of Demons. Samael was tutelary deity or

2. According to Dina Abramowicz, reference librarian of YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, in a letter to the Editor, *New York Times*, February 5, 1994.

guardian angel of Edom, Israel's twin brother and arch enemy and thus the opponent of Israel's guardian Michael. There are many striking details that merit notice. The mention of *r'ēmîm* (v. 7) among the bovine monsters YHWH will sacrifice to himself recalls the ancient royal sport of hunting wild bulls. In Ugaritic myth Ba'l with his bow and arrows went hunting for *RUMM*, wild bulls, in the marshes of *SMK* (the ancient name of Lake Huleh). The term *r'ēm* evokes the later equation of Edom with Rome. A translation of this neglected piece of biblical holocaust poetry with its singular usage of the term 'YHWH's List' is appended for its relevance to biblical origins of holocaust ideology.

Isaiah 34

1. Draw near, heathen, to hear,
Peoples pay heed.
Let earth hear, and what fills it,
The world and all that comes from it.
2. For YHWH is wroth with all heathen,
Angry at all their host.
He has doomed, given them to slaughter.
3. Their slain will be cast,
Their corpses' stench will rise.
Mountains will melt with their blood.
4. All the heavenly host will rot,
The skies roll up like a scroll;
All their host will wither
As a leaf withers from vine,
As the withering of a fig.
5. Sated in heaven is my sword.
Lo, it will descend on Edom,
On people I doomed for justice.
6. YHWH has a sword full of blood,
Gorged with gore,
Blood of sheep and goats,
Fat of rams' reins.
Yea, YHWH has a sacrifice in Bozrah,
Great slaughter in Edom Land.
7. Down will go bulls with them,
Bullocks with mighty bulls.
Their land will be soaked in blood,
Their soil greased with gore.
8. For YHWH has Vengeance Day,
Pay-Back Year has Zion's Champion.

9. Her brooks will turn to pitch,
Her dust to brimstone,
Her land to burning pitch.
10. Night and day it will not go out,
Forever its smoke will rise,
Age to age will it lie waste,
Forever none will pass through.
11. But the ? and owl will possess it,
The ? and raven dwell in it.
He will stretch over it the chaos cord,
The waste-plummet (over) her nobles.
12. 'No Kingdom There' they will call (it).
All her princes will be nothing.
13. Her forts will grow over with thorns,
Briars and brambles in her ramparts.
It will be a haunt of jackals,
A court for ostriches.
14. Desert demons will meet with goblins(?),
Satyr call on his fellow.
There will Lilith nestle
And find for herself rest.
15. There the owl will nest and lay,
Hatch and brood in its shade.
There kites will gather,
Each with her mate.
16. Seek in YHWH's List and read.
Not one of these will be absent,
None will miss her mate.
For YHWH's mouth has commanded,
And his spirit has gathered them.
17. He cast for them the lot,
And his hand allotted it for them by line.
Forever they will possess it,
Age to age will they dwell in it.

The focus on Isaiah 34 stems from the circumstance that this was the first piece of biblical poetry closely examined in my introduction to the 'Lip of Canaan' (Isa. 19.18) before I had heard of the discoveries at Ugarit. The full impact of this horrific poem about the holocaust of Israel's twin brother Edom has dawned on me only gradually in light of the Nazi mass murders during the Second World War and continuing atrocities on a smaller scale still going on in fraternal genocides around the world. Peace processes will not prosper until all partisans appreciate

the implications of the elemental biological reality that humanity is a single species and that 'Who destroys a single soul/life—has destroyed a world full' (*m. Sanh.* 5.4)—omitting the shameful interpolation *miyyiśrā'el*.

THE PHOENICIAN-PUNIC MEENOLOGY*

Robert R. Stieglitz

Among his pioneering studies in the 1930s, Cyrus H. Gordon worked on reconstructing the Nuzi meenology. As is well known, he was very much interested in all aspects of cultural diffusion, and, indeed, he noted some points of calendrical contact between the rather remote region of Nuzi and the Phoenician-Hebrew realm. In light of recently unearthed evidence, particularly from Ugarit, it is now possible to advance a reconstruction of the Phoenician-Punic calendar. It gives me great pleasure, therefore, to dedicate this article to Cyrus H. Gordon, my teacher and master.

The primary basis for the reconstruction of the Phoenician-Punic calendar is a set of month names, attested in inscriptions found at scattered Phoenician and Punic sites from the Lebanon to the Maghreb. While the world of the Phoenicians was not united politically, it was evidently bound by certain common traditions which included not only the language and cults of the Phoenician homeland, but also a Canaanite calendar.¹ The preserved calendrical references are found in Phoenician-Punic texts which range in date from the Persian period to the Neo-Punic Roman era, but the roots of this calendar are certainly much more ancient than the sixth century BCE.

The corpus of Phoenician and Punic texts has yielded a total of twelve month names. In alphabetical order, they are: *'TNM, BL, ZBH*

* This is a revised and expanded version of a paper read at the IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos (Cádiz, 2 al 6 de Octubre 1995).

1. Greco-Roman historians wrote of continuing contacts between the western Phoenicians and their homeland. Arrian (*Anabasis* 2.24.5) noted that a delegation from Carthage was trapped in Tyre (332 BCE) during the siege by Alexander the Great. Polybius (*Histories* 31.12.11-12) related that in 162 BCE Carthaginians brought to Tyre offerings of first-fruits, for Melqart, in accordance with 'ancient custom'.

ŠMŠ, ZYB, HYR, KRR, MP', MP' LPNY, MRP'(M), MTN, P'LT, and the partially preserved name [...]RM.² Little is known about details of this calendar, but it is assumed that it was an intercalated lunar system, of the type used in ancient Canaan, Syria and Mesopotamia. Long ago, it was argued by Berliner that the month named MP' was utilized as an intercalary month in the Punic lunar calendar.³ If this conjecture were substantiated, it would mean that only eleven of the twelve regular month names are known. A possible candidate for the missing name was seen by Aharoni in the alleged Judaeen month Šah 'Bright', which he found in an Iron Age inscription from Arad, but the reading of this word has been questioned by Lemaire.⁴

The earliest documents which mention these Phoenician month names are actually the biblical narratives of Kings, compiled in their present form in the sixth century BCE, which mention the months named 'Etanim, Bul and Ziv. The Bible associates this calendar with the reign of King Solomon (971–932 BCE), and thereby also with that of his close ally King Hiram I of Tyre (980–947 BCE). Josephus (*Ant.* 8.146, variant passage in *Apion* 1.116), quoting Menander of Ephesos, recorded that Hiram I was the first king to celebrate a festival named the 'awakening of Herakles' (= Melqart) in the Macedonian month of *Peritios* (approximately January).⁵ It seems likely, therefore, that Hiram I reformed the existing cultic calendar of his kingdom. The biblical references to these month names indicate that in the tenth century BCE both the Phoenicians and Hebrews utilized a similar if not identical calendar.⁶ After Solomon, the kingdoms of Israel and Judah adopted

2. See R.S. Tombback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978).

3. E. Berliner, 'Le mois intercalaire du calendrier punique', *RA* 13 (1916), pp. 55-61.

4. Y. Aharoni, *The Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Bialik-IES, 1981), p. 40, conjectured that the first three months in the old Judaeen spring calendar were: 'Abib(?), Ziv, and Šah. A. Lemaire, 'Note epigraphique sur la pseudo-attestation du mois šh', *VT* 23 (1973), pp. 243-45, argued for an entirely different reading.

5. An Egyptian festival called 'The Birthday of the Staff of the Sun' was held annually on the eighth Waning of *Phaophi* (about August), according to Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 52. It may have been the same ritual as the reformed festival of Melqart (= Osiris) at Tyre; see R.R. Stieglitz, 'The Solar Cult in the Coins of Ancient Malta', *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Numismatics*, Berne, September 1979 (Louvain-la-Neuve: AINP, 1982), p. 206.

6. J. Morgenstern, 'The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, its Origin and its

different calendrical systems, but the Tyrians and Sidonians continued to use this calendar and spread it to numerous colonies in the West.

The order of the months in the Phoenician-Punic calendar is unknown except for the three months mentioned in the Bible.⁷ Their position in the calendar is supplied by ancient editorial glosses, or by the Septuagint translation. In the following, I shall examine the Phoenician-Punic month names in alphabetical order, and propose to arrange them in calendrical sequence. As we shall see, six of the Phoenician-Punic names are also attested in other Syro-Mesopotamian calendars, and those provide us with some additional clues in our attempted reconstruction.

1. *'TNM* (KAI 37A; 41). According to 1 Kgs 8.2, month VII of the spring year was named *Hā'Ētānīm*. The LXX reads *Athanim*, which was apparently the original form, without the definite article found in the Hebrew text. This term may have a good Semitic etymology, from the word *'ētān* ('firm'), but the month name was probably a loanword. A month called *Attana*, also *Attanatu* with a Semitic feminine ending, is attested at Alalakh. It was also month VII of the spring year at Nuzi, where it had the form *Attanašwe*, with a Hurrian suffix.⁸ The name *'TNM* is evidently derived from the Hurrian *attan-* ('father').⁹ Since there is evidence that the Canaanite year originally began in the fall,¹⁰ this would have been the first month of their year, corresponding approximately to our October.

2. *BL* (KAI 14; 32; 38) was month VIII of the spring year according to 1 Kgs 6.38, where it is vocalized as *Bûl*, while the LXX reads *Baal*.¹¹ The word *bûl* evidently meant 'clod, lump'. A discussion of this month

Character', VT 5 (1955), p. 76, speculated that Solomon borrowed the reformed Tyrian calendar. On the later calendars of Israel and Judah, see B.R. Goldstein and A. Cooper, 'The Festivals of Israel and Judah and the Literary History of the Pentateuch', JAOS 110 (1990), p. 20.

7. The reconstruction of the Phoenician calendar by A. Sarsowsky (1907) was not convincing. See OLZ 11 (1908), p. 511.

8. CAD A/II, p. 510.

9. See in *atn* (*eni attanni*) 'god the father' in the Hurrian cultic text UT 4, written in Ugaritic alphabetic script.

10. G. Garbini, 'Considerazioni sull'iscrizione punica di Pyrgi', *OrAnt* 4 (1965), p. 41; also see Goldstein and Cooper, 'Festivals', p. 21.

11. Reading MT as *Bēl*, the Babylonian vocalization of *Ba'l*, as in Jer. 46.1; 50.2; 51.44.

name in the Jerusalem Talmud (y. *Roš. Haš.* 6a) indicates that it was a winter month, and I would propose to correlate it approximately with our November.

3. *ZBH ŠMŠ* (*KAI* 43; 277; *CIS* I 13). I cannot agree with the proposal that the month name *Zbh Ššm* in *KAI* 43.4 represents a different month. Surely it is a scribal error, or even a modern misreading, for the name *Zbh Šmš* 'Sacrifice of the Sun'.¹² At Ugarit, there was a comparable month, called *Dbh[]* in the alphabetic texts (*UT* 1160). I would equate this Ugaritic name with the Ugaritic month written *ITL.SISKUR-ana* in the Akkadian text *RS* 16.151 (*PRU* 3, 188), which Nougayrol read as *Kurbana*(?). It seems to me that we can read the cuneiform word as *Dubuhana* 'Sacrifice', *vel sim.*, and thus restore the alphabetic month name as *Dbh[n]*, with a nominal suffix. In my reconstruction of the Phoenician-Punic calendar, *Zbh Šmš* is month III of the spring year, approximately June.

4. *ZW* (*Lidz.* 99 = *Slouschz* 228). The biblical vocalization *Ziv* (1 Kgs 6.1, 37) is corroborated by the Neo-Punic inscription from Constantine where it is written *ZYB*, 'Splendor'. According to some of the biblical translations, this was month II (of the spring year). However, the *LXX* (1 Kgs 6.1c) renders the Hebrew term *Ziv* by *Niso*, or *Nisan*, thus identifying the Punic-Hebrew name with *Nisannu*, the first month of the Neo-Babylonian spring year. We should also note that in the Targum to 1 Kgs 6.1, 37, the Aramaic *Niṣṣana* 'blossom' is used as a gloss for the Hebrew word *Ziv*. Both the Greek and Aramaic translations thus suggest that this was the first spring month, approximately April.

5. *HYR* (*KAI* 40; 49; 81; 119). This month is attested in the Bronze Age calendars of Nuzi, Alalakh and Ugarit. The name of this month, like that of *TNM*, is non-Semitic. The word is a Hurrian loanword, which is attested at Ugarit in both alphabetic and syllabic texts as *Hyr/Hiyaru*.¹³ In their reconstruction of the Nuzi calendar, Gordon and Lacheman, following the suggestion of Cook (1903), equated the Phoenician *HYR* with the 'standard' Neo-Babylonian *Ayyaru*, namely,

12. *KAI*, II (1968), p. 339, contra J.B. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 23 n. 60.

13. T. de Jong and W.H. van Soldt, 'Redating an Early Solar Eclipse Record (KTU 1.78): Implications for the Ugaritic Calendar and for the Secular Accelerations of the Earth and the Moon', *JEOL* 30 (1987/88–89), p. 70. The *CAD* H, p. 178, with no Ugaritic references, lists this term as a Hurrian word.

month II of the spring year.¹⁴ But *Ayyaru* is utilized only sporadically in Old Babylonian calendars, and where it occurs, its position in the calendar always corresponds to that of the Neo-Babylonian *Addaru*, which is month XII of the 'standard' series.¹⁵ Thus, I would also place it as month XII of the spring year in the Canaanite calendar, as the approximate equivalent of March.

6. *KRR* (*KAI* 159; 277; *CIS* I 92). The Phoenician month name corresponds to *Kiraru*, a month known from Alalakh, where its position in the calendar is not known. The proposed etymology by Dahood, to relate it to the Semitic root *KRR* and hence to the term *kar* 'lamb', is unconvincing.¹⁶ It seems to me that this term is yet another Hurrian month name.¹⁷ In the Phoenician version of the Pyrgi texts (*KAI* 277), there is reference to 'the day of the burial of the god' (*ym qbr ilm*) during this month. Garbini¹⁸ proposed to equate *KRR* with the Babylonian Tammuz (spring month IV), about July. It is significant that in the Late Roman era, the Syrian festival commemorating the resurrection of Adonis (= Tammuz) was celebrated on July 19, the traditional beginning of the Egyptian Sothic year.¹⁹

7. *MP'* (*KAI* 43). The name of this month probably means 'appearance' from the verb **YP'* ('arise, appear'), attested in Ugaritic and Hebrew. In Transjordan, there was a city called *Mopa'at* (Jer. 48.21), or *Meypa'at* (Josh. 13.18; 1 Chron. 6.64). The month name is insufficient to determine its position in the calendar. I suggest tentatively that *MP'* was month VI of the spring year, corresponding approximately to September.

8. *MP' LPNY* (*KAI* 110; 137). The name means 'former *MP'*' and it is this month, rather than *MP'*, which may have been an intercalary

14. C.H. Gordon and E.R. Lacheman, 'The Nuzu Menology', *ArOr* 10 (1938), p. 56.

15. See the comparative chart in S. Greengus, 'The Akkadian Calendar at Sippar', *JAOS* 107 (1987), p. 212.

16. 'Some Eblaite and Phoenician Month Names', *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1983), pp. 595-98.

17. *CAD* K, p. 401.

18. Garbini, 'Considerazioni', p. 44. P. Xella, 'Sul nome punico *'bdkrr'*', *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 12 (1984), pp. 220-30, compared the Punic month *KRR* to the Ugaritic month *GN*, which is conjectured to be spring month II (May).

19. F. Cumont, 'Les Syriens en Espagne et les Adonies a Seville', *Syria* 8 (1927), p. 339.

month, but this cannot be ascertained. If it was inserted periodically, its name suggests that it was added prior to the beginning of *MP* 'September' (see Fig. 1). On the other hand, it is possible that this was a regular month used annually. In that case, it would be month V of the spring year, namely, August (see Fig. 2).

9. *MRP'(M)* (*KAI* 33; 111; *CIS* I 11; 124; 179). The name of this month is attested in two forms, with or without final *mem*, which may be the masculine plural ending *-im*. The meaning of the name is 'healing', but this is hardly sufficient to indicate its position. We may conjecture, with Vattioni,²⁰ that an allusion to the solar motion is implied in the name, and thus indicates that its calendrical position coincided with the vernal equinox or the winter solstice. By the process of elimination, I suggest it was the latter, approximately December.

10. *MTN* (Larnaka III). The obvious meaning of this term is 'gift, donation'. However, it may also be connected to a rare agricultural term *matan* 'to await ripening', which is attested only in late Hebrew.²¹ Its position in the year is unknown. If the Phoenician name is cognate to the agricultural term, it suggests a spring month, in this case probably the second month of the spring year, the approximate equivalent of May. As such, the month would coincide with the barley harvest, which will also fit rather well with the meaning of 'gift'. It is certain that in Phoenician-Punic religion, there was an important spring festival for the offerings of first-fruits to Melqart.²²

11. *P'LT* (*KAI* 37B; 43; 112). The term is a feminine plural formation, derived from the root *P'L*, meaning 'acts'. I compare this name to the Ugaritic month *Ib'lt*, syllabically *Ib-a-la-tu* in the Akkadian text RS 25.455A + B.²³ The Ugaritic noun is a feminine plural formation, with the prosthetic vowel, derived from the root *B'L*, which is the Ugaritic equivalent of Phoenician *P'L*.²⁴ The month of *P'LT* was approximately February.

12. [...]*JRM* (Larnaka III). The twelfth month name known from Phoenician-Punic texts is only partially preserved, but in light of the

20. F. Vattioni, 'Mal. 3,20 e un mese del calendario fenicio', *Bib* 40 (1959), pp. 1012-1015.

21. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Pardes, 1950), p. 863.

22. See n. 1, above.

23. De Jong and van Soldt, 'Redating', p. 70.

24. *UT*, p. 375, s.v. 'b'l II'.

Ugaritic month name *Pgrm/Parguma*,²⁵ I can now propose to restore the Phoenician name as *[Pg]rm*. This word is a masculine plural of *pgr* 'cult stele' (biblical *peger*), a term also attested in Ugaritic and Hebrew.²⁶ In the Ugaritic calendar, there is a sequence of three months—*Pgrm/Parguma*, *Ib'lt/Ib'alatu*, and *Hyr/Hiyaru*—which, I believe, is also preserved by name and order in the Phoenician-Punic calendar. The position of these three Ugaritic months is conjectured to be months X-XII of the spring year.²⁷ I would suggest that the Canaanite-Phoenician months occupied the same position as their Ugaritic namesakes, as follows:

Phoenician-Punic	Ugaritic	Approximate Julian
<i>[Pg]rm</i>	<i>Pgrm/Parguma</i>	January
<i>P'lt</i>	<i>Ib'lt/Ib'alatu</i>	February
<i>Hyr</i>	<i>Hyr/Hiyaru</i>	March

13. *Ṣaḥ* (Arad 20). As noted above, it is not known if this month name was utilized in the Phoenician-Punic system. As it is not attested in other texts, it could have been a local Judaeian name. A clue to its position in the old Hebrew calendar may be provided by references in Isa. 18.4 and Jer. 4.11 which suggested to Aharoni²⁸ that it was a summer month. If *Ṣaḥ* was also in the Phoenician-Punic series, I tentatively propose to locate it as month V of the spring year, namely, August. If it was not in the Phoenician system, and an intercalated system was utilized, another month name must be restored in that position.

Conclusions

The still meager data about the Phoenician menology suggest two possible interpretations of the evidence. If the Phoenician-Punic calendar resembled Mesopotamian models, then the day began after sunset. The first day (*ym*) of the month (*yrḥ*) would be on the evening of the first visibility of the new moon crescent (*ḥdš*). The full moon day (*ks*)

25. *Loc. cit.* (n. 23); the conjecture that *Pgrm/Parguma* was identical to the Ugaritic month *Dbh[]* is groundless.

26. D. Neiman, 'PGR: A Canaanite Cult-Object in the Old Testament', *JBL* 67 (1948), pp. 55-60.

27. *Loc. cit.*, n. 23, above.

28. *Loc. cit.*, n. 4, above.

would fall on the fifteenth of the month. Since calendrical events were determined by direct observations, the months were either 29 or 30 days in duration.

The lunar year of 354 days was intercalated by the periodic addition of a thirteenth month, as was routine in both Syrian and Mesopotamian calendars, in order to correlate this cycle with the agricultural seasons. This procedure is already attested in the calendar of Ebla, in the middle of the third millennium BCE. In Babylonia, there were various procedures, including one based on the relative positions of the Moon and Pleides, to determine which years were to be intercalated.²⁹ Similar practices were presumably also current among the Phoenicians.

It is possible, however, that the calendar of the Phoenicians did not utilize an intercalary month, but operated with a total of only twelve months, like the Egyptian Sothic calendar. In that system, the day began after sunrise, and the new moon day (Egyptian *tp 3bd* 'head of the month') was the *second* day of the month. Every month had thirty days.³⁰ The year of 360 days, also called the schematic, or Temple Year, was then intercalated by the addition of five days (Egyptian *5 hryw rnpt* = Greek *epagomenai hēmerai pente*), which were inserted after the end of month XII (= Egyptian *Mesorē*). This year of 365 days, called the wandering, or Sothic year, retrograded very slowly around the seasons, as it lost one day every four years. But it was ideal for administrative purposes, and therefore was utilized *side by side* with other astronomically based systems.

The evidence that a schematic calendar year was utilized by Phoenicians on Cyprus is indicated by a reference to the five intercalary days in a Phoenician-Greek bilingual from Idalion (*KAI* 39 = *CIS* I 89), dated to year four of King Milkyaton (389 BCE). In the text, the Phoenician date formula is missing, but the Greek text alludes to the five intercalary days (...[*tan epag*]omenan to *pe(m)pameron*).³¹ While this is hardly decisive data, it corresponds precisely to what we know about

29. H. Hunger and E. Reiner, 'A Scheme for Intercalary Months from Babylonia', *WZKM* 67 (1975), pp. 21-28.

30. This calendar was also utilized in Mesopotamia, side by side with the lunar year, as noted by O. Neugebauer, 'The Water Clock in Babylonian Astronomy', *ISIS* 37 (1947), p. 37.

31. R.R. Stieglitz, 'Egypto-Phoenician Motifs on Early Cypriote Coins', *Praktika B' Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, I (Nicosia: Leventis, 1985), p. 273.

Sothic and Sothic-derived calendars of Phoenician city-states in later periods.

At Sidon, in the Late Roman period, we find that the Julian year was utilized. But Tyre, and other Phoenician cities, used different calendars patterned after the Egyptian Sothic year of equal months.³² Curiously, the month names in these late Phoenician calendars were not the old Canaanite names, but Syro-Aramaic (Syriac) derivatives of ancient Mesopotamian calendars. The twelve names of the 'standard' Neo-Babylonian *Nisannu* series, those adopted by the Hebrews in the post-exilic period, were not utilized in the Phoenician city-states. It is noteworthy that the Syriac calendars were not intercalated by a thirteenth month, but did utilize double-month names: Former and Latter *Tishrin*, and Former and Latter *Kanun*. By contrast, the Phoenician-Punic calendar utilized *MP'* and Former *MP'*, although one of these may have been an intercalary, not a regular month.

The available evidence thus suggests two possible reconstructions, as seen in Figs. 1 and 2. These tabulate the Phoenician-Punic menology (spring and fall years), and list the cognate month names known from ancient Near Eastern texts. In the first case, we have a lunar year of 354 days, which was intercalated periodically by the addition of a thirteenth month, which was inserted before the regular month XII of the fall year (Fig. 1). In the second case, the reconstruction follows an Egyptian year of 360 days composed of twelve equal months, which were augmented by the addition of five days after month XII (Fig. 2). A third variant, such as the calendar of Baalbek,³³ was also possible. In this system, five of the 30-day months were lengthened by the addition of one day, yielding a 365-day year.

In any event, the Phoenician-Punic year began in the fall with the month of Fathers ('*TNM*') and ended with the month of Appearance (*MP'*). It is possible that both the lunar and solar systems were used side by side, one for administrative the other for cultic purposes, as was the case in other regions of the Levant.

The names of the months in the Phoenician-Punic calendar include

32. As recorded in the *Hemerologium Florentinum*; see A. Shalit (trans.), *The Jewish Antiquities of Flavius Josephus*, II (Jerusalem/Tel Aviv: Masada, 1967), commentary p. 15 (Hebrew); and J.P. Brown, *The Lebanon and Phoenicia* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1969), I, p. 8.

33. See J. Tubach, 'Der Kalender von Ba'albek-Heliopolis', *ZDPV* 110 (1994), pp. 181-89.

three Hurrian loanwords (*'TNM*, *HYR*, and *KRR*), which are also attested in the regional Syro-Mesopotamian calendars of the Late Bronze Age. The remaining month names are all Canaanite words. Two of these have cognates in the Ugaritic calendar (*ZBH ŠMŠ* and *P'LT*), and another name (*ZYB*) is also attested in the Bible. The six remaining names are known only from the Phoenician-Punic series. The admixture of Semitic and non-Semitic terms indicates that this Iron Age system was a reformed version of an older Canaanite calendar of the Late Bronze Age.

As noted above, a major calendrical reform was apparently introduced by King Hiram I of Tyre in the tenth century BCE, and we can probably date the origin of the Phoenician-Punic system at least to that period. Future discoveries will, one hopes, shed more light on the details of this calendar, which was diffused throughout the Mediterranean world by the Phoenicians.

Fall (Spring)	Phoen.- Punic	Hebrew	Ugarit	Alalakh	Nuzi	Approx. Modern
I (VII)	<i>'TNM</i>	<i>'E/Atanim</i>	—	<i>Attana(tu)</i>	<i>Attanašwe</i>	Oct.
II (VIII)	<i>BL</i>	<i>Bul</i>	—	—	—	Nov.
III (IX)	<i>MRP'(M)</i>	—	—	—	—	Dec.
IV (X)	<i>[PG]RM</i>	—	{ <i>Pgrm</i> <i>Pagruma</i> <i>Ib'lt</i>	<i>Pagru</i>	—	Jan.
V (XI)	<i>P'LT</i>	—		—	—	Feb.
VI (XII)	<i>HYR</i>	—		<i>Ḫiyaru</i>	<i>Ḫiyari</i>	March
VII (I)	<i>ZYB</i>	<i>Ziv</i>	—	—	—	April
VIII (II)	<i>MTN</i>	—	—	—	—	May
IX (III)	<i>ZBH ŠMŠ</i>	—	<i>Dbh[n]</i> <i>SISKUR-ana</i>	—	—	June
X (IV)	<i>KRR</i>	—	—	<i>Kiraru</i>	—	July
XI (V)	<i><ŠH>?</i>	<i>Šaḥ</i>	—	—	—	Aug.
XII (VI)	<i>MP'</i>	—	—	—	—	Sept.
inter-calary	<i>MP' LPNY</i>	—	—	—	—	before Sept.

Figure 1. *The Phoenician-Punic Calendar (Mesopotamian Type)*

Fall (Spring)	Phoen.- Punic	Hebrew	Ugarit	Alalakh	Nuzi	Approx. Modern
I (VII)	<i>'TNM</i>	<i>'E/Atanim</i>	—	<i>Attana(tu)</i>	<i>Attanašwe</i>	Oct.
II (VIII)	<i>BL</i>	<i>Bul</i>	—	—	—	Nov.
III (IX)	<i>MRP'(M)</i>	—	—	—	—	Dec.
IV (X)	<i>[PG]RM</i>	—	{ <i>Pgrm</i> <i>Pagruma</i> <i>Ib'lt</i> <i>Ib'alatu</i>	<i>Pagru</i>	—	Jan.
V (XI)	<i>P'LT</i>	—		—	—	Feb.
VI (XII)	<i>HYR</i>	—		<i>Ḥiyaru</i>	<i>Ḥiyari</i>	March
VII (I)	<i>ZYB</i>	<i>Ziv</i>	—	—	—	April
VIII (II)	<i>MTN</i>	—	—	—	—	May
IX (III)	<i>ZBH ŠMŠ</i>	—	<i>Dbh[n]</i> <i>SISKUR-ana</i>	—	—	June
X (IV)	<i>KRR</i>	—	—	<i>Kiraru</i>	—	July
XI (V)	<i>MP' LPNY</i>	—	—	—	—	Aug.
XII (VI)	<i>MP'</i>	—	—	—	—	Sept.
inter- calary	5 days	—	—	—	—	after September

Figure 2. *The Phoenician-Punic Calendar (Egyptian Type)*

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Part IV

ARAMAIC AND ARABIC STUDIES

NEW DOCUMENTS FROM THE DEAD SEA:
BABYLONIAN SCIENCE IN ARAMAIC

Mark J. Geller

The edition of Dead Sea scrolls transcribed and translated mainly from photographs includes several magical and divination texts which require further comment.¹ The editors' brief comments have suggested Greek parallels to these texts, without considering the more likely Akkadian genres which serve as prototypes to the Aramaic fragments. The following remarks are intended to draw attention to Akkadian divination, which may have influenced the Aramaic texts from Qumran.

1. *Eisenman and Wise, No. 45 (4Q318)*

This fragment, labelled as a 'brontologion' by the editors,² charts the journey of the moon through the zodiac,³ listing the constellations in the path of the moon, beginning with Taurus, for example, 'on the first and second of the Ram (= Aries), on the third and fourth of the Ox (= Taurus)', and so on.⁴ At the end of the Qumran text, omens referring to thunder appear, for example, 'if it thunders (when the moon is) in the Twins (= Gemini), fear and illness from enemies...'.⁵ The omens

1. The only edition of these texts available to me is that of R. Eisenman and M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Rockport, 1992), nos. 45 and 46. I would like to express my thanks to Ms Barbara Börk, who generously allowed me to consult her editions of Akkadian physiognomic omens, 'Die Keilschriftliche Omenserie *AlamSimmu*' (PhD thesis, Freie Universität, Berlin, 1996).

2. The label was applied by J.C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, 'Astrological and Related Omen Texts in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic', *JNES* 48 (1989), p. 202.

3. Other astronomical texts are known from Qumran which follow the path of the moon, cf. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 251ff.

4. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, p. 262, Fragment 2, col. 2.

5. Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 262, Frag. 2 col. 2:9, interpreted

resulting from thunder predict 'toil in the city' (*'ml bmdynt*'), destruction in the royal court (*hr[b bd]rt(?) mlk*'), hunger (*kpn*), and 'one plundering another' (*lhwwn bzzyn 'ln b'[ln]*).⁶

Enough of the fragmentary text has survived to warrant comparison with an Akkadian astronomical text known as MUL.APIN,⁷ a compendium which lists seventeen constellations in the moon's path through the heavens. These are given as: Stars (= *zappu*), Bull of Heaven (= *alû*), True Shepherd of Anu (= *šidallu*), Old Man (= *šibu*), Crook (= *gamlu*), Great Twins (*tū'āmū rabūtu*), Crab (= *alluttu*), Lion (= *urgulû*), Furrow (= *šir'u*), Scales (= *zibānītu*), Scorpion (= *zuqaqīpu*), Pabilsag, Goat-fish (= *suhurmāšū*), Great One (= GU.LA), Tails of the Swallow (*zibbāt sinūnūti*), Anunītu, Hired Man (= *agru*).⁸ The text then adds that 'these are all the gods (that is, constellations) which are positioned in the path of the Moon during the month, (when) the Moon passes by and encounters them in their sections (of the sky)'.⁹ This section of MUL.APIN could have provided the basis for the Qumran

the reference to 'foreigners' (*nkry*) as the 'nationalistic and xenophobic sentiments so characteristic of Qumran', cf. p. 259. Although *nkry* as 'enemies, strangers' is best attested in Ahikar 139 (*'mr lnkry*'), the cognate *nakru*, 'enemy' is commonly used in Akkadian omen texts, cf. CAD N¹ 195. Hence, the idiom *mnkry* may simply be borrowed from omen contexts, without reflecting the particular xenophobic ideas of Qumran Sectarrians.

For *mr* as 'illness', cf. M. Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (Ramat Gan, 1990) p. 331b.

6. Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, p. 331b ll. 7-8; a presumed reference to Arabs (*'rby*) is too broken to translate.

7. H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN, an Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* (AfO Beiheft, 24; Horn, 1989). The composition provides a variety of astronomical data, such as the paths of the constellations in relation to fixed stars, and the dates of an ideal calendar of 360 days with associated equinox and solstice occurrences as measured by a water-clock, cf. Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*, pp. 139ff. The section listing the constellations in the path of the moon occurs at the end of Tablet I (cf. p. 144).

8. Cf. MUL.APIN I iv 33-37, and Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*, p. 144, in which the corresponding stars of the zodiac are listed as Taurus, Orion, Auriga, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces and Aries.

9. MUL.APIN I iv 38-39: *naphar annūtu ilāni šá ina harrān dSin izzazzūma dSin ēma arhi [ina pirkišunu itenettiq]uma iltanappatušunūti*. Tablet II opens with a list of the Sun and planets (Jupiter, Venus, Mars, Mercury and Saturn) which follow the same path as the Moon.

calculations, with one other important similarity: both the Akkadian and Aramaic compositions enumerate the zodiac constellations beginning with Taurus, as was usual in Babylonia, rather than with Aries, which was characteristic of Greek astronomy.¹⁰

The second correspondence between MUL.APIN and 4Q318 occurs in the omina which appear at the end of both texts.¹¹ The MUL.APIN omina, although not based upon any single phenomenon of weather, include both favourable and unfavourable omina, some of which are comparable with those from Qumran: 'If in the midst of a constellation one star shines very brightly: the enemy (*nakru*). If (it is) a bright light (*ṣētu*), (and) 4 or 2 great ones are yellow: plague (*mūtānu*)'.¹² Although none of the omina in MUL.APIN refers to thunder as such, nevertheless many of the Akkadian omina feature the four winds,¹³ and, as in the Aramaic 'brontologion', the omina in MUL.APIN refer to phenomena affecting the entire land, rather than individuals.

The parallels between the Akkadian and Aramaic astronomical texts are not sufficiently close to argue for direct dependence or borrowing from one text tradition into another, but the evidence is sufficient to allow us to conclude that the Qumran astronomical fragment is a MUL.APIN type text, perhaps even a late development in Aramaic of

10. Cf. Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 259, in which they point to the anomaly that the Qumran text begins the zodiac with Taurus rather than Aries, which they assume to hark back to Sectarian ideology. The authors propose the novel theory that the author of the Qumran astronomical text knew that between 4500–2100 BCE, the sun rose in Taurus rather than in Aries as in the Hellenistic period, and hence the Qumran author based his astronomical calculations on the heavens during the assumed period of Creation, presumably in the fifth millennium BCE. A simpler explanation is more plausible, namely that the text followed Babylonian astronomy, which listed the constellations in a fixed order beginning with stars corresponding to Taurus in the Greek zodiac.

11. See MUL.APIN II iii 16ff.

12. MUL.APIN II iii 18–19 *šumma ina libbi mul₄KÁR.ŠUL ištēn kakkabu magal ba'il nakru šumma ṣētu*(UD.DA) 4 lu 2 *rabūtu arqūma mūtānu*; see also Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 134. For the reading BE.MEŠ as *mūtānu*, cf. A.R. George's review of MUL.APIN, ZA 81 (1991), p. 303. See n. 4 above, that terms for both 'illness' and 'enemies' occur in the Qumran text.

13. MUL.APIN II iv 9–12, and in particular four omina for a new ruler based upon the occurrence of the South, North, East and West winds, of which only the South wind blowing presents a favourable omen. Such omina may parallel the 'destruction in the royal court' forecast in the Aramaic brontologion.

an earlier and well-established genre of astronomical observations in Akkadian.¹⁴

2. Eisenman and Wise, No. 46 (4Q561)

The physiognomic omnia are described by Eisenman and Wise as belonging to a well-known genre of Graeco-Roman divination, although the editors provide no examples of comparable texts. As in the previous case, Akkadian divination not only resembles the Qumran text but helps elucidate its contents.

The Qumran fragments comprise a description of a man's body which forms the basis for predictions about his future fate. Enough of the text is preserved to show that only the protases are listed, without the apodoses, so that only the descriptions are given without the concluding interpretations of what these 'signs' mean. In the first column the omnia are organized from head to foot, first attested for the man's eyes, nose, teeth, beard, arms, elbows, thighs, and feet. Column Two includes references to the man's voice, another mention of his beard, and nails, while Fragment 6 refers to the hair of his head. The descriptions of the parts of the body are simplistic, for example, the nose is 'stretched' (*ngyd*) and 'handsome' (*špyr*), his teeth are 'even' (*šwyn*), his beard is 'thin' (*dq*), etc.¹⁵

The Akkadian physiognomic omnia are similar in form and content,

14. My colleague Robert Sharples has kindly drawn my attention to Theophrastus *On Weather Signs*, which deals mainly with risings and settings of constellations as points in the year, as well as with different phases of the moon, bearing some resemblance to MUL.APIN. Theophrastus, however, does not record omnia related to weather. Cf. P. Cronin, with W.W. Fortenbaugh and D. Gutas, *Theophrastus: His Physical, Doxographical, and Scientific Writings* (New Brunswick, 1992), pp. 307-45.

15. Eisenman and Wise have drawn attention to another physiognomic text from Qumran (4Q186) which, although in cryptographic Hebrew, demonstrates many similar features to 4Q561. J.M. Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 5, pp. 88-91, 186, and 'An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumran', *JSS* 9 (1964), pp. 291-94. Fragment 2, for instance, describes the man's eyes, beard, voice, teeth, fingers, thighs, feet and toes, in the familiar 'head-to-foot' pattern, with similar adjectives as in the Aramaic text, for example, his teeth are 'thin' (*dqwt*), his fingers 'thin and long' (*dqwt w arw[k]wt*); cf. Allegro, *Discoveries*, p. 91, and G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 3rd edn, 1987), p. 306.

although much of the text is fragmentary.¹⁶ The omina are divided between those for men and women, as well as a specific group dealing with birthmarks, but within these categories the omina appear to be organized from head to foot. For instance, the main tablets of the series begin with omina related to the head, particularly dealing with curls on the forehead, facial hair and hair on the top and back of the head. The next tablets begin with omina drawn from descriptions of the eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth, teeth, lips, chin and cheeks, as well as the lips, mouth, and tongue.¹⁷ Other tablets deal with facial marks and colour, the neck, and finally hands and feet.¹⁸

One interesting characteristic of the Akkadian physiognomic omina is the obvious connection between the protasis and apodosis, based upon a straightforward association of ideas. One text, for instance, reads, 'if the hair of his head is thick (*kabbar*), he will have satisfaction, if the hair of his head is thin, he will have dissatisfaction'.¹⁹ Another reads, 'if the hair of his head...and facial (hair) is long (variants: stands up, protrudes), his days will be long but he will become poor; if the hair of his head...and facial (hair) is short, his days will be short but he will be rich, he will prosper'.²⁰ Another group of omina refer to the lines on a man's head (*tīrānu*), with predictions based upon whether the

16. F.R. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omina der Babylonier* (MVAG, 40.2, Leipzig, 1935), and *idem*, *Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomatik* (AfO Beiheft, 3; Berlin, 1939). A new edition of these tablets is being prepared by Ms Barbara Böck.

17. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omina*, pp. 22-23. Kraus, *Texte*, no. 30, although broken, is a good example of the genre, since it gives descriptions of the cheek, chin, beard, point of the beard, right and left side of the face and eyes.

18. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omina*, pp. 25-26, although unpublished texts will no doubt fill in the gaps in Kraus's survey. Cf. H. Hunger, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*, I (Berlin 1976), no. 82, and especially E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*, IV (Berlin, 1993), no. 150, which deals with teeth, cheek bones, jaw, throat, cheeks, and beard. A commentary text, published by Kraus as Text No. 12 (AfO Beiheft 3, 8), also gives descriptions of a man's head, eyebrows, eyes, face, nose, lips and beard (reference courtesy B. Böck).

19. Kraus, *Texte* 3b ii 62, and 2b rev. 8; see *Die physiognomischen Omina*, p. 82: *šumma šārat qaqqadi ka-ab-bar, tūb libbi irašši*¹ *šumma*² *šārat*³ *qaqqadi qat-ta-an lumun libbi irašši*⁴, and cf. similarly von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte*, 151: 10-11.

20. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omina*, p. 72, *šumma* MIN(= *šārat pū(ti-šú)*)-*ma pa-ni arik : za-qip : za-qi[r ūmēš-šú]* *irrikūmēš ilappin*ⁱⁿ *šumma* MIN(= *šārat pūti-šú*)-*ma pa-ni kari ūmēš.šú ikarrūmēš išarru idammīq*.

lines turn to the right or left, or whether they are bunched, grouped or curled.²¹

Many similar examples could be cited from the Akkadian *omina*, which could be used to explain the characteristics of the Aramaic text, which seems to record physical descriptions of the body without resulting predictions. The nature of the descriptions, however, is the key to understanding the Aramaic text, since—like the Akkadian—the adjectives reflect both on the man's physique and future prospects. Hence, a 'long' nose mentioned in an Aramaic protasis is likely to imply length of days, while a 'thin' and 'not luxuriant' beard is likely to forecast poverty.²² As in the previous case of the 'brontologion', the Aramaic text is not identical to the Akkadian, nor can direct translation from one language to another be assumed.²³ Nevertheless, it seems likely that in both cases the Akkadian text served as a prototype of the genre for later Aramaic compositions preserved at Qumran, and similarities with Greek texts of the same tablet may be coincidental, since both the Greek and Aramaic treatment of divination ultimately derived from the same source, namely Babylonia.²⁴

21. Cf. CAD Q 306b s.v. *qunnunu* 'coiled', and CAD K 553b s.v. *kupputu* (not *kubbutu* 'thick'). The term *qunnunu* also appears in Kraus, *Texte*, 12c iii 19, describing a beard as 'curly', which supports Allegro's translation of 4Q186 (2) i 1-2, *wzqnw mm. [.] why'h trgl*, 'his beard... and it is curly', cf. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 5, p. 91, although the translation 'curly' is not accepted by Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 306.

22. Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, col. i 2-3.

23. Although one should not expect entire texts to be translated from Akkadian into Aramaic, nevertheless one should look for Akkadian calques in Aramaic, particularly with technical terms. Cf. Eisenman and Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, no. 47, an incantation fragment, mentions 'š' *w'ryh* 'fever and chills', and 'št *lbb*, translated by the editors as 'heartburn'. The former expression occurs in an Aramaic amulet from Oxyrrhynchos as 'šth *wryth* (cf. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, p. 366 bottom). As for the second term, 'št *lbb*, the Akkadian term *himiṭ libbi* 'anxiety' (CAD H 193b) might well render a better meaning. Moreover, the demons *hlh<l>y* and *hlhlyt* 'male and female poisoning demons' may be cognate to the Akkadian *hallulaja*-demon (CAD H 46a).

24. For the Greek parallels with the Akkadian, cf. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omina*, pp. 14ff.

THE REVISED DRAFT OF THE LETTER OF JEDANIAH TO BAGAVAHYA
(TAD A4.8 = COWLEY 31)*

Bezalel Porten

In their second campaign on the island of Elephantine the Germans discovered on New Year's Day, 1907 two copies of an Aramaic petition, lying loose some half-meter beneath the surface just west of the site of house *m*, which lay on the western edge of the mound.¹ These copies were part of the Jedaniah archive which told of the destruction of the Jewish Temple and the preceding and following events (TAD A4.1-10). The petition was addressed on 25 November, 407 BCE to the Persian-named but doubtless Jewish governor of Judah, Bagavahya (Bagohi), seeking his intercession with the Persian authorities in Egypt on behalf of the Temple's restoration. Had we been given but one copy of the Jedaniah petition we would have proclaimed דָּוָה! To be presented with two is certainly a joy—the Aramaic papyrologist is grateful for every piece he finds—but also a problem. How do we explain this second piece? Cowley could not make up his mind. In fact, he could not decide whether the first piece was a copy or a draft and he called

* TAD = B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. I. *Letters* (= TAD A); II. *Contracts* (= TAD B); III. *Literature—Accounts—Lists* (= TAD C) (Jerusalem: Academion, 1986, 1989, 1993); Cowley = A.E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923). It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this study to Cyrus H. Gordon, among whose wide-ranging studies is to be numbered one on 'The Origin of the Jews of Elephantine', *JNES* 14 (1955), pp. 56-58.

1. E. Sachau, *Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine* (Berlin: Königlichem Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1908, 2nd printing), p. 46 = TAD A4.7-9 (Cowley, Nos. 30-32) = P. Berlin 13495-13497. For the date of discovery see the excavation report as published by W. Müller in *Forschungen und Berichte* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) 20/21 (1980), p. 82. For a plan of the excavations see B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 96.

the second piece both 'another draft' and a 'duplicate' of the first.² More serious was his negative assessment of the petitioner's knowledge of Aramaic. He concluded his commentary on the first version (*TAD* A4.7 [Cowley 30]) with the statement, 'The many mistakes, solecisms and corrections in this text, and the frequent Hebraisms here and elsewhere, give the impression that the writer was not really at home with Aramaic as a means of expressing himself.'³ On the second version (*TAD* A4.8 [Cowley 31]) he commented tersely, 'The writing, though not good, is better than that of no. 30, and it has fewer mistakes.'⁴ What he failed to notice was that the first version was written by one scribe for the first eleven lines on one papyrus sheet (Scribe A) and then, in the middle of a sentence, a second scribe took over (Scribe B), continued writing for another six lines on the recto (lines 12-17), using the papyrus join as his upper margin, finished the piece on the verso (lines 18-30), and wrote all of the second version, 26 lines on the recto and three on the verso.⁵ This sequence clearly indicates that the second piece was written *after* the first. Moreover, if a second scribe could take over in the middle of a sentence, it is likely that he was not taking the letter down from dictation, nor was he composing it as he went along, but rather was copying it from a previous draft. The fact that he wrote it on both sides of his papyrus and that he included no external address indicates further that this was a preliminary draft. The second letter, on the other hand, was written on a papyrus roll of several sheets, measuring at present 47.5 cm tall, and probably originally c. 56.5 cm. Unfortunately, the left third is lost. The spacing between the lines is much more generous than in the first letter, there being only seven to eight lines per sheet in contrast to the eleven lines on the second sheet recto of the first version (*TAD* A4.7). The right margin is also quite wide, slanting increasingly to the left to a maximum of 4 cm. The scribe had intended to fit all 29 lines onto one side, but underestimated the needed length and so came up three lines short. Palaeographically and papyrologically, this second letter was a more polished draft. Does the language bear this out?

When we consider how long it often takes today to publish a new

2. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, pp. 111, 119.

3. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, pp. 118-19.

4. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 119.

5. J. Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1970), p. 32.

epigraphic find, we can only marvel at the speed with which the Germans published their finds of 90 years ago. The second season conducted by Otto Rubensohn ended on 22 February, 1907. Five months later, on 25 July, Eduard Sachau presented to the Royal Prussian Academy of Science his preliminary edition of the three texts discovered on 1 January. Sent to press on the same day as the session, it appeared in print, with full size plates of the first piece (*TAD* A4.7), on 10 October; was corrected on 12 December, and reprinted on 8 February, 1908. Both these editions quickly reached Jerusalem and by 5 April M.-J. Lagrange had finished a detailed review article that was about half as long as the original publication. Carefully studying the variations between the two versions (*TAD* A4.7 and 4.8), he concluded that these were not two copies of an original but two recensions, the second being superior to the first, while it was a third that was sent off to Bagavahya.⁶ Cowley omitted reference to this article in his bibliography, and it is apparent from his above-cited remarks that he was not influenced by it. It is the purpose of this article to classify the many corrections in order to demonstrate that the Elephantine scribes were quite well versed in Aramaic.

In a document of 30-29 lines (*TAD* A4.7-8), with an average of 15 words per line, there are 48 variants in *TAD* A4.8 as against A4.7, that is, one or two per line. There is nothing in A4.7 to indicate that the writer, either Scribe A or Scribe B, was not at home in Aramaic. Its errors, erasures and corrections are standard fare in contracts, which are single-draft documents. Since the same scribe wrote *TAD* A4.8 as wrote the latter two-thirds of *TAD* A4.7, it is clear that he was consciously correcting his own mistakes or those of the original composer of the letter. Classification of these corrections shows that they were made by someone keenly attuned to the principles of orthography and sensitive to the many shades and nuances of the Aramaic language. I shall classify the changes according to eight categories and number them seriatim—orthography (1-8), state of noun (9-16), precision of expression (17-25), stylistic improvements (26-38), Aramaization (39), uncertain explanation (40-42), uncertain change (43-44), and disimprovements (45-48). I then set forth the basis for my restoration of the missing left third of *TAD* A4.8.

6. 'Les nouveaux papyrus d'Eléphantine', *RB* 17 (1908), pp. 330-33.

1. Orthography

Since orthography deals with typology, we are able to compare not only revisions of one text (TAD A4.7) in another (TAD A4.8), but also change of practice within the first draft (TAD A4.7) between Scribe A (lines 1-11) and Scribe B (lines 12-30). Not only are the respective patterns of each scribe consistent in the first draft, but the respective patterns of the first draft and the second draft are likewise consistent, even though certain spellings of Scribe B in the second draft (דריהוש vis-à-vis דריהוש and plural *defectiva*) run counter to his pattern in the first draft. Scribe A wrote both the 3 m pl. poss. suff. (-הם) and the plural marker (-ן) defective: תליהם, ודשיהם, וצריהם, עקהן, תרען, אמרן, אריכן, לרחמן, אריכן. Scribe B, on the other hand, did the opposite: he abounded in *plena* spellings for the plural marker (-ין) and wrote the 3 pl. poss. suff. *plena* as well: אמרין, משחין, עבידין, גברין, נכסין, וצימין, כנכרין, וצמין, קדמין, כנכרין, נכסין, גברין, עבידין, משחין, אמרין, אריכן, לרחמן, אריכן. Yet wherever the text is preserved in the revised draft, we see that Scribe B, with one exception (see below), avoided *plena* spelling for the plural endings (אריכן, לרחמן, אריכן, עברן, אמרן, כנכרן, לרחמן, אריכן) but kept it for 3 pl. poss. suff. (עקהן, רברבן, עקהן, משחין, וניהום, בהום). Elsewhere, *plena* spelling of the masculine plural is sporadic, occurring some eleven times in seven documents, written by four different scribes (Mauziah: כוין [TAD B2.10:6], ננין [TAD B7.1:3, 6]; Haggai: כוין [TAD B3.4:5], ימין [TAD B3.10:17], אמין [TAD B3.13:8, 15]; Nabuqab: חמנין [TAD A6.2:10, 14], מסמרין [TAD A6.2:16]; Rawḥshana: תלתין [TAD 3.9:8]), while the *plena* spelling of the 3 pl. poss. suff. is found only in a Bisitun fragment (נכסיהום; TAD C2.1III:2).⁸ Scribe B revised פסילה but introduced *plena* נכסין (TAD A4.8:5), and that in a sentence fully revising the original. In initial formulation, predilection for the *plena* held sway. The royal name Scribe A wrote דריהוש, but Scribe B wrote דריהוש. In the revised draft, however, he, too, went over to the fuller spelling דריהוש. One more change was made by Scribe B in the revised draft—אלף was changed to אלף: numbers should be fully written out. All in all, then, there are eight orthographic changes in the revised draft, favoring what we might call a 'conservative style':

7. Lagrange, 'Les nouveaux papyrus', p. 329.

8. Cf. M.E. Sherman, 'Systems of Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography' (ThD dissertation, Harvard University, 1966), pp. 80-82.

TAD A4.8

TAD A4.7

First Sheet

(5) ונכסין	—
(8) זניהון	1. (8) תליהם
(9) פסלה	2. (10) פסילה

Second Sheet

(19) דריהוש	3. (19) דריהוש
(20) משחן	4. (20) משחין
(21) עבדן	5. (22) עבדו
(22) אמרן	6. (22) אמרין
(27) כנכרין	7. (28) כנכרין
(27) אלף	8. (28) אלף

2. State of the Noun

Five nouns written in the absolute state in the first draft are converted into the determined state in the revised draft (8× in all):⁹

TAD A4.8

TAD A4.7

(5) פרתרכא (זי תנה הוה)	9. (5) (זי) פרתרך (תנה הוה)
(11) באשחא	10. (12) באשה
(11) וזי כספא	11. (12) וכסף
(13) מצריא	12. (14) מצרין

Converting 'Egypt' into 'Egyptians' was not an improvement.

13-16. (27, 22, 17, 14) כל (26, 22, 16, 13) כלא

3. Precision of Expression

In nine cases the scribe changed or altered a word or phrase which he felt was not sufficiently exact or specific:

TAD A4.8

TAD A4.7

(6-7) [אמורא] זי יהו אלהא	17. (7) אמורא
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The Temple must be given its full title, here as well as above (TAD A4.7:6||4.8:5 [missing]).

(8) זניהום	18. (8) תליהם
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9. Lagrange, 'Les nouveaux papyrus', pp. 330-32.

The general and vague חל is changed to the specific זין, 'weapon'.

19. (9-10) חרען זי אבן (9) חרען רברבן

The following statement will qualify the gateways as made of stone; it must *here* be emphasized that they were monumental.

20. (11) ומטלל (10) ומטלל אגורא זך

To punctuate the grammatical construction (apposition of material, not construct state) and to top off the threefold enumeration, the scribe reminds us again of 'that Temple'.

21. (11) ומטלל עקחן זי ארו כלא (10) ומטלל... כלא עקחן זי ארו

In the first draft the emphatic pronoun might be taken as resumptive, referring to the *three* previous structural features. In the revised version it can only be taken to refer to the *immediately* preceding roof.

22. (16) כבלא (16) כבלוהי

Not just *the* fetter/anklet but *his* fetters/anklets, providing also a rhyme with רגלוהי.

23. (18) אגרה שלחן מראן ועל (17) אגרה על זנה שלחן שלחן על מראן א[ף] על יהוחנן

The letter was sent *about this matter* (על זנה), *to* (על) our lord and *even* (א[ף]) to Jehohanan.

24. (19) וחרי יהודיא (18) וחרי יהוד

They are never called 'the nobles of the Jews' in our biblical sources but always 'the nobles of Judah' (Jer. 27.20; 39.6; Neh. 6.17; 13.17).

25. (21) יום (20) זנה יומא

Not 'until the day of 17 Darius' but 'until *t[his day]*'.

4. Stylistic Improvements

In over a dozen cases the scribe has changed a word, phrase, or clause for what appear to be grammatical or stylistic reasons.

26. (2) ולרחמן (2) לרחמן

Asyndeton was preferable to coordination; so too no. 31.

27. (4) כען (3) כעת

The form regularly used to introduce the body of the letter is כעת not כען.

(7) נפין יך (8) נפין 28

Addition of the demonstrative to an already cited name was standard practice.

(10) עם (11) זי עם 29

The relative זי in the first draft may at best be considered an anticipatory duplicate of זי at the end of the line; considered redundant, it was omitted in the revised draft.

(12) מלכי מצרין (13) מלך מצרין 30

Better 'from the time of the native *kings* of Egypt' than '...*king* of Egypt'.

(14) צי' (מ') (15) וצי'מין 31

Again asyndeton is preferred, as in no. 26.¹⁰

(20) [מ]ן יך ע[דנ]א (21) מן זכ' 32

A very unusual, elliptical construction is replaced by a known expression.

(21) לבונה (21) ולב[נ]ה 33

Once more the copula is found superfluous.¹¹

(21) עבדן (22) עבדו 34

Although the papyrus is blurred by oozed-out glue, the reading עבדן is likely. As participle it continues the tense of לבשן, צימן, עבידן, משחן, and שתין.

(25) נקרב (25) יקרבון 35

The revised version converts the impersonal יקרבון to the personal נקרב which agrees with the following נצלה.

(26) חעבר (27) עברו 36

10. Lagrange, 'Les nouveaux papyrus', p. 331.

11. Lagrange, 'Les nouveaux papyrus', p. 332.

Again an impersonal, unknown party is replaced—this time by direct address.

37. (28) דמן כדמי (27) דמי

A redundant term is omitted.

38. (30) בונה זי עביד לן כלא (28-29) [בונה] כלא זי עביד לן

The emphatic pronoun should follow its referrant immediately rather than be separated from it by a relative clause; cf. no. 21.

5. Aramaization

There is one instance where a Persian expression is rejected and an Aramean one substituted instead:

39. (5) המונית עם וידרנג (5) כסף ונכסין יהבו לוידרנג

6. Uncertain Explanation

There are three passages where no apparent explanation is ready to hand for the alteration:

40. (2) ישאל שניא בכל עדן (2) ישאל בכל עדן

Was the omission of שניא due to oversight or was its inclusion an optional feature?¹²

41. (16) החורין (15) חיינא

A *pael* has been substituted for a *haphel* and the obj. suff. has been written נ-.

42. (29) שלחן בשמן (28) בשמן שלחן

In the first draft שמן has been added above the line apparently to come after שלחן. Why should it precede שלחן in the revised draft?

7. Uncertain Change

In two instances the nature of the change is uncertain because the text breaks away:

43. (16-17) וכל גברין זי בעו (15-16) [וכל גבר (?) זי] בעה

44. (28-29) ועל זהב על זנה שלחן (27) על [זנה (?) שלחן]

12. Lagrange, 'Les nouveaux papyrus', p. 332.

Did the revised text change plural גברין to singular גבר?¹³

8. Disimprovements

There are at least four passages where the alteration provides a text that is worse than the original. This would seem to follow the principle that when you produce a corrected text you introduce new mistakes.

45. (13) (ומן) יומי (מלך מצרין) (12) (ומן) יום (מלכי מצרין)

Correcting מלך to מלכי the scribe reduced יומי to יום. Clearly, 'the days of the kings of Egypt' is the desired text.

46. (18) (אגרה) שלחן מראן (17) (אגרה על זנה) שלחן שלחן
(18) (ועל יהוחנן) (17) (על מראן אן) על יהוחנן

Making three additions in one short sentence (אף, על, על זנה), the scribe also dittographed שלחן.

47. (27)(הן כן עבדו) עד זי (26) (הן כן תעבדו) זי עד

Correcting עבדו to תעבד, the scribe metathasized זי עד into עד זי (but cf. *TAD* A6.13:4).

48. (29) (אף כלא מליא) באגרה (חדה) שלחן (27-28) (בכלה [erased] מליא) אגרה חדה
(בשמן) (בשמן שלחן)

Perhaps changing the word before מליא and reversing the order שלחן to בשמן שלחן, the scribe omitted the preposition *beth* before אגרה. (Perhaps the missing passage would justify the omission. The erasure immediately before מליא was made subsequently.)

9. Textual Restoration

Virtually none of the examples in the above discussion derived from restored text. Since *TAD* A4.8 is a revised draft, we cannot be certain of the text in passages where we might expect a revision. Still, if Scribe B is consistent, we may assume the following restorations:

1. Plena spelling of the 3 pl. m. poss. suff.:
 ודשיהם (9) vs ודשיהם (*TAD* A4.7:10)
 וציריהם (9) vs וציריהם (*TAD* A4.7:10)
 ולנפשהם (11) vs ולנפשהם (*TAD* A4.7:13)
 עליהם (23) as עליהם (*TAD* A4.7:24 [also Scribe B])

13. Lagrange, 'Les nouveaux papyrus', p. 331.

2. Defective spellings of the 3 pl. abs.:
אחרנן (7) as אחרנן (*TAD* A4.7:8)
קימן (9) as קימן (*TAD* A4.7:10)
צימן (14, 19) vs וצימן (*TAD* A4.7:15, 20)
נכסין (15) vs נכסין (*TAD* A4.7:16)
עבדין (19) vs עבדין (*TAD* A4.7:20)
קדמן (24) vs קדמן (*TAD* A4.7:25)
3. Asyndeton:
לנפשהם (11: cf. *TAD* B7.2:6; A4.5:18; 6.15:12:6) vs. לנפשהם
(*TAD* A4.7:13)
לבונה (24) vs ולבונה (*TAD* A4.7:25) (cf. לבונה in line 21 vs
לבונה in *TAD* A4.7:21)

In certain situations I am much less certain of the restoration and so have indicated it by special type in the text and single stroke lettering in the hand-copy:

4. Non-congruence in gender:
באישתא עבד (16)
אגרה ישתלח (23)
צדקה יהיה (26)

In no case has the verb been altered to the feminine in the restoration.

5. Grammatical precision:
למבניה (22) rather than למבנה (*TAD* A4.7:23)
6. Correspondence with reply:
לקדמן or קדמן (24)?

Perhaps the formulation לקדמן in the reply (*TAD* A4.10:8) was based upon such a form in our text.

7. The problem of *baksheesh*: Since there is not room for both על זנה and על זהב in line 27 (as in *TAD* A4.7:28), only one could have been written. Still, we can be only reasonably, but not absolutely, certain that the scribe followed the formula of *Ezra* 4.14 and wrote [זנה שלחן הודען על מראן].
8. Uncertainty due to scribal correction:
The first word of line 28 was erased and nothing filled in to take its place. If the last word in line 27 is restored כלא as in *TAD* A4.7:29 we get the same awkward expression as there—כלא מליא. We would have expected a stylistic improvement in this revised draft. Some correction apparently was made and

then partly erased. The omission of preposition *beth* before אגרה further complicates the situation. (Perhaps the scribe wrote simply כל?)

9. Additions and omissions:

a. In line 1 there is no room at the beginning for פחת יהוד, however strange that omission may be. In fact, in the first gap there is room for only four words and not seven (contra Ungnad,¹⁴ Cowley¹⁵). The *he* must conclude [ידני] and not [וכנוח] (contra Sachau,¹⁶ Ungnad, Cowley). If the following *kaph-he* does not commence כה[ניא] (as Sachau, Ungnad, Cowley), then it is thus very possible, though by no means certain, that Jedaniah, himself, was a priest and what followed his name was his title כה[ניא]. Two more words are necessary to fill out the end of the line, and I conjecture that they may have been ויהודיא כל as in line 22.

b. In line 2 there is not room for both ובני ביהא and חד אלף, as already recognized by Ungnad. I prefer to eliminate חד אלף.

c. Two words are necessary to fill out line 3, and I conjecture כהניא ויהודיא (cf. again lines 21-22).

d. A word is needed in line 4, and it may be אדין, introducing the apodosis (cf. TAD A6.7:6, 6.10:1).

e. A word or two is necessary to fill in line 21, and I suggest כהניא זי יהו.

f. If the scribe indeed followed the formula of Ezra 4.14 and there was no hint of *baksheesh*, then the two words necessary to fill in the end of line 27 would be [נה שלחן] (על [נה שלחן]; cf. No. 7 above).

It will be noticed that three of the above additions come to expand the formulae designating the writers of the letter (1, 3, 21). They must have been added for greater precision. The fourth addition (אדין) would have been considered a stylistic improvement. The apparent omission of Bagavahya's title פחת יהוד (line 1) and either ובני ביהא or חד אלף

14. A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911), p. 6.

15. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 119.

16. E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911), p. 23.

remain inexplicable. The letter must have been proof-read, since there is a supralinear in line 6 and an erasure in line 28. Perhaps both missing expressions were likewise added supralinearly in the missing papyrus. If not, their absence may have been one of the reasons this copy was not sent on to Jerusalem.

The Elephantine scribes were skilled craftsmen who read and wrote a broad selection of texts, including letters, contracts, administrative documents, historical texts and wisdom literature. Their script was elegant and their rhetorical style persuasive.¹⁷ When they addressed a petition to their compatriot, the governor of Judah, they took great care that their language and spelling, down to the smallest detail, be deemed correct so that the reader, finding the medium in order, be moved by their rhetoric to respond to their plea.

A4.8 Cowley 31 (Sachau Plate 3) קאול' 31

RECTO

1. אל מ[ראן] בניהו בדיך ידניה[ה] כח[נא] וכנזחה כהניא זי ביב בירחא ויהודיא כלא שלם מראן]
2. אלה שמ[יא] [שאל בכל עדן לרחמן [ש]מאך קדם [ד]ריויהוש[ן] מלכא ובני ביתא יתיר מן זי כען וחין]
3. אריכן יתן לך וחדה ושריר הוי בכל עדן כעת עב[ה]ך ידניה[ה] וכנזחה כהניא ויהודיא כן אמרן
בירח חמו
4. שנת V/1 דריויהוש מלכא כוי ארשם נפק ואול [על] מלכא <אדין> כמריא זי תגוב אלהא זי ביב]
5. בירחא כסף תכסין יחבו לודינג פרתרכא זי תגה הוה לם אנורא זי יהו אלהא זי ביב בירחא
אחר
6. יהעדו מן חמה וידרגן וך לחיא אגרת שלח על [פין] ברה זי רבחיל הוה בסון בירחא לאמר אנורא]
7. זי יהו אלהא זי ביב בירחא 'דרשו אחר נפין וך דבר מצר[יא] עם חילא אחרתן אתו לבירת יב עם]
8. ונזיהם עלו באנורא וך נדרשוהי עד ארעא ועמודיא זי א[בנא] זי הוה תמה חברו חמו אף הוה]
9. תרגע רברבן /// // בנין פסלה זי אבן זי הוה באנורא וך [נדרשו ודשיהום קימן וציריהום זי דרשיא]
10. אלך נחש ומטלל אנורא וך כלא עקתן זי[א] ארו עם ש[ירית] אשרנא ואחרן זי תמה הוה כלא]
11. באשחא שרפו ומורקיא זי זהבא חי כספא ומ[נ]עמחא זי[א] הוה באנורא וך כלא לקחו לנפשחום]
12. עבדו ומן יום מלכי מצרין אבהין בנו אנורא וך ביב ב[ירחא] וכני כנבוי על למצרין אנורא]
13. וך בנה השכח ואנורי אלה[ין] מצריא [כ]לא מגרו] ואיש מצר[עם] באנורא וך לא חבל וכני כונה]
14. עביד אגחנה עם נשין ובנין שקקן לבשן הוין צילמן ומצלין ליהו מרא שמיא זי]
15. חוינא בוידרנגן וך כלביא הדפקן כבלוהי מן רגלוהי וכל נכסן זי קנה אבדו וכל גבר זי]
16. בעה באיש לאנורא וך כלא קטילו וחזין בהום אף [קדמת זנה בערן זי זא באישחא עביד]
17. לן אגרה על זנה שלחן שלחן על מראן אף] על יהוחנן כהנא רבא וכנזחה כהניא זי בירושלם]
18. ועל אוסתן אחוהי זי עניי חרי יהוד אגרה חדה [לא] שלחו עלין אף מן ירה חמו]
19. שנת V/1 דריויהוש מלכא ועד זנה יומא אגחנה שקקן לבשן וצימן נשיא זילן כארמלה עבידן]

17. See, for example, the stimulating study of F.M. Fales, 'Aramaic Letters and Neo-Assyrian Letters: Philological and Methodological Notes', *JAOS* 107 (1987), pp. 463-69.

20. משח לא משחן וחמר לא שחין [אף מן] וך ע[ד]נא ועד ז[נה] יומא שנת VIII /// I דריוהוש מלכא]
 21. מצחה לבונה ועלוה לא עבדן באגורא וך כען עבדיך ידניה וכנותה <כהניא זי יהו>
 22. ויהודיא כלא בעלי יב כן אמרן הן על מר[א]ן שב את[עשת על אגורא וך למבניה בוי לא]
 23. שבקן לן למבניה חזי בעלי שבתך ורחמיך זי תצה [במצרין אגרה מנך ישחלח עליהומ]
 24. על אגורא זי יהו אלהא למבניה ביב בירתא לקבלן זי בנה הוה לקדמן ומצחתא לבונתא]
 25. ועלוהא נקרב על מרבחא זי יהו אלהא בשמך ונצל[ה עליך בכל עדן אגנה ונשין ובנין]
 26. ויהודיא כלא זי תצה הן כן חעבר זי עד אגורא וך יתב[נה וצדקה יהוה לך קדם יהו אלה]

verso

27. שמיא מן גבר זי יקרב לה עלוה ודבחן דמי כסף כנכרן אלף עלן זנה שלחן הודען <על מראן> אף
 <כלא>
 28. <בכלה> מליא אגרה חדה בשמן שלחן על דליה ושלמיה ב[ני סנאבלט פחת שמרין אף בונה]
 29. כלא זי עבד לן ארשם לא ידע בי[למרחשון שנת VIII /// I דריוהוש מלכא]

NOTICES ON *PE'AH*, *FAY'* AND *FEUDUM*

Alauddin Samarrai

In Lev. 19.9, 10 and 23.22, certain parts of the field's harvest are designated for charitable purposes:

And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field [פֶּאֶה שָׂדֶךְ], neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest (19.9) .

And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger [לְעֹנִי וְלָגֵר]: I am the LORD your God (19.10).

And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not make clean riddance of the corners of thy field [פֶּאֶה שָׂדֶךְ] when thou reapest, neither shalt thou gather any gleaning of thy harvest: thou shalt leave them unto the poor, and to the stranger [לְעֹנִי וְלָגֵר]: I am the LORD your God (23.22).

In Deut. 24.19, 20, 21, the same charitable principle is enjoined, although *pe'ah* (פֶּאֶה) is not specifically used; the beneficiaries in Deut. 24.19, 20, 21 are the stranger (גֵּר), the orphan (יָתוֹם), and the widow (אַלְמָנָה).

In the *Mishnah*, *Pe'ah* is the title of the second tractate of the order of *Zera'im* which deals with the various laws regarding payments to the poor.¹

The Qur'ān specifies similar charities. In Qur. 59.6, 7, 8, certain kinds of conquered lands belong to God and his messenger for the benefit of the near of kin, the orphan, the needy, and the wayfarer. The pertinent Qur'ānic verses read as follows:²

1. See 'Pe'ah' in *EncJud*, XIII, cols. 200-201; P. Blackman (ed. and trans.), *Mishnayoth*, I (New York: Judaica Press, 2nd edn, 1964); H. Danby (trans.), *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933; repr. 1985), pp. 10-20; useful selections are in E.J. Lipman, *The Mishnah: Oral Teachings of Judaism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1970).

2. I am using the translation of M.M. Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious*

And that which Allah gave as spoil [*afā'a*] unto His messenger from them, ye urged not any horse or riding-camel for the sake thereof, but Allah giveth His messenger lordship over whom He will. Allah is able to do all things (59.6) .

That which Allah giveth as spoil [*afā'a*] unto His messenger from the people of the townships, it is for Allah and His messenger and for the near of kin and the orphans [*al-yatāmā*] and the needy [*al-masākīn*] and the wayfarer [*ibn al-sabīl*], that it become not a commodity between the rich among you. And whatsoever the messenger giveth you, take it. And whatsoever he forbideth, abstain (from it). And keep your duty to Allah. Lo! Allah is stern in reprisal (59.7).

Qur. 59.8 decrees that this war spoil is to be set aside for the benefit of 'the poor fugitives' (*li-l-fuqarā' al-muhājirīn*).³

It is significant that this Qur'ānic legislation dealt specifically with the property seized by the Muslims from the Medinese Jewish tribe of the Banu al-Naḍīr in 625. Accusing them of conspiring to assassinate him, Muhammad issued an ultimatum to the Banu al-Naḍīr to leave Medina within ten days; they were allowed to carry with them their movable property except their weapons.⁴ With the further expansion of

Qu'ran (Mecca and New York: Muslim World League, 1977), also available as *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York: New American Library, 1953; repr. 1963).

3. A. Ben Shemesh translates this as 'the poor, the Emigrants', that is, those who left Mecca for Medina during the *Hijrah* in 622. (A. Ben Shemesh [trans.], *Taxation in Islam*. III. *Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-Kharāj* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969], p. 81).

4. See F. Løkkegaard's article 'Fay', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, new edn, 1991), II, pp. 869-70; also, T.W. Juynboll's article 'Fai', in *First Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987 [1927]), I, pp. 38-39; Yahyā Ibn Adam, *Taxation in Islam* (trans. A. Ben Shemesh; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), I, §79 and §81 (p. 35). On the expropriation and deportation of the Banu al-Naḍīr, see M.L. Margolis and A. Marx, *A History of the Jewish People* (New York: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1927 [repub. Harper & Row, 1965]), pp. 249, 252; also, V. Vacca, 'Naḍīr' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, VII, pp. 852-53; 'Naḍīr' in *EncJud*, XII, cols. 754-55. Medieval Muslim writers also mention in some detail the conflict between Muhammad and the Banu al-Naḍīr, resulting in their expulsion from Medina; on this see Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sirāh al-Nabawīyyah* (4 vols.; Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabi, n.d.), III, pp. 199-213; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, AH 1398/1978 AD), pp. 31-34. For a study of the relations between Muhammad and the Jews, see B. Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews: A Re-Examination* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1979). A translation of al-Wāqidi's text on the expulsion of the Banu al-Naḍīr is in N.A. Stillman, *The*

Islam, the same principle that governed the administration of the lands of the Banu al-Naḍīr was applied in other conquered territories.⁵

It was from this verb, *afā'a*, that Muslim jurists derived the word *fay'*. The meaning of the verb *afā'a* (which is of the *aḥala* form—Form IV) is 'to restore, to bring back'. Qudāmah Ibn Ja'far (d. c. 930) provides a somewhat tortured derivation of *fay'*.⁶ The *fay'* came to mean those lands that were conquered by the Muslims without fighting, that is, when the original inhabitants surrendered without resistance, or fled. The *fay'* may not be divided or alienated, and when the Muslims conquered Syria and Iraq, the Orthodox Caliph 'Umar (r. 634–644) insisted on treating the land as *fay'* in the face of opposition from other Muslim leaders who were demanding the division and distribution of those lands. 'Umar decided that those lands were to support the frontier settlements (*al-thughūr*), the children, and the widows (*al-arāmil*).⁷

As was the case with Jewish scholars who had to develop oral law to complement the Torah, Muslim scholars pursued a similar course to elaborate on Qur'ānic law, depending on the Ḥadīth and the Sunnah.⁸

Jews of Arab Lands (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), pp. 129–36.

5. Abu Yūsuf, in Ben Shemesh (trans.), *Taxation in Islam*, III, p. 81. For the Arabic text, see Abu Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, AH 1399/1979 AD), p. 26. (This volume contains the Arabic texts of Abu Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Yahyā Ibn Ādam's *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, and Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī's *Al-Istikhrāj li-Ahkām al-Kharāj*).

6. 'In the language of the nomad Arabs this word [*fay'*] means: to return. They call also the shadow of the sun "zul" in the first half of the day and "fay'" in the second half.' (Qudāmah's *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, *Taxation in Islam* (trans. A. Ben Shemesh; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), II, p. 23; for the Arabic text see p. 138. It may be pointed out that medieval writers often insist on deriving loanwords or proper nouns from some fanciful roots. Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* is based entirely on this method; Ibn al-Faḥīh (tenth century) derives the name 'Turks' from the Arabic verb *turikū*, 'left out'; al-Damīri (d. 1405) gives several possible derivations of the names Gog and Magog from Arabic roots; even St Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) seems to identify Gog and Magog with Heb. גג 'roof, tectum', and מגג 'from a roof'. On this see the discussion in A. Samarraī, 'Beyond Belief and Reverence: Medieval Mythological Ethnography in the Near East and Europe', in *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 23.1 (1993), pp. 19–42.

7. Abu Yūsuf, *Kharāj* in Ben Shemesh (trans.), *Taxation in Islam*, III, p. 81. Al-Māwardī (d. 1058) devotes a chapter (chapter 12) to *fay'* and *ghanimah*. See al-Māwardī, *Al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, AH 1398/1978 AD), pp. 126–41.

8. See Ben Shemesh's introduction in his *Taxation in Islam*, III, pp. 6–7. On

Kitāb al-Kharāj of Ibn Ādam (d. 818) is one of the earliest treatises on the Islamic system of taxation.⁹ There were two kinds of property acquired by conquest, *ghanimah* and *fay'*:

We heard that *ghanima* (booty) is what Muslims seize in fighting forcibly ('*anwatan*'); and that *fay'* (spoils of war) is what they get under a peace treaty, i.e., *jizya* and *kharāj*.¹⁰

The *imām* (that is, the caliph) has the authority to dispose of conquered land and

may deduct the fifth part and allot the four-fifths to those who conquered it; or he may—if he considers it fit—vest them as *fay'* in the Muslims in perpetuity, upon consultation and after using his judgment—because the Prophet withheld some part of the conquered lands which he did not allot, and apportioned other parts of conquered land.¹¹

Those lands and revenues from them which belong to all Muslims 'in perpetuity' went in fact to the treasury and were used as payment for military service and public works.¹² Since a full Muslim citizen was primarily a soldier,¹³ the only Muslims who had no share in *fay'* (or *ghanimah*) were the Muslim Bedouins (*A'rāb al-Muslimīn*) 'unless they fought together with the Muslims'.¹⁴ The slaves had no right in *fay'*.¹⁵ The beneficiaries from *fay'* and *ghanimah* were only the Muslim combatants, and the destitute. Those engaged in trade and other occupations were also excluded, unless they were 'struck by poverty and entered in the category of the needy'.¹⁶

The intricacies of the *Mishnah* and the Islamic system of taxation are

the Judaeo-Islamic tradition, see B. Lewis, *The Jews of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 67-106.

9. Ben Shemesh (trans.), *Taxation in Islam*, I.

10. Ben Shemesh (trans.), *Taxation in Islam*, I, §1 (p. 23). *Jizyah* was a poll tax and *kharāj*, a land tax, collected from Christian and Jewish subjects in the Islamic state.

11. Ben Shemesh (trans.), *Taxation in Islam*, I, §9 (p. 24).

12. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan, 6th edn, 1958), p. 320. Cf. E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 152.

13. W.M. Watt and P. Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1967), p. 3.

14. Ibn Ādam, §13 (p. 25).

15. Ibn Ādam, §15 (p. 25) and §105 (p. 41)

16. Ibn Ādam, §13 (p. 25).

not central to the present investigation, which will be confined to the possible relationship between *pe'ah* and *fay'*—and later on, *feudum*.

Muslim tradition, as has already been indicated, holds that the pertinent Qur'ānic verses regarding *fay'* were revealed to regulate the disposition of the lands of the Banu al-Naḍīr after their expulsion from Medina. The Banu al-Naḍīr and the Banu Quarayẓah, another Medinese Jewish tribe, were known as 'priestly' tribes.¹⁷ One must, therefore, assume that at least some members of those tribes were knowledgeable in Jewish law. At least two scholarly rabbis, Mukhayrīq and 'Abd Allāh Ibn Salām, were among the early converts to Islam.¹⁸ Mukhayrīq, in fact, was killed at the Battle of Uḥud (625), and the Prophet used to say 'Mukhayrīq is the best of the Jews'.

These circumstances suggest a possible relationship between Hebrew *pe'ah* and Arabic *fay'* in its Islamic meaning. The two terms do not, of course, refer to identical institutions, but there are sufficiently striking similarities (institutional and linguistic) to warrant our attention. Both *pe'ah* and *fay'* are specifically designated for the upkeep of the poor, the orphan, the widow, and the stranger (Heb. גֵּר; Ar. *ibn al-sabīl*, 'wayfarer'). It is true that *fay'* concerns property newly acquired by conquest, but it must be pointed out that military conquest was the source of all acquired lands in early Islam. This, by necessity, makes *fay'*, in a very real sense, a form of rewarding soldiers for military service, in addition to being a source of charitable payments.

There are also linguistic similarities between *pe'ah* and *fay'*. It is a matter of commonplace knowledge that Heb. /p/ = Ar. /f/ in cognates. (For example, פֶּדָה 'ransom', Ar. *fada*; פָּרָץ 'overflow', Ar. *fāḍa*; פָּטַר 'separate', Ar. *faṭara*, 'split'). *Pe'ah* is a feminine noun from, possibly, a biconsonantal root, *p'*.¹⁹ Muslim scholars derive *fay'* from a 'weak

17. Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, p. 9; see also *EncJud*, XII, cols. 754-55.

18. On the conversion of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Salām and Mukhayrīq, see Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, II, pp. 163-65; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 31-34, relates the deportation and expropriation of the Banu al-Naḍīr and mentions, on the authority of al-Wāqidi, that Mukhayrīq was a 'learned rabbi' (*ḥibran 'āliman*) and a member of the Banu al-Naḍīr. Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, pp. 12-13, considers 'Abd Allāh Ibn Salām a 'Jewish renegade' who, he suspects, abetted Muhammad's accusations that the Jews had corrupted the text of Scriptures; he also disputes (p. 120 n. 6) the reliability of the sources regarding 'Abd Allāh's erudition. On Mukhayrīq, see Stillman's trans. (p. 121) of Ibn Hishām's report.

19. On this, consult BDB. The word is attested in Ugaritic (*p'*, 'corner') (*UT*, Glossary No. 1994).

verb'. It is possible that such words derive actually from biconsonantal roots, and the theoretical third consonant appears in order to integrate such words into the triconsonantal system. This means that *fay'* derives from \sqrt{f} , just as *pe'ah* derives from \sqrt{p} . This suggests that *pe'ah* and *fay'* are cognates, or that *fay'* is a loanword (*pe'ah*), and that the noun *fay'* is primary and the verb *afā'a* (in its meaning as the source of *fay'*) is secondary, or 'contrived'.²⁰ The two terms refer essentially to the same institution, serving similar charitable functions.

In medieval Latin Europe, a land grant received by a vassal from his lord in return for discharging his feudal (usually military) obligations was known as *beneficium*. Later on, *feudum* (or *feodum*) began to replace *beneficium* in the documents. *Feudum* (= 'fief') is the word from which 'feudalism' is derived.

No generally accepted etymology of *feudum* has been established.²¹ The most widely accepted hypothesis is that which was advanced by Marc Bloch.²² He relates *feudum* to Frankish **fehu-ôd*, where **fehu* means 'cattle' (cf. Gothic *faihu* and German *Vieh*), and *ôd* means 'goods'. Frankish **fehu-ôd* implied 'a movable object of value'. When land replaced movable property as the main form of remuneration, the Germanic word replaced *beneficium*. The same argument in favor of a Germanic origin was also advanced by William Stubbs in the

20. S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), §16.108 (p. 159), notes that in the case of some Semitic 'weak' verbs, 'it may be shown that we are dealing, for the most part, with biconsonantal roots, the third radical having arisen secondarily in a process of integration with the predominant triradical system'. Furthermore, Semitic languages exhibit certain lexical phenomena indicating that there are many biconsonantal nouns. 'The assignation of these nouns to triconsonantal roots must be ruled out as contrived and far-fetched.' (§11.6 [p. 73]). In Old South Arabic, the verb (with h-prefix, cf. Ar. *'af'ala*, Heb. *Hiph'il*) is *hf'*, meaning 'inflict damage, capture booty': gm' dñf' mlkn... 14,000 mhrgrtm (J.C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect* [Harvard Semitic Studies, 25; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982], p. 403.) Løkkegaard notes (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, p. 869) that the 'theocratic explanation based on the meaning of *afā'a*, "to bring back", as by right belonging to God and consequently to Muslim society (al-Bayḍāwī *ad Sūra* LIX, 7) cannot be supported by another Qur'ānic passage, *Sūra* XXXIII, 49.'

21. A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (2 vols.; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958), II, pp. 564-65.

22. See M. Bloch, *Feudal Society* (2 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), I, pp. 165-66; F.L. Ganshof, *Feudalism* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), pp. 106ff.

nineteenth century.²³ On the other hand, Archibald R. Lewis suggests that the origin of the word 'fief' (or *feudum*) is *foderum*, and the earliest attestation of the word is in the Astronomus's *Vita Hludovici* (Chapter 7, pp. 610-11), where we are told that Louis the Pious (d. 840), the son and successor of Charlemagne, while king of Aquitaine, prohibited the giving of *annona militaris quas vulgo foderum vocant*.²⁴ This, Lewis maintains, is 'more logical' than Marc Bloch's derivation.²⁵ Allen Cabaniss's translation of the Astronomus renders this passage: 'Louis forbade that military provender (which they popularly call "fodder") be furnished...' ²⁶ In an article published in 1973,²⁷ I advanced an argument in behalf of an Arabic origin (from *fuyū'*, the plural of *fay'*)²⁸ as an alternative to Marc Bloch's hypothesis of the origin of *feudum* or 'fief'. Lewis's derivation is as unlikely as that of Marc Bloch and Stubbs. Briefly stated, my argument is that the earliest and primitive forms of 'fief' were *feo*, *feu*, *feuz*, *feuum*,²⁹ as well as many others. The diversity of the forms indicates clearly that the word was a loanword. The Latinized and formalized form *feudum* (or *feodum*) was first attested in 984, about a century after the appearance of the word in its primitive forms. The first appearance of *feo*, *feu*, *feuum*, and so on, was in Languedoc, one of the most Romanized and least Germanized areas in Europe. Furthermore, the earliest use of *feuum* to designate *beneficium* dates from 898 or 899, coinciding with the establishment of the Muslim base at Fraxinetum (Garde-Frainet) in Provence. The French scribes, writing in Latin, seem to be attempting to transliterate Arabic *fuyū'*, the pl. of *fay'*, which must have been used by the Muslim

23. W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn, 1875-78), I, p. 251 n. 1.

24. A.R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society 718-1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), pp. 76-77.

25. Lewis, *Development*, p. 77 n. 44.

26. A. Cabaniss, *Son of Charlemagne* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1961), p. 39; also see p. 139 n. 46: 'annonas militares quae vulgo foderum vocant'.

27. A. Samarraï, 'The Term "fief": A Possible Arabic Origin', *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 4.1 (1973), pp. 78-82.

28. The earliest form of the word (*feos*, *feus*) 'is used in an oblique case and in the plural'. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, pp. 107-108.

29. According to K.J. Hollyman, *Le développement du vocabulaire féodal en France pendant le haut Moyen Age* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1957), p. 48 n. 59, the word took the form *feuum* under the influence of *beneficium*. Hollyman lists numerous other forms of the word.

raiders and occupiers in southern France (hence *feo*, *feu*, *feuz*, and so on) rather than abandoning Latin *beneficium* in favor of a Germanic word which meant 'cattle'.

Although the southern French scribes acquired their new word (not the institution³⁰) from the Provençal Arabs, the word itself seems to have roots that go back to remote Semitic antiquity.

30. The Islamic institution which is sometimes translated as 'fief' is *iqṭāʿ*, which is quite another subject unrelated to our topic. However, on this institution, one may refer to C. Cahen's article 'Iḳṭāʿ' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, pp. 1088-91.

Part V

EGYPTO-SEMITICS

MAKING PEACE IN HEAVEN AND ON EARTH:
RELIGIOUS AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE TREATY
BETWEEN RAMESSES II AND HATTUŠILI III*

Ogden Goelet, Jr and Baruch A. Levine

1. *Introduction: The Political and Cultural Background of the Treaty*

Although it is our intention to focus this study primarily on the religious and legal aspects of the treaty between Ramesses II and the Hittite monarch Hattušili, this document was not written in a vacuum, devoid of influences from the political and cultural climate in contemporary Ramesside Egypt and the rest of the ancient Near East. The events leading up to the treaty inform many aspects of the text, particularly its religious background, and deserve a summary account before turning to the pact itself.

The central event was the battle of Qadesh. In the fifth year of his reign, most likely 1274 BCE,¹ Ramesses II encountered Hittite forces under the command of the aging Muršili II outside the town of Qadesh, modern Tell Nebi Mend in Syria.² This engagement was the

* Aspects of this study were presented jointly by the two authors at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, held in Boston in March, 1992. Baruch Levine recalls that, in his seminars, Cyrus Gordon often referred to the Egyptian *p3 ntr*, and the plural *ntrw*, as being significant for an understanding of the early development of monotheism.

1. This date is based on the choice of 1279 BCE for the absolute date of Ramesses II's accession, arising from recent reinterpretations of the lunar records from his reign. For a brief discussion of the underlying problems, see J.v. Beckerath, 'Zur Datierung Ramses' II', *GM* 142 (1994), pp. 55-56, with further references in W.J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (SAOC, 42; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edn, 1990), p. 62 n.73.

2. The Qadesh battle is certainly one of the best-documented and most-studied battles of antiquity. The bibliography concerning it is considerable; see A. Kuschke, 'Qadesh-Schlacht', in *LÄ*, V, cols. 31-37. For a well illustrated and

culmination of more than a quarter-century of struggle between the Egyptians and the Hittites for supremacy in the Syrio-Palestinian region which followed in the aftermath of the Amarna Period. The reasons for this conflict are obscure, but may well lie in the Nineteenth Dynasty's need to establish its credibility and legitimacy by reacquiring territories 'lost' during the reign of Akhenaten and his successors. Despite Ramesses' numerous boastful accounts of this action, its outcome was unfavorable to the Egyptians. Whether Ramesses suffered a tactical defeat or merely achieved a standoff at Qadesh is unclear, but his forces certainly seem to have been forced to withdraw temporarily from much of the northern reaches of his Syrian sphere of influence soon thereafter. However, a great peace does not necessarily follow in the footsteps of a great battle.

Ironically, the Hittites, who were the ostensible victors, do not seem to have fared that well in the post-Qadesh years. To begin with, Muwattalis died within two years of Qadesh, leaving Urhi-Teshub, his young son by a minor wife or concubine, on the throne to rule as Muršili III, thus bypassing Hattušili, his sickly younger brother.³ Hattušili felt that he had more legitimate claim to the throne and must have resented his youthful nephew Urhi-Teshub's ever-growing encroachments on the parts of Hittite territory his late brother had entrusted to him. Slowly, but surely, internal strife over the royal succession arose in Hatti, undoubtedly proving a major distraction from the pressures of foreign policy. After seven years of rule Urhi-Teshub

readable account, see M. Healy, *Qadesh 1300 BC. Clash of the Warrior Kings* (Osprey Military Campaign Series, 22; London: Osprey, 1993). Brief bibliographic essays can also be found in K.A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II* (Mississauga: Benben Books, 1982), p. 249 and M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Ramses II.', in *LÄ V* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), col. 113.

3. On the career of Urhi-Teshub and his importance in international politics of the time, see W.J. Murnane, 'The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution', in D. O'Connor and D.P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Probleme der Ägyptologie, 9; Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 212-14; *idem*, *Kadesh*, pp. 55-56, 65 n. 87, 70, and 104; and P.H.J. Houwink Ten Cate, 'The Early and Late Phases of Urhi-Tesub's Career', in K. Bittel *et al.* (eds.), *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Osten, Uitgaven, 35; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Osten, 1974), pp. 140-46.

was eventually forced to abdicate and Hattuşili ascended the throne. At first Urhi-Teshub was sent into exile in the distant Nukhashshe lands of Syria, but was able to flee to Egypt, thus giving Ramesses a potential card to play in Hittite dynastic politics in the form of a pretender to the throne. As we know from other sources, his presence in Egypt was well known among neighboring countries.

Although the chronology of the aftermath of Qadesh is still rather uncertain, the immediate beneficiary of the Hittite victory may, in fact, have been the resurgent kingdom of Assyria. Adad-Nirari I quickly took advantage of the confused situation in the years following the battle by finishing off Hanigalbat, the remains of the state of Mittani which had been its former overlords. Soon thereafter, Adad-Nirari wrote a letter to 'his brother' Muršili requesting that he be treated as a 'Great King' and was sharply rebuked for his presumptuousness.

Ramesses, by contrast, seems to have recovered fairly well from his embarrassment at Qadesh. As always, he put the best possible light on things, and stressed his great valor upon the battlefield, contrasting his actions with the behavior of the rest of the army. Although the outcome of the struggle may have been less than brilliant, it was he, Ramesses, not the professional military men, who had saved the day. He broadcast his 'victory' in extensive reliefs and inscriptions in several temples, always stressing his bravery in action.⁴ These texts were supplemented with numerous literary accounts of the battle on papyri. One of the chief themes of all of the various Qadesh texts was that Amun had answered Ramesses' battlefield prayer and personally interceded on his behalf. There were other key moments in his reign when Ramesses felt that the gods had intervened on his behalf, and, as we shall see below, he certainly saw the Treaty as further evidence of divine favor, an event so propitious that he changed his titulary in his twenty-first year, probably to mark the occasion.⁵

4. This aspect of the various accounts of the battle, rather than the disparagement of the army, is most likely the main intention of the Qadesh inscriptions, a point made most forcefully and convincingly by Murnane, 'Nineteenth Dynasty', pp. 209-12. For studies on these texts, see n. 73 below.

5. For the shift from *R'-ms-s-s* to *R'-ms-s-sw* and its chronological implications, see K.A. Kitchen, 'Aspects of Ramesside Egypt', in F.W. Reineke (ed.), *First International Congress of Egyptology, Acts* (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients, 14; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1979), pp. 383-89.

Over the ensuing years, Ramesses appears to have been successful in regaining most of the territories in Syria and Palestine which had slipped from his control after the battle, but now he acted with a more measured aggressiveness born of unpleasant experience.⁶ To the south, he managed to crush any hint of rebellion in Egypt's vast Nubian dependencies. At home and abroad, he embarked on a grandiose construction program that continued the work he and his father Seti I had begun on the great temple at Abydos and the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and which included his vast Nubian temple at Abu Simbel and other projects. The Ramesseum, his funerary temple on the west bank of Thebes, was also constructed during this period of great domestic works.

The phenomena grouped under the rubric of 'Personal Piety' constitute one of the major themes in Egyptian religious texts of this period.⁷ This is too complex a subject to explain adequately in a few sentences, but for our purposes here we can say that it was a concept that the gods had direct involvement in the affairs of humanity. In particular, a deity might even intervene in an individual's life, often as a punishment for sins. Numerous papyri and stelae evoke a motif of isolation in the world because of one's offense to the deity, or the sense of aloneness in the face of adversity. In the case of Ramesses, of course, there was no admission of personal failure. Instead, Ramesses expressed a heartfelt sense of abandonment on the battlefield and a need for Amun's intercession in light of his lifelong piety in the service of the chief deity of Egypt. Who, indeed, were these foreigners that Amun should allow him to perish in battle? What, indeed, was better proof of his election by Amun than that he should survive?

When we cast our glance to Asia and the Asiatics, we become aware of a historical coincidence: we observe the rise of 'Personal Religion' in Mesopotamia, a theme most incisively discussed by Thorkild Jacobsen.⁸

6. See D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 186.

7. The literature on this subject is considerable, so only a small selection will be listed here. A fine overview with extensive bibliography has been written by H. Brunner, 'Persönliche Frömmigkeit', in *LÄ*, IV, cols. 951-63.

8. T. Jacobsen, 'Second Millennium Metaphors. The Gods as Parents: The

2. The Egyptian Language Version

Ogden Goelet, Jr

a. Remarks on the Language and 'Register' of the Egyptian Text

In recent years scholarly interest in the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušili III has renewed among both Assyriologists and Egyptologists, with studies focused on the linguistic as well as historical viewpoints. The present study will not offer a complete translation of the inscription, but instead, I shall concentrate here on certain aspects of the Egyptian text, beginning with an examination of the nature of its style and phraseology, and then turning to the religious context of this remarkable document, that, among other things, is the only Egyptian text before the Ptolemaic Period for which a translation into another language exists.⁹

An important step towards understanding this treaty is to bear in mind the import of the frequent word *snsn* 'friendship', for this was a *parity* treaty written for the benefit and concerns of both parties. The parties, moreover, are primarily the two nations rather than their respective sovereigns, as A. Théodoridès correctly observed.¹⁰ Many

Rise of Personal Religion', in *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 145-55.

9. A collated edition of the Egyptian text appears in K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions*, II (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), pp. 225-32, henceforth abbreviated *KRI* II. Some additional remarks with alternate readings of the hieroglyphic text made by J.-M. Kruchten appear in A. Théodoridès, 'Les relations de l'Égypte pharaonique avec ses voisins', *RIDA* 22 (1975), pp. 139-40. Major translations of the Egyptian text are: J.D. Schmidt, *Ramesses II: A Chronological Structure for his Reign* (The Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 111-53; A. Spalinger, 'Considerations on the Hittite Treaty between Egypt and Hatti', *SAK* 9 (1981), pp. 299-358; A. Théodoridès, 'Les relations', pp. 112-40; G. Kestemont, 'Accords internationaux relatifs aux ligues hittites', *OLP* 12 (1981), pp. 15-78; and E. Edel, 'Der ägyptisch-hethitische Friedensvertrag zwischen Ramses II. und Hattusili III.', in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* I, 2. *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden. Historisch-chronologische Texte* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1983), pp. 135-53, without commentary. Now see G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (ed. H.A. Hofner, Jr; SBL Writings from the Ancient World Series, 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), no. 15, pp. 90-95, for a translation of the Akkadian language version with an explanatory introduction.

10. Théodoridès, 'Les relations', pp. 112-13.

commentators have remarked on the awkwardness of the grammar and phraseology of the Egyptian text, yet most of these oddities arise from the difficulties of writing a treaty, a genre of diplomatic document that was essentially foreign to the Egyptians.¹¹ Therefore, it should not be surprising to encounter a greater number of infelicities in the Egyptian version than in the Akkadian text simply because there often had never been a corresponding word or expression in Egyptian usage. Plain linguistic necessity, then, rather than Hattušili's political or diplomatic superiority, meant that a Hittite or other Near Eastern model would occasionally have to be used for many technical phrases in this document. On the whole, the Akkadian influence in this document seems to be confined largely to providing the genre itself, that is, the concept and format of a treaty, along with a few terms and expressions. The actual phrasing of the document itself, however, often seems to be more influenced by the Egyptian language.

Other than the expected difficulties arising from these problems of composition, the grammar and style of the hieroglyphic text are reasonably normal, providing one also realizes that the text combines literary and non-literary Late Egyptian. The text begins with a royal protocol and an introduction in the flowery language typical of Ramesses II's royal inscriptions, such as the Great Abydos Dedicatory Inscription of Year One, the 'Bulletin' of the Qadesh Inscriptions, the Blessing of Ptah, and his numerous and aptly named 'Rhetorical Stelae'. This introductory section of the inscription has a rather literary quality. The rest of the inscription is mostly taken up by the text of the treaty itself, but this second part is composed in a rather technical, non-literary style, a form of the language which might be termed 'documentary Late Egyptian'. This is the dialect (if it can be called such) of letters, ostraca, official reports and similar records that forms the basis of the Černý-Groll *Late Egyptian Grammar*, a work derived primarily from texts of the Twentieth Dynasty.¹² Above all, the second half of the treaty's text reflects a more colloquial form of Late Egyptian, which, although

11. There may have been one, perhaps even two, previous treaties between Egypt and Hatti; only one of these, the so-called 'Kurushtama Treaty', is known to any degree; see Murnane, *Kadesh*, pp. 31-38, with extensive references.

12. J. Černý and S.I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior, 4; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 3rd edn, 1984).

written and used for official purposes, is heavily influenced by the spoken language.

In discussing the various forms of Egyptian, it has become fashionable now to talk of 'register', when, roughly speaking, one wishes to account for the way people use their language in certain contexts or situations.¹³ In this respect, only the preamble of the treaty, which was omitted in the Akkadian versions, was written in a register that is truly in keeping with the temple contexts in which it was found. This more literary form of Late Egyptian occurred sporadically since the Amarna period in royal inscriptions placed in temples and other public places. During the reign of Ramesses II perhaps the prime example of such language would be his numerous Qadesh texts in which he boasted of a great victory over the Hittites. By contrast, the employment of the legally-oriented dialect in such contexts appears to have been a novelty of Ramesses II and is essentially limited to the two copies of the Treaty and his Second Hittite Marriage Stela,¹⁴ all of which derive from temples. By contrast, the famous Nauri decree, which might be considered a comparable text from the reign of his father, Seti I, shows very few features of Late Egyptian, literary or otherwise. Oddly enough, a Deir el-Medina ostrakon recording a trial and dating in the reign of Sethos II, more than a half century later, still exhibits more 'literary' constructions than the earlier treaty, showing how innovative that document was.¹⁵ Although it was written as an official, legal document, the places of 'publication'—the Karnak Temple and the Ramesseum—can hardly be said to be public, but this was not really the intent. What seems more likely is that by placing the text in at least two of the major temples of

13. O. Goldwasser, 'On the Choice of Registers—Studies on the Grammar of Papyrus Anastasi I', in S.I. Groll (ed.), *Egyptological Studies Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, I (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1990), p. 212.

14. KRI, II, pp. 282-84; K.A. Kitchen and G.A. Gaballa, 'Ramesside Varia II', ZÄS 96 (1969), pp. 14-28.

15. O. Nash 1; see S.I. Groll, 'Late Egyptian of Non-literary Texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty', in H.A. Hoffner, Jr (ed.), *Orient and Occident. Essays presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1973), pp. 67-70. For the dating of this ostrakon in the reign of Sethos II, see J.J. Janssen, 'Two Personalities', in R.J. Demarée and J.J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Egyptologische Uitgaven, 1; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1983), p. 126 n.30.

the land, the chief gods of Egypt could be invoked as witnesses to the agreement more effectively.

The text of the treaty itself exhibits several of the grammatical and lexical features which distinguish 'documentary' Late Egyptian from what might be termed its more 'literary' forms, the most important of these criteria being:¹⁶

1. the absence of certain verb forms, particularly *šdm.n.f* and forms compounded with the auxiliary $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂛}$ 'h^c.n;
2. the preference for the preposition $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂛}$ *irm* 'together with' over its synonym $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂛}$ *hn^c*;¹⁷
3. the use of the non-enclitic particle $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂛}$ *ptr* 'behold' rather than *mk* to introduce sentences beginning with dependent pronouns, as well as other usages;¹⁸
4. certain uses of $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂛}$ *iw* as a converter;
5. the use of the negative particles $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂛}$ *bw* and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂛}$ *bn* rather than $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂛}$ *nn* and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂛}$ *n*.

The presence or absence of any one of these features would in itself hardly guarantee that a text was either literary or documentary, but the accumulation of so many of these characteristics is a good indication

16. Goldwasser, 'Registers', esp. pp. 216-30; *idem*, 'On Dynamic Canonicity in Late Egyptian: The Literary Letter and the Personal Prayer', *LingAeg* 1 (1991), pp. 129-41; and G. Grieg, 'The *šdm=f* and *šdm.n=f* in the Story of Sinuhe and the Theory of the Nominal (Emphatic) Verbs', in Groll (ed.), *Egyptological Studies*, I, pp. 336-42.

17. The preposition *hn^c* is entirely absent from the text of the treaty itself. On the use of these two prepositions in Late Egyptian, see also R.A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe: Papyrus Puskin 127* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1977), p. 6.

18. See E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshofe: Neue Funde von Keilschriftbriefen Ramses II. aus Bogazköy*. Rheinische-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976), pp. 129-33; A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (Leipzig: 1933, repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 2nd edn, 1968), §364, henceforth abbreviated Erman, *NÄG*, notes that the term *ptr* was still thought of as a verbal imperative during the Amarna period. *Ptr* appears in inscriptions, literary sources, and ostraca. Its use within the treaty and its relation to the Akkadian *amur* has been recently discussed by Z. Cochavi-Rainey, 'Canaanite Influence in the Akkadian Texts Written by Egyptian Scribes in the Fourteenth and Thirteenth Centuries BCE', *UF* 21 (1989), pp. 41-44. The fact remains that this is a standard usage in documentary Late Egyptian; see Černý-Groll, *Grammar*, p. 148-49.


that the treaty has a strongly non-literary tone, as might be expected.¹⁹ In fact, the language of the treaty represents such a developed form of non-literary Late Egyptian that it could well be included among the exemplary texts used in compiling the Černý-Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*. Evidence of what seem to be irregular or more literary forms of Late Egyptian in the treaty are really not so on closer inspection. For example, the phrase *bw di p3 ntr hpr hrwy r-iwd.sn m nt-^c* in Line 7 represents an uncommon construction with the negative word *bw*,²⁰ since, according to Černý-Groll, *Grammar*, §20.1, normally only the constructions *bw iri.f / iri.t.f sdm.f* or *bw rh.f* are found in documentary Late Egyptian.²¹ Yet the same construction *bw di* + subject, or *bw di* + subject + prospective *sdm.f* appears twice in a non-literary letter dating

19. It must be admitted, however, that some works such as the Papyrus Vandier are able to satisfy all the criteria in the list above and yet are nevertheless distinctly literary works; see the discussion in G. Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier* (IFAO Bibliothèque Générale, 12; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1985), pp. 12-14, where it is described as '*rédigé en néo-égyptien évolué*'. It is of a rather late date, so, as might be expected, neither Grieg nor Goldwasser mentions this tale in their respective treatments of register mentioned in n. 7 above. J. Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien*. I. *La morphologie verbale* (Aegyptiaca Leodiensia, 2; Liège: Centre Informatique de Philosophie et Lettres, 1992), pp. 23-24, has concurred in classifying the text as Late Egyptian. However, recently J.F. Quack, 'Notes en marge du Papyrus Vandier', *RdE* 46 (1995), pp. 164-70, has suggested that the document is '*proto-démotique*'.

20. *Bw*, according to Černý-Groll, *Grammar*, §13.3.1, 'is not an extra negative element preceding an affirmative verbal form, but, rather, a part of the conjugation base', and they go on to list only forms compounded with *iri* and *rh*. P.J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1974), §105, likewise mentions only forms with *iri* and *rh*, although he treats examples which clearly involve neither of those verbs. The passage in the treaty is discussed by Spalinger, 'Hittite Treaty', p. 307, who sees in *bw sdm.f* a Late Egyptian form of the Middle Egyptian *n sdm.n.f*. The construction *bw di.f* is found in several more literary examples of Late Egyptian; see Erman, *NÄG*, §§767-75. According to Grieg, 'Story of Sinuhe', p. 341 n. 300: 'A form in non-lit. texts like *bw rh=f* expresses the negative aorist and not the negative past.'

21. In both literary and non-literary Late Egyptian, however, the verbs *di*, *gmi*, and *ini* seem to appear after *bw* in addition to the verbs *iri* and *rh*; see Erman, *NÄG*, §§767-77 and Frandsen, *LE Verbal System*, pp. 39-40, §27.3, for some more examples. For other literary examples, see R.A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brown Egyptological Studies, 1; London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 542.

to the reign of Seti I²² and on an ostrakon recording events connected with the strikes in the reign of Ramesses III.²³ Similarly, an apparent *sdm.n.f* form in the phrase *iw bw hpr.n hrwy* of Line 13 would represent a most unusual usage even in literary Late Egyptian and most likely arises from a simple miswriting of the verb *hpr*.²⁴ Since the *iw bw sdm.f* construction does occur as well elsewhere in this text (Line 22, end), the possibility of a simple error in the case of *hpr.n* seems quite likely.²⁵

Much confusion has arisen over the use of the particle . *ptr* 'see, behold' in the treaty, although this would actually be the normal term in a non-literary document. A. Rainey and Z. Cochavi-Rainey felt that the appearance of *ptr* represents an odd usage, perhaps even a calque on the corresponding Akkadian particle *amur*,²⁶ but as the list above shows, the absence of *mk* 'behold' would be expected of a high-quality, legal text in Late Egyptian. As the Černý-Groll *Late Egyptian Grammar* points out, 'in contradistinction to Middle Egyptian, *mk* does

22. P. Cairo 58057, text conveniently in *KRI*, I, p. 238; for translations and commentary, see E. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World, 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), p. 112-13; S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Tübingen: S. Allam, 1973), I, pp. 287-89, with references, and Černý-Groll, *Grammar*, §20.8.3b, Ex. 891, with no reference to the lack of a preceding form of the verb *iri*. This example is also included among the examples of *bw iri.f sdm* by Frandsen, *LE Verbal System*, p. 39, §27.3.

23. O. Berlin 10633; see Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka*, p. 29 and W.F. Edgerton, 'The Strikes in Ramses III's Twenty-ninth Year', *JNES* 10 (1951), pp. 137-38. Curiously enough, although Černý-Groll, *Grammar*, §20.8.2, Ex. 885, discusses this passage as an example of 'the *bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation', the verb *iri* in any form is missing; similarly, Frandsen, *LE Verbal System*, p. 40 §27.3.

24. See Théodoridès, 'Les relations', p. 139 and *KRI*, II, p. 227, where Kitchen annotates the group *hpr.n* with 'sic'. In any case, a *sdm.n.f* form of this verb without *r* as a phonetic complement seems odd. Spalinger, 'Hittite Treaty', p. 319, however, sees the construction *bw sdm.n.f* as an 'archaistic form of Late Egyptian *bw sdm.f* / *bw i-ir.f sdm* and Middle Egyptian *n sdm.n.f*' and believes that it is 'timeless'. Similarly, A. Rainey and Z. Cochavi-Rainey, 'Comparative Grammatical Notes on the Treaty between Ramses II and Hattusili III', in Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology*, p. 819.

25. The construction *iw bw sdm.f* is considered as a non-literary form by Goldwasser, 'Registers', p. 227.

26. Rainey and Cochavi-Rainey, 'Comparative Grammatical Notes', p. 800.

not act as a supporting element for verbal formations starting with the dependent pronoun'.²⁷ Spalinger correctly saw *amur* as 'a literal rendition of the Egyptian *ptr*',²⁸ but did not address the question as to why it is used with such frequency in this text and why it should have two different usages. On the whole, the use of *ptr* as a Late Egyptian particle may indicate that the Egyptian version may represent the 'base text' of this document, rather than a translation of an Akkadian original. A priority of text, however, would not necessarily be an indication of any diplomatic or strategic superiority of either of the signatory powers, especially in a parity treaty.

b. *The Religious Background of the Treaty*

The meaning of Šhr and Nt-ʿ. Although the Akkadian and Egyptian versions of the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušili III have been examined several times from the point of view of their syntax, vocabulary, diplomacy and politics, oddly enough, little attention has been given to the religious background of this remarkable document. Before discussing the interplay of the gods and humankind in this document, it is important to focus first on the words used to describe their activities in the beginning portion of the text. After the titulary of Ramesses and a brief prologue, both of which were omitted in the three Akkadian copies, the Egyptian language version describes the divine origin of the 'Entente Cordiale' between Egypt and Hatti (lines 7-9):²⁹

Now to the beginning of the limits of eternity, as to the regulation (*šhr*) of the great ruler of Egypt with the great prince of Hatti, the God does not allow an enemy to come between them by means of stipulations (*nt-ʿ*). But, however, when (8) in the time of Muwatalis, the great prince of Hatti, my brother, he fought with [Usermare], the great ruler of Egypt. Then afterwards, from this day on, behold, Hattušili, the great prince of Hatti [is under] stipulations (*nt-ʿ*) making permanent the regulation (*šhr*) which Pre made and Seth made for the land of Egypt³⁰ (9) with the land of Hatti, not to let strife arise between them forever. Behold, Hattušili,

27. Černý-Groll, *Grammar*, p. 148.

28. Spalinger, 'Hittite Treaty', p. 308.

29. *KRI*, II, p. 227, lines 1-7.

30. Rainey and Cochavi-Rainey, 'Comparative Grammatical Notes', pp. 804-805, see this construction as 'typical of the "mixed dialect" of Ramesside royal inscriptions'.

the great prince of Hatti has placed (lit. 'made')³¹ himself in stipulations (*nt-^c*) with Usermare, the great ruler of Egypt, from this day (on), in order to let arise goodly peace and brotherhood between us forever.

The language here is closely followed in the Akkadian version. In addition to the interesting vocabulary, the involvement of the gods in the establishment of the treaty is striking. In the discussion below, I shall attempt to look separately at the elements of this constellation of words and ideas. First I shall examine the vocabulary, then address the question of the gods' involvement in the treaty.

The two Egyptian words used here to describe the treaty and the state of affairs between the two nations—*nt-^c* and *shr*—are both broad terms which do not readily lend themselves to an exact rendering into English. The text seems to make an important distinction between *nt-^c*, as the present document, and *shr*, as the relations between Hatti and Egypt in general.³² Strangely enough, given their appearance in a document of such weight, neither word appears to have much use in other texts of a legal nature. To complicate matters yet further, it is important to consider the relationship the gods have to these terms in this text.

Of the two nouns, *nt-^c* is the easier to handle. The literal translation of the compound word is 'that which belongs to the book', implying an established custom performed 'by the book', to borrow an English expression. In the present treaty, the aspect of the relationship expressed by the term *nt-^c* is certainly on a parity basis and the orderly nature already implicit in that word is further enforced by modifying it twice with the attributive adjective *mty* 'regular.'³³ *Nt-^c* can mean 'custom', 'habit', 'rite', or 'ritual',³⁴ thus approaching the English expression

31. Spalinger, 'Hittite Treaty', pp. 310-11, has curiously omitted the verb *iry* in his rendition of the text.

32. This distinction has been followed by Spalinger in his treatment of the treaty, see 'Hittite Treaty', p. 308.

33. Lines 14 and 15, see *KRI*, II, p. 228, lines 1 and 3. A treatment of the phrase *nt-^c mty* in this treaty following pretty much along the same lines as the discussion here has been made by Murnane, *Kadesh*, pp. 73-74. Murnane suggests 'agreed arrangement' as the translation.

34. 'Bestimmung, Brauch, Herkommen', *Wb*, I, p. 156, 14 and *Wb*, II, p. 197, 1; 'custom, habit, rite, ritual routine, duty', R.O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffiths Institute, 1962), p. 142. For the connection of *nt-^c* with ritual and customary procedure, see especially D. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (SSEAP, 4; Mississauga: Benben Books, 1986),

'liturgy' in the sense of a prescribed routine or the like. The term is employed as well to describe the phases of the moon or the movement of the sun and other celestial bodies.³⁵ *Nt-ꜥ* is even used once as a denominative verb 'to organize', that is, to set things down by book.³⁶ The translation adopted here, 'stipulation', has been made previously by Lorton, who suggested it in connection with several passages from the Annals of Tuthmosis III that mention the *nt-ꜥ* ('stipulations') of yearly support in the form of goods which the Egyptians were obligated to deliver to the Levantine ports in return for their delivery of certain supplies to Egyptian forces.³⁷ The arrangement described by *nt-ꜥ* in those texts, in fact, closely approaches the modern notion of a parity treaty, were it not for the doubtlessly subservient status of the port cities.

The two translations chosen above—'stipulations' (*nt-ꜥ*) and 'regulation' (*shr*) respectively—are necessarily rough approximations. Part of the difficulty posed by the Egyptian terms is that their meanings tend to overlap to a certain degree. Indeed, Spalinger's suggestion of 'customary agreement' for *nt-ꜥ* here also comes close to the point.³⁸

Before embarking on a discussion of the broader and more difficult

p. 219 n. 61 and J.-M. Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose* (Monographies Reine Elisabeth, 5; Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1986), pp. 143-44. The term is rendered both as 'treaty' and 'long-term policy' by I. Harari, 'The Historical Meaning of the Legal Words used in the Treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusili III, in Year 21 of the Reign of Ramesses II', in Groll (ed.), *Egyptological Studies*, pp. 422-23.

35. See P. Barguet, 'Le cycle lunaire d'après deux textes d'Edfou', *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 18 n. 47; A.H. Gardiner, 'Hymns to Amon from a Leiden papyrus', *ZÄS* 42 (1905), p. 22; and M. Smith, 'A New Version of a Well-known Egyptian Hymn', *Enchoria* 7 (1977), p. 133.

36. This is the expression *iry nt-ꜥ*, see A.H. Gardiner, 'The Coronation of King Haremheb', *JEA* 39 (1953), p. 15, 20 n. 3b; J.-M. Kruchten, *Le décret d'Horemheb* (Université Libre de Bruxelles. Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 82; Brussels: Université de Bruxelles, 1981), pp. 166-68.

37. D. Lorton, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII* (The Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 114-15; Kruchten, *Le décret d'Horemheb*, p. 111. A brief discussion of *nt-ꜥ* in relation to the present treaty appears there on pp. 162-63 in notes 1 and 5.

38. Spalinger, 'Hittite Treaty', p. 303 n. 13.

term *shr* (usually virtually synonymous with its plural *shr^w*³⁹), it should be pointed out that, however *shr* and *nt-^c* are to be translated, the treaty ascribes the pact's origins to divine intervention. With this in mind, careful attention should be paid to the wording of the eighth line. Whereas the result of the divine and human activity has been to place the two rulers under a *nt-^c*, it is the *shr* between the two nations which has been made through the efforts of the gods Pre and Seth (the Egyptian version of Teshub), acting in their roles as the chief deities of Egypt and Hatti. The idea that a human activity might occur in response to an (unannounced) divine plan is a concept bordering on our notions of fate and predestination. If this were not striking enough, shortly before that statement, the Egyptian version also ascribes the *shr* and the *nt-^c* between the nations to *p₃ ntr* 'the God'. As I hope to show in my discussion below, this entire passage from the treaty has certain affinities with that phenomenon which cultural and religious historians of the Ramesside period call 'Personal Piety', which is characterized by a belief in direct divine intervention in the affairs of humankind, particularly those actions which have gone against divine order. Although the previous strife between the two nations is not specifically said to be a transgression against the gods, the implication in the treaty seems to be that this is the case.

Defining *shr* is a formidable task. Not only is *shr* a rather common word, but the bewildering range of meanings offered for it can make one believe at first that one has looked it up in a thesaurus rather than in a dictionary: 'plan', 'counsel', 'fashion', 'custom', 'condition'—to mention only a few.⁴⁰ Significantly, many of the suggested translations just presented are also rather broad terms themselves. When dealing with a word as widespread as *shr*, it makes good lexicographical sense not to seek just one meaning for it, but to focus on its use within given contexts. The passage quoted above describing the origins of the Treaty appears to employ *shr* in conjunction with *nt-^c* in explaining the arrangement between the two nations. The use of two words to describe the protocol between both lands is not surprising, since the treaty-

39. R.O. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 243, makes the interesting observation that 'this word is often written as a plural when the sense in the English demands the singular'.

40. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, pp. 242-43; *Wb*, IV, pp. 258, 10-260, 16. Harari, 'Historical Meaning', pp. 429-30, feels that the term means 'long term policy'.

making process was far more an element of Hittite and Mesopotamian foreign policy than it was an Egyptian diplomatic usage. Indeed, the Egyptians' awkwardness with the whole notion of a treaty permeates the Egyptian text and gives rise to the clumsiness of the diction in many places.

What is striking, however, is the statement that 'Hattušili, the great prince of Hatti [is under] stipulations (*nt-ꜥ*) making permanent the regulation (*šhr*) which Pre made and which Seth made for the land of Egypt with the land of Hatti, not to let strife arise between them forever.' The *šhr*, which I have rendered by the somewhat bland word 'regulation' here, is specifically said to have been created through an arrangement of the two chief deities of Egypt and Hatti. This is in keeping with the remark in the previous line that 'as to the regulation (*šhr*) of the great ruler of Egypt with the great prince of Hatti, the God does not allow an enemy to come between them by means of stipulations (*nt-ꜥ*)'. Together these comments make it quite clear that the pact and the *šhr* have come about through the mediation of the gods, indeed, by the chief deities of the participating parties.

Šhr and divine intervention. Divine intervention in the form of a *šhr* is known from a wide range of other Egyptian sources. This concept plays a particularly important role in texts connected with the religious credos grouped under the rubric 'Personal Piety', which is characterized, among other things, by a belief in divine intervention not only in the affairs of the state and the monarch, but in the lives of private individuals as well.⁴¹ The belief that the gods had preordained most worldly events undoubtedly had its roots in the very beginnings of Egyptian civilization,⁴² but it was during the New Kingdom when these

41. For a brief discussion of the concept of a *šhr* 'plan' of 'the god', and its connection with Personal Piety in the Ramesside Period, see J. Assmann, 'Die "loyalistische Lehre" der Echnaton', *SAK* 8 (1980), pp. 7-8, with n. 35 and *idem*, 'Eine Traumoffenbarung der Göttin Hathor. Zeugnisse "Persönlicher Frömmigkeit" in thebanischen Privatgräbern der Ramessidenzeit', *RdE* 30 (1978), pp. 22-50, esp. 32-33.

42. For a discussion of this belief in the Old Kingdom, see J.G. Griffiths, 'Intimations in Egyptian Non-Royal Biography of a Belief in Divine Impact on Human Affairs', in J. Baines (ed.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (Occasional Publications of the Egypt Exploration Society, 7; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1988), pp. 92-102.

concepts really came into full bloom. Although 'Personal Piety' was once thought to have been largely a development of the Amarna Period or a reaction to the gigantism of the Ramesside monarchs, G. Posener has traced these ideas at least as far back as the reign of Amenophis II.⁴³ Nonetheless, 'Personal Piety' is predominantly a Ramesside phenomenon.

Many instances of *shr* used in this context involve an unnamed, singular deity. One of the earliest and also one of the best-known examples occurs in an often-discussed passage from the *Tale of Sinuhe*, in which the hero describes his flight into foreign lands: 'I do not know what brought me to this foreign country; it was like a plan of god (*mi shr ntr*).'⁴⁴ At a later point in the tale, Sinuhe states that his flight had been ordained (*šzy*) by the god, apparently using the singular again when speaking of the deity.⁴⁵ The change of terminology seems to show that by the Middle Kingdom the Egyptians already saw a connection between the idea of a divine plan (*shr*) and their various concepts of preordination associated with the term *šzy*, 'what is allotted/ordained'. In an Eighteenth Dynasty inscription on Queen Hatshepsut's 'Chapel Rouge', the expression *shr* is used in one passage describing a divine intention as revealed in an oracle,⁴⁶ and in another instance on

43. G. Posener, 'La piété personnelle avant l'âge Amarnien', *RdE* 27 (1975), pp. 195-210.

44. Sinuhe B 43; R. Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe* (BiAe 17; Brussels: Fondation Reine Elisabeth, 1990), p. 29. A later parallel text omits this phrase and says that 'it was like a dream' instead. The difference between these versions is not as great as it might seem at first. As has been pointed out in several discussions of this passage, divinities can manifest their intentions to people by means of dreams; see S. Donadoni, 'L' "inspirazione divina" di Sinuhe', *ACME* 10 (1957), pp. 53-55 and R. Parant, *L'affaire Sinouhé* (Aurillac: R. Parent, 1982), pp. 61-68. The relationship of these passages to notions of preordination has also been discussed by Griffiths, 'Intimations', pp. 93-94.

45. Sinuhe B 156-57; see Koch, *Sinuhe*, p. 55. For a discussion of the relationship of this and other passages on Middle Egyptian literature with concepts of fate and predestination, see J. Baines, 'Contexts of Fate: Literature and Practical Religion', in C. Eyre *et al.* (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1994), p. 37 n.15.

46. P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, I (Publications de la Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte; Cairo: Service des Antiquités de

the same monument where the Queen alludes to divine *šhrw* which she has obeyed.⁴⁷ Although the god goes unnamed in both cases, Amun is clearly the deity involved. There are two references to the *šhrw n ntr* 'plans (that is, intentions) of god' in the *Instruction of Amenemope*,⁴⁸ a major text of Wisdom Literature whose composition may date to the Ramesside period. In one instance there the expression is used to describe an unknowable divine intention, closely approaching predestination in meaning: 'Indeed you do not know the intentions of god (*šhrw n ntr*), and should not weep for tomorrow'. Strikingly enough, the second occurrence of the phrase *šhrw n ntr* likewise connects it with the oracular process: 'Do not falsify the oracles on the scrolls and (thus) harm the intentions of the god (*šhrw n ntr*)'.⁴⁹ The intentions or designs of the gods also play an important role in those funerary texts of the Third Intermediate Period known as Oracular Amuletic decrees. In these texts, rather than referring to the actual oracular process, the unspecified *šhrw* appear to be simply the possibly harmful behavior that various (unnamed) gods might inflict against the deceased.⁵⁰ As we shall see shortly, the quotations just discussed are little different from similar citations in which either specific deities appear or else *P3-ntr* 'the god' is mentioned.

When specific deities are involved, not only is there a divine *šhr* between humankind and those gods, but also a chief deity or demiurge often seems to be the author of a plan which directs all human affairs. Such attitudes occur particularly in solar hymns of the New Kingdom which allude to an overall divine plan of a creator deity, that he has made binding upon the gods and the universe. Even if the divine intention is hidden or not understood, it nevertheless cannot be contravened.

l'Egypte, 1977), p. 99, line 14: *šhrw ḥm.k*, 'the plans of your Majesty', referring to the god, not the Queen.

47. On an unplaced block from the same monument, see Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, I, p. 144 line 7: *mdd.n.(i) šhrw ms wi* ('I obeyed the plans of the one who fashioned me').

48. Amenemope 22, 10, see I. Grumach, *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenemope* (MÄS 23; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972), p. 145.

49. Amenemope 21, 15, see Grumach, *Amenemope*, p. 147.

50. I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Fourth Series; 2 vols.; London: British Museum, 1960), pp. 38, 53, 104, 108.

The close connection between these concepts and notions of predestination is striking. As is often the case with divine intention in Egyptian religious thought, the *shr* will be made manifest through an oracle. Many of the most striking examples of beliefs in a universal guiding plan can be found in a series of Nineteenth Dynasty sun-hymns from private tombs. J. Assmann has plausibly suggested that sections of these hymns may contain elements of 'Personal Piety' which have been adopted for private mortuary contexts.⁵¹ One text, for instance, contains an epithet of Amun-Re that plays upon his name: *ʾImn-Rc imnw-shrw f r ntrw* 'Amun-Re whose *shr*w are hidden from the Gods'. In his commentary on this expression and its parallels, Assmann connects the term *shr* with the transcendental nature of the deity,⁵² but especially in light of the use of *shr* in the later Amuletic decrees, some notion of intention is certainly also implicit in this phrase. This interpretation of *shr* seems justified by a similar epithet of Amun in another Ramesside hymn, this time on a papyrus: *tni shrw r ntr nb* 'more distinguished of plan than any (other) god'.⁵³ Accordingly, the belief expressed in *Amenemope* that divine plans and intentions are hidden from humankind and should not be hindered seems to have extended to the gods as well. The universal nature of the divine *shr*w and its connection with arrangement of the universe and the world is made apparent in the Great Hymn to the Aten, in a passage describing all creation: *smnh.wy sy shrw.k p3 nb nhh* 'How excellent your plans are, O Lord of Eternity'.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in the thirty-fourth year of Ramesses II's reign, the pharaoh married

51. Assmann, 'Traumoffenbarung'.

52. TT 23; see J. Assmann, *Theben. I. Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein: Zabern, 1983), p. 19 (25) with p. 22, n. s; *idem*, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Bibliothek der alten Welt; Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 1975), p. 230. There is an exact duplicate of this expression in TT 194, where it is addressed to Re; see Assman, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 259 (25). The epithet 'hidden of plans' plays on Amun's epithet *ʾImn-rn(w)f* 'The One hidden of his name(s)', on which see J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344*, *Verso* (Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities, 7; Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1992), pp. 120-22.

53. P. Boulaq 17, 2, 3 (= P. Cairo 58038); see Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen*, p. 200 (26) with p. 550 n.26, where he offers 'Ratschlüsse' as a translation of *shr*w.

54. The Great Hymn to the Aten, line 10, see M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (BiAc, 8; Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1938), pp. 95, lines 6-7; Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen*, p. 219 (100).

one of Hattušili's daughters, an event which he ascribed to the intervention of the gods, particularly Seth and the creator deity Ptah-Tatanen.⁵⁵ On one of the so-called Marriage Stelae describing this great event, Ptah-Tatanen is given an epithet which indicates that a divine *shr* of a god can be the unifying idea which organizes and links all the elements of the earth together: *ip ib ts t3 m shrw.f* 'the one calculating of mind who binds together the world with his plans'.⁵⁶ Finally, in another source the description of Re as *K3 dšr 'nhw ntrw m shrw.f* 'the Red Steer by whose plans the gods live' emphasizes that this *shr* can be a guiding principle binding on the gods themselves.⁵⁷ Considering this evidence, it is not surprising that plan-making should eventually be attributed to particular deities above others. During the Twentieth Dynasty and after, the god Khonsu acquired the epithet *p3 iry shrw* 'the one who makes (that is, ordains) plans', an aspect of the deity which has a largely subordinate position to Khonsu Neferhotep.⁵⁸

Examples of this sort, in which the term *shr* is associated not only with oracles and divine intentions, but also with the very order of creation, provide compelling evidence that the word *shr* in the beginning of the treaty is meant to convey to one and all that the pact's formation is a manifestation of divine will; it is an expression, a sign, of the intentions of the deity, just as an oracle might be. Hence, not only

55. J.F. Borghouts, 'The First Hittite Marriage: Seth and the Climate', in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier: Université de Montpellier, 1984), pp. 13-16.

56. Marriage stela, line 4. See *KRI*, II, p. 235, line 11. Compare the epithet of the solar deity Khepri in a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb (TT 154): *Hpri tsw t3 m shrw.f* 'Khepri, who ties together the world with his plans'; see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 199 (8) with p. 200, n. e.

57. TT 353; see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 338 (4) with n. d. Assmann's transliteration should be emended from *K3-dsr*.

58. This form of Khonsu was the subject of two studies by G. Posener, *Annales de College de France* 67 (1967-68), pp. 345-49; 68 (1968-69), pp. 401-403; and Y. Koenig, 'Un gri-gri égyptien?', in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Festschrift Kákosy; Studia Aegyptiaca, 14; Budapest: Innova Press, 1992), p. 361. Khonsu 'the one who makes plans' plays a prominent role in the Bakhtan Stela, a Ptolemaic pseudoepigraphic text set in the reign of Ramesses II; see most recently S. Morschauser, 'Using History: Reflections on the Bentresh Stela', *SAK* 15 (1988), pp. 211-12 and M. Broze, *La princesse de Bakhtan* (Monographies Reine Elisabeth, 6; Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1989).

have the tutelary deities of Hatti and Egypt decided to end the strife between the two nations, but this divine intervention is also strikingly ascribed to *p3 ntr* 'the god' as well. In this sense, one might say that the treaty was preordained to take place in the reign of the man who saw himself as destiny's favorite.

P3-ntr 'the God' in the treaty. *P3 ntr* 'the God', is a phrase frequently found in Wisdom Literature,⁵⁹ yet its presence is still unusual in the present context. In the treaty there are some similar uses of the definite article *p3* before the name of two specific gods: Pre and Pre-Horakhte. The plural form of the article, *n3*, appears before the word *ntrw* 'gods' to form the phrase *n3 ntrw* 'the gods' in Lines 29 through 30, but in these instances 'gods' of a specific type are indicated. The intent of the expression *p3 ntr*, then, is not to refer to a single 'over-god', but instead, to an indefinite deity, a 'template god', so to speak, especially when one considers that this treaty mentions many other gods—a thousand gods of the male and female gods from those of the land of Hatti, and a thousand of the male and female gods from those of the land of Egypt⁶⁰—among the witnesses of the pact. The large number of deities cited, some of which belong to regions as far afield as Ninevah, demonstrates that the pact was supposed to be valid over a vast territory, some of whose chief gods were not included even among the numerous deities of Hatti and Egypt.

As I mentioned above, in general the use of definite article *p3* before a god's name is confined to a few deities. The practice may be an outgrowth of the use of the demonstrative adjective *pn* 'this' after the name of gods in the Coffin Texts. The widespread use of the definite

59. For general discussions of the phrase 'the god' in Egyptian Wisdom Literature, see E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 49-60; W. Barta, 'Der anonyme Gott der Lebenslehren', *ZÄS* 103 (1976), pp. 79-88; and the recent remarks of D. Lorton, 'God: Transcendent, Dead, or Everything?', *GM* 140 (1994), pp. 53-67. J.D. Schmidt, *Ramesses II: A Chronological Structure for his Reign* (The Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 126 remarks on this passage that '*P3 ntr* has simply been translated "God", as indicated by the form which appears in Coptic ('pnoute'); this may be seen as a reference to "God" in general and not to any particular manifestation'.

60. For a discussion of this passage, see S. Morschauser, "'Crying to the Lebanon": A Note on Wenamun 2, 13-14', *SAK* 18 (1991), pp. 321-23.

article before nouns of any sort does not occur until the adoption of the spoken form of New Egyptian for official uses during the reign of Akhenaten. Even prior to that time the definite article was used as a component of a few divine names such as *T3-wrt* 'Tawaret' and in one instance an otherwise unspecified *T3-nrt* 'the Goddess'.⁶¹ In the most famous inscriptions of Akhenaten's reign—the Boundary Stelae and the Hymns to the Aten—the article appears before the god's name: *p3 'Itn* 'the Aten', a usage which seemingly emphasizes the uniqueness of the deity. After the Amarna Period, the article is occasionally found during the remaining years of the Eighteenth Dynasty preceding Re, forming the expression 'the Re', perhaps in imitation of Akhenaten's practice. During the Nineteenth Dynasty *p3* is fairly common before a limited number of divine names, especially Pre and Pre-Horakhte,⁶² as in the present text. The practice was hardly confined to literary and religious usages, however. During Ramesses' Qadesh campaign, in fact, one of the divisions of the army bore the name of the god Pre. In these cases it seems doubtful that the presence of the article had any theological import or that these spellings represented anything more than alternate writings of those divine names. Furthermore, there seems to be no consistency to the use of the article with divine names even within the text of the treaty, since the names Re and Pre-Horakhte also occur here without the article.

The occasional earlier example of the use of the definite article before divine names should not obscure the fact that the practice had a major upsurge during the Ramesside period, approximately contemporaneously with most of the evidence for 'Personal Piety'. Outside of the corpus of 'historical' inscriptions of the reign of Ramesses II, the definite article before gods' names follows roughly the same pattern. In the literary tale, 'The Contendings of Horus and Seth', which dates to the middle to late part of the Twentieth Dynasty, the god Re appears in his form as Pre except 'in fixed expressions of ancient origin'.⁶³ Besides Re, Re-Horakhte, and 'the God', the definite article is used with only

61. O. Cairo 12202, recto, line 6; G. Posener, 'La piété personnelle avant l'âge amarnien', *RdE* 27 (1975), p. 201.

62. *Wb*, II, pp. 401, 8 states that this usage is 'seit Dyn. 18.'

63. A.H. Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 13 n. 2.

three other deities to my knowledge: *T3-ntrt* 'the Goddess',⁶⁴ *P3-šd* 'the Rescuer'⁶⁵ and *T3-wrt* 'Taweret', lit. 'the Great One'.⁶⁶ It may not be accidental that in the two latter cases the gods involved represent not one god, but a composite of several deities grouped under a single term. Ironically, the use of the definite article seems occasionally to have the effect of making the divine being in question more indefinite in nature.

Nonetheless, the appearance in the present inscription of *p3* before the word *ntr* 'God' in the general sense is exceptional, reminding one of the manner in which Wisdom Literature employs *ntr* to refer not to a specific deity, but rather to mean 'whatever god you intend', that is, a 'template deity'. The Akkadian equivalent in the parallel versions of the treaty also seems to preserve some notion of *singularity* in the phraseology. This is striking because even in Wisdom Literature normally no article before *ntr* appears until the *Instruction of Amenemope*, which possibly dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty. Occasionally, the expression *p3 ntr* in the sense of 'the relevant deity' will occur in other contexts as well. For example, in a papyrus describing an oracular procedure involving several statues in a number of local cults of Amun scattered about the west bank of Thebes, in each case the deity is either specified by name or called briefly *p3 ntr*, 'the God'.⁶⁷

There are several examples of *p3 ntr* 'the God' during the reign of Ramesses II in which the phrase is applied to a famous statue of himself made during his lifetime.⁶⁸ The expression appears in a literary miscellany as part of the name of this statue at the Delta residence,⁶⁹ on

64. Extremely rare: I know of only one instance of this deity, significantly, in a document of 'Personal Piety', see above, p. 266 n. 61.

65. H. Brunner, 'Eine Dankstele an Upuaut', *MDAIK* 16 (1958), pp. 13-19; *idem*, 'Sched', in *LÄ*, V (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), cols. 547-49.

66. R. Gundlach, 'Thoeris', in *LÄ*, VI, cols. 494-97.

67. P. BM 10335, vs. 17-20; A.W. Blackman, 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt. I', *JEA* 11 (1925), pp. 249-55; A.G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina* (Egyptologische Uitgaven, 5; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990), p. 133.

68. H. Brunner, 'Die Statue "Ramses-meri-Amun-der-Gott"', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), pp. 101-106, with Pl. 15.

69. P. Anastasi III 3,8-3,9; see Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 75 and 82. The epithet is part of the name of a statue of Ramesses II.

scarabs,⁷⁰ in a royal stela,⁷¹ all in connection with the same colossal statue which Ramesses used in connection with his self-deification.⁷² Here is particularly solid evidence, if any is needed, of Ramesses' strong feeling that he had a special connection with the gods as their representative on earth.

This is not to say that these expressions are entirely dependent on the presence of the definite article. *Ntr* without the definite article can also be used as an expression meaning 'God' in the general sense. In fact this usage occurs appears in §97 of the so-called 'Literary Record' or 'Poem' of the Qadesh Inscriptions. In a remarkable passage which can certainly be included among the documents of 'Personal Piety', Ramesses II, surrounded and about to be crushed by the Hittites on the field of battle, pleads to Amun in the following manner:⁷³ *ih hr ib.k nn n ʿ3mw 'Imn hsyw hmw ntr* 'what are these Asiatics in your heart, Amun, who ought to be defeated and do not know god?' Since this prayer of Ramesses was answered, most likely he afterwards felt himself to be divinely elected more than ever before. At first, Ramesses

70. J. Yoyotte, 'A propos des scarabées attribués à Ramsès VIII', *Kêmi* 10 (1949), p. 87 (20) and p. 88.

71. A. Hamada, 'A Stela from Manshîyet es-Sadr', *ASAE* 38 (1938), pp. 219 and 225; *KRI*, II, p. 361, line 6. The stela, dated to Year 6, describes the making of a statue whose name is *R'-ms-sw Mri-'Imn p3 ntr* 'Ramesses-Meriamun-the-god', discussed in the note following.

72. In addition to the passage from P. Anastasi III discussed above, the statue is mentioned and illustrated on a number of the so-called Horbeit stelae. See Brunner, 'Die Statue', for a summation of the many references to this statue, which had a cult attached to it. It is also discussed by L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (ADAIK, 5; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1969), pp. 28, 29, 31, 32, 40-41, 43, who also believed that the statue may have represented Ramesses as an independent deity.

73. *KRI*, II, pp. 35, lines 11-16. S. Morschauser, 'The Speeches of Ramesses II in the Literary Record of the Battle of Kadesh', in H. Goedicke (ed.), *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh* (Baltimore: Talgo Books, 1985), pp. 146-47. In his commentary on these lines, Morschauser makes the point that the verb *hm* 'to ignore, not know' here is also used to mean 'to not recognize' in the diplomatic sense. For recent discussions of the long-recognized connection of this speech with 'Personal Piety', in addition to Morschauser's discussion (pp. 139-53), see also B. Ockinga, 'On the Interpretation of the Kadesh Record', *CdE* 62 (1987), pp. 38-41 and T. von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses II. zur Qades-Schlacht: Analyse und Struktur* (HÄB, 22; Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1984), pp. 202-22.

seems once more to be making a distinction here between Amun and 'the God', much in the same fashion that the treaty differentiated between 'the God' and Pre and Seth as the representative gods of Egypt and Hatti, but more likely the term in this instance is merely a synonym for Amun. Nonetheless, it is reminiscent of 'the God' mentioned in the treaty who has decided not to let strife arise again between the protagonists of the great battle of Qadesh.

c. Some Remarks on the Differences between the Treaty Versions

Given the fact that, by any analysis, this document should be regarded as a *parity* treaty, it is pointless either to look for a master version or to see one party of the treaty as dictating terms to the other. Occasional imbalances and asymmetries most likely arise out of the need to address the particular concerns of one party or the other. A parity treaty would reflect a situation in which both parties benefited more or less equally from the arrangement.

There is yet another prominent feature of the treaty which has received little attention in scholarly literature despite its peculiarity. The treaty's clause arrangement appears disorganized, yet this is indubitably an *inscribed* royal text, appearing in apparently identical versions at two of Ramesses II's most important temples. The word 'inscribed' is worth emphasizing here, because it implies that the officials and scribes who handled the presentation of the text had the text translated and carelessly written out in hieratic, then allowed the text to be executed twice over in a disorganized fashion, where it presumably would be visible at least to the literate elite. Since the translated text presumably derived from a silver tablet, it would also be hard to believe that the Egyptian text represents anything less than the final version of the treaty. Spalinger's explanation of the disorganization of the Egyptian text arising from a misunderstanding of the organization of the tablet is plausible, except that the description of the Hittite royal seals indicates quite clearly that the translators knew the difference between the verso and the recto. The Akkadian versions found at Boghazköy, to the contrary, have a much better organization and may represent three copies of a next-to-last version of the document. In evaluating the Egyptian version, therefore, one should not hastily discount the possibility that the 'out-of-place' clauses actually represent later codicils to the original.

3. The Akkadian Language Version

Baruch A. Levine

Certain religious and legal aspects of the Akkadian language version of the treaty of the twenty-first year of Pharaoh Ramesses II, enacted with Hattušili III, king of Hatti, will command our attention here. As noted in the introduction, numerous scholars, Egyptologists and Hittitologists, Semitists and Assyriologists, and historians of Near Eastern antiquity have made it possible to interpret the Ramesses-Hattušili treaty with deeper insight. There can be no doubt, however, that it is Elmar Edel who has contributed most to a proper understanding of the Akkadian language version, and what is more, to an appreciation of what the entire Egyptian-Hittite treaty process meant historically. Over decades of persistent investigation, Edel has presented valuable editions of the extensive Ramesside correspondence. These individual studies have now been assembled in two volumes entitled *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz*, with transcriptions and translations, philological commentary and comprehensive analysis.⁷⁴ Characteristically, Edel has elicited maximum yield from often fragmentary texts, and has applied his linguistic command of Egyptian, Hittite, and Akkadian to synthesizing the multi-cultural evidence. His chronological reconstruction allows for a comprehensive overview of the material. In effect, Elmar Edel has brought to life one of the most exciting chapters in the history of international diplomacy, placing the Egyptian-Hittite treaty in perspective. We are also in the debt of Ernst Weidner for his collection entitled *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*,⁷⁵ which, in addition to including an edition of the extant Akkadian version of the treaty, provides a documentary context for its analysis and interpretation.

We also have Elmar Edel's new translations of both the Egyptian and

74. E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*. I. Umschriften und Übersetzungen. II. Kommentar (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 77; 2 vols.; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), henceforth cited as Edel, *ÄHKB*.

75. E.F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien. Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazköi* (Boghazköi-Studien, 8; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1923).

Akkadian language versions of the treaty itself;⁷⁶ but, as of this writing, we lack his announced editions of them. In text-critical terms, the Akkadian language version of which we speak is actually a reconstruction, based on several tablets. The most recent edition is that of Veysel Donbaz,⁷⁷ published without translation, and based on a re-examination of tablets stored in both Berlin and Istanbul. Donbaz has provided a workable Akkadian text, and his edition will be followed here as a rule. Donbaz presents a transliteration of what he classifies as parallel versions A and B, followed by parallel versions C and D, in an interlinear format. Notwithstanding the *lacunae*, this arrangement allows us to realize a more nearly complete text of the treaty. As a matter of fact, the sections of the treaty to be cited below come from version A, with input from version B.⁷⁸ The translations are the responsibility of the author; in large part, they are informed by Edel's translation of the treaty, with added enlightenment from a recent study by Anson F. Rainey and Zipporah Cochavi-Rainey⁷⁹ dealing with the comparative grammar and diction of the Egyptian and Akkadian versions.

It is important to project how the extant texts came into being so as to understand how the concepts underlying their provisions are expressed in both languages. The transmission process may have been more complex than we imagined. According to Edel, the original executions of the treaty were composed in 'the Babylonian language', the *lingua franca* of the period, and written in cuneiform script on the two silver tablets mentioned in the sources. These originals are both lost to us, though we have an idea how they were produced initially. The Egyptian version relates how a treaty, inscribed on a silver tablet, was

76. E. Edel, 'Der ägyptisch-hethitische Friedensvertrag zwischen Ramses II. und Hattusili III.', in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* I, 2. *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden. Historisch-chronologische Texte* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1983), pp. 135-53.

77. V. Donbaz, 'Some Observations on the Treaty Documents of Qadesh', *ISMITT* 43 (1993), pp. 27-39.

78. Donbaz, 'Observations', p. 29, identifies the sources. The consecutive versions A and C are identified as Bo.10403 (*KBo* I, 7) + Bo.6549 + 6674 (*KUB* III, 121). Now see examples of *DINGIR.LUM* 'tutelary Deity' in both Hittite and Akkadian treaties in Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Index, p. 198, s.v. 'Tutelary deity', and following entries.

79. Rainey and Cochavi-Rainey, 'Comparative Grammatical Notes', pp. 796-823.

delivered by an envoy of the Hittite king to Egypt. The Egyptian version continues with the following caption:⁸⁰

Copy (*mitt*) of the silver tablet which the great chief of Hatti, Hattušili, the *tnr*, the son of Muršili caused to be brought to the Palace 'life, health, and prosperity', by the hand of his envoy.

The term 'copy' here refers to a version in another language. Thus, it is Edel's view that the extant Egyptian version represents an authentic, hieroglyphic rendition of the original Akkadian text sent by Hattušili III to Egypt on the silver tablet. It is inscribed on a stela in the temple of Karnak, and on another stela in the Ramesseum.

The dispatch of a silver tablet from Hatti to Egypt was undoubtedly the first step, the beginning of the exchange between the two rulers. Edel concludes this from a letter sent by Ramesses to Hattušili. (A section of it will be cited below, for another purpose.) In this letter, Ramesses quotes Hattušili as saying:⁸¹

I had a silver tablet made for my brother (= Ramesses), and I have had it delivered to my brother. You, too, have a silver tablet made, and have it delivered to me (= Hattušili).

Further on in the letter (lines 10-11), Ramesses goes on to say that he will comply by sending a silver tablet to Hattušili.

The status of the Akkadian language version, reconstructed as it is, is less clear than that of the Egyptian language version, although that version also raises questions. In lines 13-15, reproduced below in the citations from the Akkadian version of the treaty, Ramesses states that he enacted a treaty (*rikiltu*) on a silver tablet which he sent to the Hittite king. This means that the present text is a copy of the Akkadian treaty inscribed on the silver tablet sent by Ramesses to Hattušili, and it appears that there were several such copies at Boghazköy, exhibiting minor differences. The existence of more than one copy might indicate an ongoing correspondence between the two countries, involving progressive modifications of the text, or, as Donbaz speculates, this fact may suggest that more than one copy was made at Boghazköy.⁸²

80. KRI, II, p. 226, ll. 9-10.

81. Edel, *ÄHKB*, I, no.4 (*KBo* XXVIII, 1), lines 0-2, on pp. 22-23, and commentary in II, pp. 39-40.

82. See Donbaz, 'Observations', pp. 36-37, with n. 13 for a discussion of the routes of transmission of the treaty.

The Akkadian of the treaty in its extant copies, or recensions, reflects both semantic and syntactic characteristics representative of the dialect of the Egyptian scribes of the fourteenth–thirteenth centuries. This subject has been recently studied with depth and scope by Z. Cochavi-Rainey.⁸³ It is entirely possible that the Egyptian version was composed very soon after receipt of the Akkadian treaty sent from Boghazköy, and used as the model for the Akkadian response, the treaty sent by Ramesses on a silver tablet to Hattušili. And yet, as noted by Edel, the treaty in substance and composition resembles the political documents of the Hittite empire, such as those collected by Weidner.⁸⁴ This should not surprise us, since the extensive Ramesside correspondence leaves little doubt that Egyptian scribes had mastered the political idiom and vocabulary of the Hittite capital very well.

Pursuant to the discussion by Ogden Goelet, I shall focus on two key terms of reference in the Akkadian version which, like their counterparts in Egyptian, define to a considerable extent the underlying religious and legal concepts of the treaty: (1) the anonymous designation *DINGIR-lî* ‘the god’, equivalent to Egyptian *p3 ntr*, and (2) the term *īēmu* ‘accord’, equivalent to Egyptian *šhr*. To facilitate the discussion of these two terms, I shall cite in transcription sections from the treaty in which they occur.

a. *The Documentary Context*

Statements from the text of the treaty. The first part of the Akkadian version begins by registering the two principals, the signatories to the treaty, Ramesses II and Hattušili III, and states the treaty’s purpose: ‘to establish worthy peace and worthy brotherhood’ between the two valiant, royal ‘brothers’ forever. The Egyptian Pharaoh, identified by his country and by the names of his father and grandfather, then addresses his Hittite counterpart, similarly identified. He restates the objective of establishing permanent and worthy peace and brotherhood

83. See Z. Cochavi-Rainey, ‘The Akkadian Dialect of the Egyptian Scribes in the Fourteenth–Thirteenth Centuries BCE: Linguistic Analysis’ (PhD dissertation, Tel-Aviv University, 1988) (in Hebrew).

84. E.F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien. Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazköi* (Boghazköi-Studien, 8; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1923).

(lines 1-9a), and then continues as follows:⁸⁵

a-mur *ṭe₄-ma* *ša* LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR *Mi-iš-ri-i* (10) [*qa-du* LUGAL GAL] LUGAL KUR *Ḫa-at-ti ul-tù da-ri-ti* DINGER-lì *ù-ul i-na an-din a-na e-pé-ši* LÚ.KUR *i-na be-ri-šu-nu* (11) [*i-na ri-ki-il-ti a-d*] *i da-ri-ti*

a-mur ¹*Re-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* ^d*A-ma-na* LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR *Mi-iš-ri-i a-na e-pé-ši ṭe₄-ma* (12) *š[a* ^d*UTU i-pu-šu u*] *ša* ^d*IŠKUR i-pu-šu a-na KUR Mi-i[š-ri-i] qa-du KUR Ḫa-at-ti i-na ṭe₄-mi-šu* *ša ul-tu da-ri-ti* (13) *lim-ni[š a-na la-a na-da-ni a-na e-pé-ši* LÚ.KUR *i-na be-r[i-šu-nu a-n]a* *ša-a-ti₄*

ù a-du-ku-ul (14) ¹*Re[-a-ma-še-ša] ma-a-i* ^d*A-ma-na* LUGAL GAL LUGAL KU[R *Mi-iš-r-i-i*] *i-te-pu-uš i-na ri-ki-il-ti* UGU-ḫi *ṭup-pi* *ša KÙ.BABBAR* (15) *qa-du* [¹*Ḫa-at-tu-ši-l*] *i* LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR *Ḫa-at-ti-ŠEŠ-š[u a-di u₄]-mi an-ni a-na na-da-ni sù-lum-ma-a* SIG₅ *ŠEŠ-ḫu-ta* SIG₅ (16) *i-na b[e-ri-in-ni a-di d]a-ri-ti* *ù ŠEŠ-ḫu-ú i[t-ti-ia...ù]* *ŠEŠ-a-ku it-ti-šu* *ù šal-ma-a-ku it-ti-šu* (17) *a-di d[a-ri-ti* *ù ni-]i-nu ni-ip-pu-uš ŠEŠ-ut-[a]-ni* *ù [šal-a]m-a-ni* *ù* SIG₅ UGU *ŠEŠ-ti* *ù sa-la-mi* *ša pa-na-nu* (19) *ša KUR M[i-iš-ri-i qa-du* *ša K]UR Ḫa-at-ti*

a-mur ¹*Re-[a-]ma-še-ša* LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR *Mi-iš-ri-i i-na sa-la-mi* SIG₅ *i-na ŠEŠ-ti* SIG₅ (19) *it-ti-š[u <I> Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li* L]UGAL GAL LUGAL [KUR *Ḫa-at-ti*]

a-mur DUMU.MEŠ ¹*Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* ^d*A-ma-na* LUGAL KUR *Mi-iš-ri-i* (20) *šal-mu ŠE[š-ḫu-ú it-ti-DUMU.]MEŠ* *ša* ¹*Ḫa-a[t-tu-ši-l]* *i* LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR [*ḪA*]-*at-ti a-di da-ri-ti* *ù* *šu-nu a-ki ṭe₄-mi-ni* (21) *ša ŠEŠ-[ut-ni u* *ša* *ša-]la-am-ni* *ù* KUR *M[i-iš-ri-i] qa-du KUR Ḫa-at-ti* *ù sa-al mu ŠEŠ.MES* *ki-i ni-i-nu a-di da-ri-ti*

Translation:

Behold, (as for) the accord of the Great King, King of the Land of Egypt, with the great King, King of the Land of Hatti, since timeless antiquity, the god has disallowed the commission of hostility between them through an everlasting treaty.

85. See Rainey and Cochavi-Rainey, 'Comparative Grammatical Notes', which focuses on several usages of importance for the present study. These include the extraposition particle *amur* 'Behold, (as for)', and the anomalous adverb *aduku* (l) 'verily'. Also see on the latter Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte*, pp. 129-33. The Rainey's also discuss usage of the Akkadian present-future as a negative aorist, with tense indicator, to express continued or repeated action in the past. It is on this basis that *ul-tù da-ri-ti DINGIR-lì ù-ul i-na-an-din* is translated: 'Since timeless antiquity, the god has disallowed', in line 10 of the treaty. Further, it is explained that *sa X. ipusu* 'which X. established', in line 12 of the Treaty, represents the preterite, subjunctive form, and it is so translated.

Behold, (as for) Ramesses, the Great King, King of the Land of Egypt, he seeks to put into effect the accord which *UTU* established and which *IŠKUR* established for the Land of Egypt with the Land of Hatti from the beginning of time, disallowing the malevolent commission of hostility between them in the future.

Verily, Ramesses, the Great King, King of the Land of Egypt, has [accordingly] put [this] into effect by means of a treaty, upon a tablet of silver, with Hattušili, the Great King, King of the Land of Hatti, his brother, from this day forward so as to establish worthy peace and worthy brotherhood between us forever. He is a brother to me and I am a brother to him, and I am at peace with him forever.

And as for us, our brotherhood and our peace is [now] being put into effect, and it is better than the brotherhood and peace that existed formerly between the land of Egypt and the Land of Hatti. Behold, (as for) Ramesses, the Great King, King of the Land of Egypt, he is in [a state of] worthy peace and in [a state of] worthy brotherhood with Hattušili, the great King, King of the Land of Hatti.

Behold, (as for) the descendants of Ramesses, King of the Land of Egypt, they are to be at peace with and brothers of the descendants of Hattušili, the Great King, King of the Land of Hatti forever, and they [are to abide] by the terms of our accord, of our brotherhood and our peace. The land of Egypt with the Land of Hatti are to be allies and brothers, just as we are, forever (lines 9b-21).

The actual provisions of the treaty begin in line 22, with the mutual outlawing of invasive aggression (lines 22-24a). Thereupon, the text continues with a restatement of the treaty's sanction and purpose in an alternative formulation:

a-mur pá-r-šu ša da-a-ri-ti ša dUTU ù dIŠKUR i-pu-šu (25) *a-na KUR Mi-i[š-ri-i q]a-du KUR Ḫa-at-[ti sa-la-m]a ù ŠEŠ-ut-ta a-na la-a na-da-a-ni LÚ.KUR i-na be-ri-šu-nu* (26) *ù a-mur mRi[a-ma-še-š]a ma-a-i dA-[ma-na LUGAL GAL LUG]AL KUR Mi-iš-ri-i iš-ša-bat-šu a-na e-pé-ši šu-ul-mi a-di u4-mi an-ni-i*

Behold, (as for) the eternal rule which *UTU* and *IŠKUR* established for the Land of Egypt with the Land of Hatti, one of alliance and brotherhood, for preventing hostility between them: Behold, (as for) Ramesses, the Great King, King of the Land of Egypt, he has taken hold of it, in order to maintain peace from this day forward (lines 25-26).

The text goes on to stipulate the terms of the treaty. In effect, Egypt and Hatti have entered into a mutual defense alliance, to be binding on the heir to the Hittite throne. These provisions are followed by a fairly customary series of treaty agreements.

b. *Key Terms of Reference in the Treaty: Underlying Religious and Legal Concepts*

The anonymous designation DINGIR-li, and related forms. We begin with a discussion of the anonymous designation *DINGIR-li*, which, in a sole instance within the treaty, translates Egyptian *p3 ntr* 'the god'. We have seen that Egyptian *p3 ntr* is at home in the Egyptian language and in Egyptian literature of various genres, deriving from different periods. The same can be said of *DINGIR-li*, although it is more difficult to cull the evidence, coming as it does from several different languages, and from different lands. I shall be content to discuss fairly contemporary usage in several cultures, acknowledging at the same time that such usage is more enduring.

The nominative form with phonetic complement is *DINGIR-lum*, and the oblique form with phonetic complement is *DINGIR-li*, the form that occurs in the treaty. Both forms are attested in contemporary Akkadian and Hittite sources. It should be emphasized that these forms merely reflect those phases of cuneiform writing wherein phonetic complements are affixed to ideograms. Essentially, the same meaning is expressed by the ideogram *DINGIR*, without phonetic complement, whose usage as an anonymous designation is widespread.

The sense of *DINGIR-lum/li*, like *DINGIR* without phonetic complement, is 'the god', which we are normally to understand as 'referring to a specific but not named deity'.⁸⁶ In many of the instances cited in the Assyrian Dictionary, the god of reference designated by *DINGIR* is actually named in preceding statements, much like an antecedent, so that the reader would know which god, or heavenly body, as the case may be, is intended. It is also noteworthy that *DINGIR* may be used in contrast to humankind (*amelūtu*), with reference to the divine realm, the population of gods and goddesses. It may also have an adjectival sense, bearing the sense of 'godly, divine', as would be said of a temple, or of ceremonial objects, or deified persons. Usages of this sort are also widespread.

In the treaty, one would expect the nominative to be realized in the phonetic complement, producing *DINGIR-lum* instead of the ostensibly oblique form, *DINGIR-li*, since this designation is the subject of the clause. It seems that as a rule, the phonetic complement reflects the

86. See CAD, I/J, p. 99, s.v. *ilu*, meaning 2,d.

actual syntactic position of the ideogram. There is, however, additional, contemporary evidence for use of the oblique form in the nominative syntactic position. It comes from the latter part of the reign of Ramesses II, and is, therefore, helpful in explaining the form that appears in the treaty of year 21 of his reign.

Edel has discussed the Egyptian titularies of Ramesses II, inscribed on scarabs, and their corresponding Akkadian formulations, appearing in a number of Ramesside letters. Thus, a letter from Ramesses II to Puduhepa, Queen of Hatti, begins as follows:⁸⁷

(1) *um-ma in-si-ib-bia ni-ib ta-a-ua* ¹*Ua-aš-mu-a-ri-a* (2) *ša-te-ep-na-ri-a* (2b) *DUMU*.^d*UTU* ¹*Ri-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* ^d*a-ma-na* (3) *DINGIR-lì* *LUGAL URU.KI A-na, ŠEŠ sa* ^{<d>}*An-ḥa-a-ra ša* ^d*IŠKUR i-ra-am[šu]*

Thus (spoke) *insibja nib-tawa* Wasmuaria satepnaria, the son of the sun god, Ramesses, the god, the king of the city of Heliopolis, the brother of Onuris, whom *IŠKUR* loves.

This titulary, or parts of it, can be reliably restored in several other Ramesside letters. Correlating this formulation with the Egyptian titularies inscribed on scarabs, Edel was able to establish the following Egyptian-cuneiform correspondences:⁸⁸

- (a) *nj-swt-bjt nb t3wj Wsr-mš't-r' stp-n-r'*
- (a') *in-si-ib-ia ne-eb ta-a-ua* ¹*Ua-aš-mu-a-i* *ša-te-ep-na-re-a*
- (b) *s3 r' R^c-msj-sw mrjj Jmn*
- (b') *DUMU*.^d*UTU* ¹*Re-a-ma-še-ša ma-a-i* ^d*a-ma-na*
- (c) *ntr ḥk3 Jwnw*
- (c') *DINGIR-lì LUGAL (ša) *URU a-na*
- (d) *sn Jnj-ḥrt mrjj Sth*
- (d') *ŠEŠ ša an-ḥa-a-ra ša* ^d*IŠKUR i-ra-am-šu*

The last part of the titulary is particularly instructive. We have the precise equivalence of *ntr* and *DINGIR-lì*, just as is realized by comparing the two versions of the treaty, the Egyptian and the Akkadian. This demonstrates that the single occurrence of *DINGIR-lì* in the treaty is not an *ad hoc*, or chance translation of Egyptian *p3 ntr*. At the very

87. See Edel, *ÄHKB*, I, pp. 171-73, no.72 (*KUB*, III, 66+W.24), lines 1-3.

88. See Edel, *ÄHKB*, II, pp. 260-61, and the discussion in Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte*, pp. 15-20.

least we can say that it was used by scribes of the period to translate *p3 ntr*. It may also be significant that the Akkadian version of the titulary, as it appears in the Ramesside letters, attests the oblique form in the nominative (appositive) syntactic position, much in the same way the treaty does. Perhaps this inflection was likewise characteristic of the period.

As has been observed, we would expect usage of the ideogram *DINGIR* with phonetic complement to exhibit a precise case ending. Thus, the form *DINGIR-LUM* appears as an Akkadogram in a Hittite letter from Boghazköy, in the nominative position. It bears the sense of a personal god, or divinity who acts on behalf of the Queen. Edel translates it *Schutzgottheit* 'the protective, tutelary deity'.⁸⁹

As an Akkadogram in Hittite, the oblique form *DINGIR-li* occurs frequently in the genitive syntactic position, and with an adjectival connotation. Ready examples are provided in the Ritual of Tunnawi. There we read, for instance, that the purpose of a certain purification rite was to remove all types of evil from the afflicted, and these afflictions are listed in a fixed sequence. They include *ŠA DINGIR-li kar-pi-in* 'the god's anger'.⁹⁰ In variants we find the plural: *DINGIR.MEŠ-aš kar-pi-in* 'the gods' anger', with the Hittite genitive plural suffix.⁹¹ This evidence leads to an important observation: In adjectival, or qualitative usage, there is little difference between the singular *DINGIR-li* and the plural *DINGIR.MEŠ*. Both connote 'divine' qualities. Not so, however, with respect to anonymous references to a specific deity, or deities, where this function can be established. In such cases the plural *DINGIR.MEŠ*, and related forms, usually refer to the relevant pantheon, or pantheons, whereas it is less clear to whom (or what) the singular *DINGIR-li* refers.

The ritual texts from Emar published by D. Arnaud,⁹² some of the

89. See Edel, *ÄHKB*, I, pp. 220-21, no.105 (*KUB*, XXI, 38, line 57).

90. See A. Goetze, *Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi* (AOS, 14; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), pp. 14-15, II, line 37.

91. Goetze, *Ritual of Tunnawi*, pp. 18-19, III, line 41, further on, III, lines 51-52, on pp. 20-21. This entry is followed in the conventional list by *NI.IS DINGIR.LIM* 'divine oaths', literally, what is sworn by 'the life of the god'. Also see E.H. Sturtevant, *A Hittite Glossary* (Philadelphia, 2nd edn, 1936), pp. 159-60 for related forms in Hittite.

92. D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astata. Textes Sumériens et Accadiens*

largest of which come from the so-called 'Diviner's Temple', have been studied by D.E. Fleming.⁹³ These attest the singular form *DINGIR-lì* occasionally, and the corresponding plural forms in abundance, and, as could be expected, leave us to deal with the ambiguities attendant upon the singular form, in particular.

In the enthronement ritual of the *entu*-priestess (*NiN.DINGIR*) of *IŠKUR*, the storm god, most likely identified as Baal at Emar, the form *DINGIR-lì* occurs only once, exhibiting the phonetic complement in the oblique (dative) case, and occupying the dative syntactic position. Thus we read:⁹⁴

And when they had completed the major *kubādu* ceremony, 1 head of large cattle, 6 heads of small cattle before *IŠKUR* (*a-na pa-ni* ^d*IŠKUR*) they sacrificed; the meat of 1 head of large cattle, and the meat of 1 head of small cattle before the god (*a-na pa-ni DINGIR-lì*) they placed; 7 loaves of bread for the *naptānu*-feast, 7 biscuits, 2 biscuits with fruit before the gods (*a-na IGI DINGIR.MEŠ*) they placed.

How are we to understand the unique occurrence of the form *DINGIR-lì* in this ritual context? Does it refer to a specific, aforementioned deity? Does it refer to some other divine being? Is it to be taken in the plural sense? That may be how Arnaud understood *a-na pa-ni DINGIR-lì*, since he rendered it '*devant les dieux*'.⁹⁵

A survey of all occurrences of the form *DINGIR-lì* in the Arnaud collection indicates that it often refers qualitatively to something 'divine', such as a temple (literally: 'the house of the god' = *É DINGIR-lì*) or a ceremonial weapon (literally: 'the weapon of the god' = *GIŠ.TUKUL ša DINGIR-lì*), in which case the difference between singular and plural forms is not of great significance.⁹⁶ But, if and when *DINGIR-lì* refers

(EMAR, 6, 3; Paris: Editions recherches sur les civilisations, 1986).

93. D.E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar* (Harvard Semitic Series, 42; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) and *idem*, *Time at Emar: The Ritual Year in a Syrian Diviner's Archive* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996).

94. See Arnaud, *Astata*, p. 326, no. 369, lines 10-11; translation on p. 330.

95. Arnaud, *Astata*, p. 330, in the French translation.

96. For *GIŠ.TUKUL ša DINGIR-lì* 'divine weapon' see Arnaud, *Astata*, p. 408, no. 420, line 1; p. 409, no. 422, line 11. For *É DINGIR-lì* 'temple, house of the god', see Arnaud, *Astata*, p. 348, no. 372, line 12. This construction occurs frequently in the *zuku* festival. See Arnaud, *Astata*, pp. 350-52, no. 373, lines 21, 49, 51; and pp. 430-32, no. 452, lines 3, 31, 47. See the discussion by Fleming, *Time at Emar*, pp. 21-26, and nn. 34-35.

anonymously to an aforementioned deity, this difference becomes highly significant.

Now, it is reasonable to conclude that *IŠKUR*, the storm god, is the immediate referent of the unnamed *DINGIR-lì* in the opening sections of the enthronement ritual, a passage from which was cited above. This god is named in the preceding statement, and, after all, the *entu*-priestess was consecrated to him. In fact, no other divine name has appeared in the ritual text up to this point, though there were references to the temples of Ninkur and Ninurta, and offerings to 'the gods' (*DINGIR.MEŠ*). So, in earlier listings of the offerings, the god *IŠKUR* is named, and his name serves as a virtual antecedent. When, immediately following, he is referred to anonymously, the reader is expected to be able to identify him.

The same situation is evident in Arnaud, no. 463, entitled '*Ordo recapitulatif*' (pp. 447-49). The description begins by recording the gifts of the king to the god *KUR* (= Dagan) on the day of 'the opening of the gates'. On the second day, as part of the great *kubādu*, there are further offerings to *KUR*, continuing into the night. Then we read of more offerings presented the following day:

i-na u₄-mi ša-šú-ma iš-tu ^dUTU i-na-pi-iḫ... (a list of varied offerings) *ša a-na DINGIR-lì* [broken]

The same day, after the sun shines, (a list of varied offerings) which to 'the god' [they present?]

It is reasonable to identify 'the god' referred to here anonymously as *KUR*/Dagan, the only deity named in the ritual text up to this point. Subsequently, when the preserved text resumes, we read of Halma.⁹⁷

The ritual texts from Emar thus present diverse usages of the designation *DINGIR-lì*, not all of them entirely clear. It would seem, however, that when *DINGIR-lì* refers to the recipient of sacrificial offerings, we are to search for a named antecedent.

At this point it is relevant to introduce evidence from Ugaritic rituals, where we also encounter unnamed deities listed both in the singular, *ilh* 'the god', and in the plural, *ilhm* 'the gods'. In an elaborate ritual, *KTU* 1.41/1.87, recently edited with commentary by B.A. Levine and J-M. de Tarragon, the sequence resembles that found in the Emar ritual,

97. See Arnaud, *Astata*, p. 447, no. 463, line 14.

wherein a specific deity is named, and then referred to anonymously.⁹⁸ Following is a section of the ritual, ordained for the autumnal vintage festival at Ugarit:

mlk (7) *yṯb brr wṁh* [*ydh*] *wqra* (8) *ym*
‘lm yṯrb [*mlk* (9) *bb[t tgm] [k]s w[sp]l*
dqtm (10) *wynt qrt yṯdb ḵnt*
 (11) *walp wš lil*
wburbt (12) [*mtk*] *ytk*
gdlt ilhm
TKMN WŠNM (13) *dqt*
ršp dqt - šrp.
wšlmm:
dqtm (14) *ilh*
alp wš ilhm
gdlt ilhm
 (15) *bṯl š* (etc.)

Translation:

The king, the pure one, is seated, and he claps his hands, and proclaims the day.

Then, the king enters inside the temple [with] an entrance-gift of a cup and a chalice.

Two small females and a domestic pigeon he prepares for Anat,

And one small male for Il.

And at the aperture, [a libation] he pours.

1 large female	the gods
<i>TKMN WŠNM</i>	1 small female
Rashap	1 small female—the burnt offering.

And as the sacred gifts of greeting:

2 small females the god

1 large male and 1 small male the gods

98. The relevance of the Ugaritic ritual for an understanding of the ritual from Emar, and for the interpretation of the Ramesses-Hattušili treaty, has been noted in B.A. Levine and J.-M. de Tarragon, 'The King Proclaims the Day: Ugaritic Rituals for the Vintage (KTU 1.41/1.87)', *RB* 100 (1993), pp. 102-106, where the significance of the *kubadu* ceremony is also discussed. See also M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartin, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places* (KTU, ALASP, 8; Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2nd edn, 1995), pp. 77-79; 106-108.

1 large male	the gods
Baal	1 small male (etc.)

It should be explained that Ugaritic descriptive rituals are usually composed in two modes: narrative descriptions alternate with listings of rather fixed series of sacrifices. In the above section, we first read that the king, who presided over the celebration, made presentations to Anat and Il. The text of the ritual had earlier on presented Il as the presiding deity. Therefore, when we now read in the listing of sacrifices immediately following that two small females were sacrificed to *ilh* 'the god', it is logical to conclude that the god of reference is, indeed, Il. This conclusion is further recommended by the fact that the name of Il is missing from the list of divine recipients of sacrifices in which *ilh* appears. Most likely, the anonymous reference replaced the name of Il, the presiding deity. The same situation is reflected in KTU 1.39, another Ugaritic ritual of the same type.⁹⁹

In short, distinctive usage of the designation *ilh* 'the god' in Ugaritic rituals resembles usage of *DINGIR.li* in the Emar rituals. In a related way, Ugaritic *ilhm* 'the gods', like *ntrw* in Egyptian, and *DINGIR.MEŠ* in the Akkadian and Hittite texts, refers to the relevant pantheon, as a whole.

Nothing in the sources surveyed up to this point fully prepares us, however, for usage of *DINGIR-li* in the Ramesses-Hattušili treaty. Not only is the sequence of divine nomenclature reversed in the treaty, with the anonymous deity being mentioned first, thus making it more difficult to ascertain the putative referent of *DINGIR-li*, but the referential context has been greatly extended as well. Instead of one pantheon, we find ourselves relating to an international setting, where the respective pantheons of two major powers are being engaged jointly.

First, we read that *DINGIR.li* forbade hostility between Egypt and Hatti from the beginning of time by means of a treaty. Secondly, we read that the chief god of Egypt and his counterpart, the chief god of Hatti, enacted an accord to this effect. Thirdly, we read that the two current rulers are implementing that divine accord. Throughout the treaty, it is the two chief deities who are listed as the divine sponsors of the accord. *UTU*, the sun god, represents Egypt, and in the Egyptian

99. See Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartin, *Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts*, pp. 74-75, for KTU 1.39.

version is listed as *R^c*, and *IŠKUR*, the weather god, represents Hatti, and in the Egyptian version is listed as *Sth*. Bearing his particular character, the chief god of each of the two countries enacts the accord with his counterpart.¹⁰⁰ In other formulations, these chief gods are joined by the respective pantheons of the two countries, designated *DINGIR.MEŠ* 'the gods', or *DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ* 'the great gods'.

Note that in the Akkadian version, the chief Egyptian god is identified by the name that Hittites used for their own sun god, and in the Egyptian version, the chief Hittite god is identified by the name that Egyptians used for their own weather god. Rendering the names of foreign deities by their counterparts in the home culture also occurred in the titulary of Ramesses II, examined earlier. This method of registering divine names helped to achieve cross-cultural communication by identifying divine powers in terms that members of the other culture could relate to.

The juxtaposition of deities indicates parallelism, even interchangeability. Both Egyptians and Hittites realized that they were matching up their respective, major deities by role and function. Although the two gods, *R^c* and *IŠKUR*, differed somewhat in their normal functions, as far as the treaty is concerned, they had the same status. They enjoyed parity just as did their earthly counterparts, the kings of Egypt and Hatti. In fact, there is no clearer demonstration that this is a parity treaty than the symmetry of the chief gods who represented the two lands as its co-sponsors. Their parity paralleled the 'brotherhood' of the two earthly kings.

What, then, did it mean to say, prior to mentioning the chief gods of each land, that 'the god', singular and unnamed, had originally forbidden hostility between Egypt and Hatti by a treaty? Since this statement is never repeated, does it merely anticipate what is to follow in the text of the treaty; is it merely another way of saying that the chief gods of both lands had enacted the treaty? Is it that when the scribes of Ramesses II wrote *p3 ntr* they meant *R^c*, and when Hittite scribes wrote *DINGIR-li* they meant *IŠKUR*? All of the evidence surveyed up to now points in this direction.

If, however, usage of *p3 ntr/DINGIR-li* in the treaty statement is innovative, perhaps it means something else. It might mean that the two

100. See Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte*, pp. 135-36 for a correlated list of Egyptian and Akkadian divine names.

chief gods had acted initially in response to a command, or to a prior action by a divine being, or to a power distinct from them, to whom, or to which they were subordinate. This issue has long been debated by Egyptologists and students of religion with reference to the designations *ntr*, and *p3 ntr*.¹⁰¹ In certain of its manifestations, Egyptian religion gives evidence of a belief in a sole, international god, Aton.

It can be said, however, that there is nothing in the present treaty, or in the Ramesside correspondence, to indicate that Egyptians, or Hittites, for that matter, regarded their chief gods as subordinate to a supreme being, who ruled over both nations. If, in the critical treaty statement under discussion, we had a plural form, *ntrw/ DINGIR.MEŠ*, instead of the singular, we would be in a better position to understand its concepts. If the treaty read (in Akkadian): *ul-tu da-ri-ti DINGIR.MEŠ ú-ul i-na-an-din-nu a-na e-pé-ši LÚ.KUR i-na be-ri-šu-nu* 'Since timeless antiquity, the gods have disallowed the commission of hostility between them', then its meaning would be fairly clear. In fact, similar plural formulations occur in the Ramesside correspondence. The treaty would then be expressing the notion that the chief gods, and their respective pantheons, all represented the same divine authority and jurisdiction; that they shared in the collective power held by the gods in their totality. It is as if to say that an international, divine council had decreed peace between Egypt and Hatti, and the two chief gods of the respective empires had accordingly enacted just such a treaty.

But we have in this one statement, and only here in the treaty, singular forms, and this fact leaves us with three logical options: (a) *DINGIR-li/p3 ntr* refers to whichever chief god was intended by Egyptians and Hittites, respectively. If only *DINGIR-li/p3 ntr* had come after mention of the chief gods, UTU and IŠKUR, we would have unhesitatingly accepted this interpretation. Since it precedes mention of them, however, a measure of uncertainty remains. (b) The designation *DINGIR-li/p3 ntr* refers to a power, or quality, which we would call 'divine', but which was perceived as impersonal, in the sense that no specific deity was identified as possessing it. Or it could imply that the gods themselves were subservient to an impersonal force, akin to what is known in the Syro-Mesopotamian sphere as *šimtu*. Along with

101. See Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, pp. 33-65 for a highly learned discussion bearing on the meaning of Egyptian *ntr*.

connoting acts of divine will, *šimtu* may also connote 'determined order, nature of things'; 'lot, fate'.¹⁰² The problem with this interpretation is that the language of the treaty sounds personal; it appears to be describing the act of an individual, the expression of will. (c) The designation *DINGIR-li/p3 ntr* refers to a supreme god, who held authority over the chief deities of both Egypt and Hatti. This is the least likely option, in the present context. We would expect this deity to be named, if contemporary readers were, indeed, expected to identify him.

The conceptual basis of the treaty. The Akkadian term which normally translates Egyptian *šhr* 'regulation' is *tēmu*, which we render 'accord'. In the Akkadian version, *tēmu* interacts with *rikiltu* 'treaty', 'binding agreement', which translates Egyptian *nt-ʿ* 'stipulation'. The relation of *tēmu* to *rikiltu* in the Akkadian version parallels the relation of *šhr* to *nt-ʿ* in the Egyptian version. It should be explained that normally, in legal and jurisdictional contexts, Akkadian *tēmu* means 'instruction', 'order', 'decree', and that it enjoys other meanings in differing contexts.¹⁰³ Usage in the present treaty is, therefore, distinctive and of limited distribution. The connotation 'accord' for Akkadian *tēmu* most often occurs in the Ramesside correspondence, and rarely elsewhere, and may well have been generated out of the necessity to find a nuanced translation for Egyptian *šhr*.

Though distinctive, usage of Akkadian *tēmu* in the present treaty nevertheless expresses the notion basic to this term, that of logic and sound judgment. An edict or decree is designated *tēmu* because it is presumed to be rational and just. It is said of one who has become irrational that his *tēmu* has been altered, which is to say, that his proper appearance is contorted, or that he has deviated from rational

102. See CAD, Š, III, pp. 11-20, s.v. *šimtu*, especially meaning 1,3', c, and meanings 2, a-b.

103. See W. von Soden, *AHW*, pp. 1385-87, s.v. '*tēmu*', especially p. 1387, meaning 11. For the sense of 'edict, decree' for Akkadian *tēmu* in an Akkadian letter from Ugarit, see PRU, IV, p. 228, no. 18.54 A, line 3: *ṭe-ma al-ta-ka-an* 'I have issued an order'. A similar connotation is attested in the Amarna correspondence, in EA 9, line 32: *ki-i ṭi-mi-šu-nu* 'on their own authority'. See J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1913 [reprint Aalen: Zeller, 1964]), I, p. 90 and W.J. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 18.

behavior.¹⁰⁴ Akkadian *tēmu* is, therefore, a normative term, expressing positive implications. This semantic range explains certain usages of *tēmu* in the Amarna correspondence, where it can refer to the representative character of a country and the customs of its people, or to the good judgment attributable to an individual person.¹⁰⁵ It can refer to one's intentions and plans, with the implication that these are soundly conceived and 'well intentioned'.¹⁰⁶ In a similar sense, *tēmu* can mean 'report', putatively a true report.¹⁰⁷ Significantly, it can also mean 'greeting', an expression of good will.¹⁰⁸ Similar meanings are also evident in the Ramesside correspondence.¹⁰⁹

Curiously, we find in the Akkadian correspondence from Ugarit, wherein the term *tēmu* is used quite frequently, one possible instance where it is best rendered 'alliance', 'agreement'. It comes in a letter addressed by Sarrukušub of Carkemish to Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, proposing an alliance against a certain Tette, the king of Nuhašše. In casuistic formulation, the letter spells out the contrasting consequences

104. See CAD, Š, I, pp. 403-406, s.v. 'šanû B, to change, become different', especially meanings 2, a-e.

105. The sense of representative character for Akkadian *tēmu* is attested in EA 15, line 20: [f]i-im-ka u ti-im ma-ti-ka li-mur 'He should see what you are like and what your country is like'. See Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, I, p. 126 and Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, p. 38. The sense of good judgment is attested in EA 162, line 13: ki-i te4-e-mi-i-ka 'following your own judgment'. See Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, I, p. 654 and Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, p. 247.

106. The sense of intention, or plan, is suggested in an Akkadian letter from Ugarit, RS 16.270, PRU, IV, p. 135, lines 16-17: ma-a te4-mu ba-nu-ú [] DUMU.SAL SAL ra-bi-ti a-na [ša-ba-ti-sa (?)] 'It is a good plan [] to [take] the daughter of the Great Lady (in marriage)'.

107. For the sense of report see EA 21, line 29: ki-i te4-im-šu-nu ba-nu-u 'For their report was excellent'. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, I, p. 154 and Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, p. 50. This connotation is frequent in the El-Amarna correspondence.

108. The sense of greetings is frequently attested in the Akkadian correspondence from Ugarit. Thus, RS 17.78, PRU, IV, p. 196, lines 6-7: it-ti-ka mi-nu-u-me [šu]-ma-ni te4-ma-ti šap-pa-ra 'With you is everything going well? Send greetings of wellbeing'. See also PRU, VI, pp. 12-13, no. 9, RS 17.428, lines 4-7. This meaning is also frequent in the El-Amarna correspondence.

109. See Edel, *ÄHKB*, II, p. 377, in the Indices.

for Niqmaddu if he does, or does not attack Nuhašše. The negative projection reads as follows:¹¹⁰

š[u]m-ma ¹Niq-ma-^d. Adu it-ti ¹Te-et-te l[a-]a i-na-ak-kir ù a-ma-te.MEŠ ša aq-bu-u la-a e-ep-pu-uš ù te₄ em ṭup-pí an-ni-i ku-tal-li i-ta-a-ar.

[But], if Niqmaddu does not initiate hostilities against Tette, and does not carry out the words that I have spoken, then the [proposed] alliance of this tablet shall be withdrawn.

The terminology of this letter, referring as it does to carrying out (the verb *epēšu*) the ‘words’ (*amātē*) stipulated in it, suggests that Akkadian *ṭēmu* here designates the very agreement proposed in the tablet.

It is possible that EA 1, a letter from Amenophis III to Kadasman-Harbe, the Babylonian king, attests the sense of relationship for Akkadian *ṭēmu*. If this interpretation, adopted by William Moran in his translation, is correct, then we have a meaning for Akkadian *ṭēmu* that is close to the sense of ‘accord’ in the Ramesses-Hattušili treaty.

The Pharaoh had asked for the Babylonian king’s daughter in marriage, but the Babylonian king complained that he had not heard about his how his sister, who had been previously married to the Pharaoh, was doing. The Pharaoh responds, in the second person, that if you wish to learn about ‘the well-being of your sister’ (*šu-ul-ma-ni ša a-ḫa-ti-ka*), you should send a truthful dignitary to see how your sister is doing: *ù ta-qa-ab ša ir-ru-ub a-na na-ma-ra É-še ù te₄-im-še it-ti LUGAL*. ‘Then you can believe the one who enters to see her quarters and her relationship with the king’.¹¹¹

Defining the distinctive function of Akkadian *ṭēmu* in the formulation of the treaty involves two discrete lines of inquiry, in addition to philological and semantic discussion. We must first explain the syntax, or governance of the term *ṭēmu*, and, pursuant to this, adduce evidence from the Ramesside correspondence on the widespread currency of this

110. See PRU, IV, p. 55, RS 17.334, lines 16-19.

111. See Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, I, pp. 62-63, who translates: ‘um zu sehen ihr Haus und ihr Verhältnis zum König’. See also Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, pp. 1, 4 n. 12. Moran notes that *a-na na-ma-ra* is a variant of *a-na a-ma-ra*, reflecting the idiom *ṭēm X amāru*, found in CAD, A, I, p., 23, s.v. *amāru*, with *ṭēmu*, there translated ‘to find out a person’s opinion; to consider an opinion’. The immediate context favors the interpretations of Knudtzon and Moran, however.

meaning for the term *ṭēmu* in the contemporary period.

The operative verb governing *ṭēmu* is *epēšu*, which here means 'to enact, establish' but also 'to put into effect'. This progression of meaning is clearly brought out in one of the passages cited above. In lines 11-13 of the treaty we read that Ramesses now seeks 'to put into effect the accord' (*a-na e-pé-ši ṭe₄-ma*) which *UTU* established and which *IŠKUR* established (*ša^d.UTU i-pu-šu û ša^d.IŠKUR i-pu-šu*) at the beginning of time between the two countries. In other words, the original *ṭēmu* had been established by divine powers, but it remained for the contemporary global rulers, the kings of Egypt and Hatti, to put it into effect, or implement it by now enacting a *rikiltu* 'treaty', a binding agreement between their two lands. Interestingly, the verb that governs *rikiltu* 'treaty' is also *epēšu*, and, in fact, the divinity (*DINGIR.li*) who, at the beginning of time, established the *ṭēmu* between the two lands, and had also legalized it in the form of a permanent *rikiltu* 'treaty'.

Now, there is nothing exceptional in such usages of the common Akkadian verb *epēšu*, which may describe different phases of activity. Nevertheless, it is the formulation of the present treaty that effectively clarifies the difference between *ṭēmu* and *rikiltu*, and defines how the Egyptian-Hittite treaty was perceived in theoretical terms. In effect, the two rulers were replicating a process first undertaken by divine powers. The difference is that the contemporary kings were not empowered to establish the *ṭēmu* itself; they could only endorse the pre-existing *ṭēmu* by enacting a binding instrument, the *rikiltu*. This indicates that the term *ṭēmu* 'accord' refers to the doctrine or principles underlying the specific provisions of the agreement and, in effect, to a state in the relationship that could be brought about only by the gods. It is they who decree that peace exist among nations. In this way the term *ṭēmu* assumes an almost abstract, or qualitative connotation. In contrast, the term *rikiltu* refers to the actual document or binding instrument by which the terms of the agreement are imposed, and this instrument may be generated by humans. So it is that the roles of gods and humans are not entirely symmetrical.

In the alternative formulation of lines 24b-26, the term *ṭēmu* is replaced by *paršu* 'rule', and instead of the verb *epēšu*, it is *šabātu* 'to seize, take hold' which describes the contemporary action of Ramesses. This suggests that *šabātu* means what *epēšu* meant in the second instance, namely, 'to put into effect', or, perhaps, 'to hold to' in the sense of abiding by the rule. The restatement of the treaty's sanctions

and purpose in lines 24b-26 may have been interpolated, since, in addition to its alternative formulation, it appears to be out of place once the delineation of provisions had begun.

In any event, Akkadian *paršu* 'rule' is appropriate for characterizing eternal, immutable regulations. It is often used to designate the fixed regimen of cultic rituals celebrated in Syro-Mesopotamian temples, believed to have been ordained by the gods themselves at the beginning of time, and whose performance is binding in perpetuity.¹¹² Similarly, peace between Egypt and Hatti represents a perpetual *paršu*. The difference between *ṭēmu* and *paršu* is that the former embodies reason and judgment, and bears its own, intrinsic justification, whereas the latter is authoritarian at its base.

The extensive Ramesside correspondence contains many references to the accord between Egypt and Hatti, speaking most often of the ordained *ṭēmu* as the concept embodied in the treaty. The correspondence also refers specifically to the silver tablets on which the treaty had been inscribed and to the treaty as a document. The concept of *ṭēmu* achieves the status of a veritable sanction in the Ramesside correspondence.

The specific formulas of the treaty are often paraphrased, but once the treaty is actually quoted, albeit with some variance. This occurs in a letter from Ramesses II to Hattušili III, which was sent soon after he had received the silver tablet from Hatti. Ramesses enumerates the lavish gifts he is heaping on Hattušili, in celebration of the enactment of the treaty between them. As adeptly restored by Edel, the text reads:¹¹³

(9) [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma ù ša ŠE]Š-ia iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši (10)
[um-ma-a DINGIR-lì ul i-na-an-din a-na] e-pé-ši LU.KUR a-na KUR-ti
ša-ni-ti (11) [a-na ša-ti ŠEŠ-ia kan-na iš-pu-]ra a-na ia-ši ^dUTU ù
^dIŠKUR (12) [i-na-an di₁₂-na gab-bi ṭe₄-mi SIG₅-] qi
šu-nu in-na-an-di₁₂-na (13) [a-na e-pé-ši gab-bi ṭe₄-mi ša it-ti]i-ka ḥa-
aš-ḥa-ku (14) [ù a-mur SIG₅-qu dan-niš ṭup-pu š]a KÙ.BABBAR ša ŠEŠ-
ia iš-pu-ra (15) [a-na ia-ši a-na na-da-ni ŠEŠ-ti GAL-ti]i sa-lam-ma ra-
ba-a

112. See *AHW*, p. 835, s.v. 'paršu', especially meaning B.

113. See Edel, *ÄHKB*, I, pp. 20-21, no.3 (*KUB* III, pp. 52), lines 9-15; II, p. 38.

Translation:

So [speak] to my brother: '[Concerning that] which my brother has written to me, as follows: "The god has disallowed the commission of hostility toward the other land in the future." So, precisely, did my brother write to me. [Now], may *UTU* and *IŠKUR* grant all of the worthy accords; may they grant the implementation of all the accords of which I am desirous with you. Behold, how exceedingly worthy is the tablet of silver which my brother sent to me, in order to establish a great brotherhood and a great peace!'

Several observations are in order here. The quotation from the treaty varies a bit from the source, but one can hardly doubt that it was intended as a citation of one of its crucial statements. Furthermore, Edel's restorations are to be accepted as reliable. Ramesses goes on to express the wish that the chief gods, *UTU* and *IŠKUR*, will grant the fulfillment of the *ṭēmu*, in all of its provisions, and goes beyond this primary wish further on in the letter: 'May they (= *UTU* and *IŠKUR*) grant the enhancement (*a-na du-um-mu-qi*) of our worthy brotherhood and our worthy peace, more than the brotherhood and the peace that existed formerly between the Land of Egypt and the Land of Hatti', and so forth.¹¹⁴

It has already been noted that the gods (*DINGER.MEŠ*) of the two lands are often enlisted alongside *UTU* and *IŠKUR*, the chief gods, in requests for divine assistance in achieving the objectives of the *ṭēmu*. In some first-person statements of Ramesses, these deities are referred to as *DINGER.MEŠ-ia* 'my gods', and *DINGER.MEŠ-šu* 'his gods', or *DINGER.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia* 'the gods of my brother', respectively.¹¹⁵ In this and similar ways, the diction of the letters reflects the religious presuppositions of the international relations expressed in the treaty.

Edel, no. 4, was referred to at the beginning of this article for the historical information. It was written by Ramesses II to Hattušili III after he had received the silver tablet from Hattušili, but before he had sent his own silver tablet to Hatti, in response. Appropriately, he commits himself at that juncture to obeying the terms stipulated in the silver tablet. He goes on to speak as follows:

114. See Edel, *ÄHKB*, I, pp. 20-21, no. 3 (*KUB*, III, 52, rev.), lines 6-8.

115. An example is provided in Edel, *ÄHKB* I, pp. 22-23, no. 4, line 13. See also EA 21, lines 31-32: *DINGER.MEŠ-ia u DINGIR.MEŠ ša ŠEŠ-ia li-iš-u-ru-šu-nu* 'May my gods and the gods of my brother protect them'; see Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, I, p. 154 and Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, p. 50.

[ù a-na-ku al-ta-kán] (6) [tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR a-na pa-ni LÚ.MEŠ GAL.ĦI.A ù a-na pa-ni LÚ.MEŠ š[ap-lu-ti ù a-na-ku] (7) [at-ta-din LÚ.MEŠ KUR Mi-iš-ri-i a-na še₂₀-m]e-e gab-bi te₄-ma^{MEŠ} [ša UGU-šu] (8) [ù a-na-ku al-ta-kán tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR]R ša ŠEŠ-ia i-p[u-šu a-na pa-ni ^dUTU ša ^{URU.KI}A-na] (9) [ù a-na-ku al-ta-kán tup-pa ša KÙ.BABBAR] a-na pa-ni DINGER.MEŠ GA[L.MEŠ ša KUR M]i-iš-ri-i

And I have installed the tablet of silver before great people and lowly people, and I have enabled the people of the Land of Egypt to hear all of the accords which are [written] on it. And I have installed the tablet of silver which my brother had made for me before *UTU* of the city of Heliopolis, and I have installed the tablet of silver before the great gods of the Land of Egypt.¹¹⁶

This passage is important for its references to the promulgation of the treaty. The silver tablet was to be displayed before all of the Egyptian people, and before Ramesses' own patron deity, *R^c* of Heliopolis, as well as before all the gods of Egypt. The people were to see the tablet and obey its provisions; the gods, for their part, would stand behind it. The letter continues with Ramesses' bidding to Hattušili to do the same in the Land of Hatti.

The critical verb is Akkadian *šemû* 'to hear', 'be informed', but also 'to comply', 'obey'. It occurs in the phrase: *at-ta-din...a-na še₂₀- me-e*, which may be translated in at least two ways: 'I enabled...to hear', or 'I caused to heed'. It is uncertain whether the Pharaoh's commitment included reading the treaty aloud before the people, though this is possible.

c. Epilogue

After a long period of strife, Egypt and Hatti, the major contemporary world powers of the thirteenth century BCE, negotiated a treaty between them. The text of the treaty is replete with expressions of brotherhood and peace, while at the same time putting forth a specific doctrine of coexistence which can be defined as parity. It has been possible here to explore some of the religious and legal concepts employed in both the Egyptian and the Akkadian language versions of the treaty to express the doctrine of parity. In addition, Ogden Goelet has elucidated the historical and diplomatic background of the treaty, whereas Baruch

116. See Edcl, *ÄHKB*, I, pp. 22-23, no.4 (*KBo*, XXVIII,1), lines 5-9.

Levine has dwelled on the treaty's reverberations in the Ramesside correspondence.

In the cause of coherence, both treatments focused on two corresponding terms of reference, one religious and the other legal, which together more or less define the status and sanctions of the treaty. There was no attempt to coordinate interpretations, but rather an effort to allow each version to speak in its own terms, and to enable each scholar to arrive at his own conclusions. Nevertheless, there are broad areas of agreement between the two presentations included in this study.

Both scholars stress the likelihood that the Egyptian version of the original Akkadian treaty, itself lost to us, influenced the formulation and diction evident in those Akkadian copies which have survived. To put it another way, Egyptian usage and terminology, even verbal tenses, impacted those scribes in Egypt who composed Ramesses' Akkadian language response to Hattušili's treaty. In turn, this means that Egyptian concepts also found expression in the Akkadian language version. It may be that the Egyptian term *shr* directly conditioned usage of Akkadian *īēmu*, lending to that widespread term the nuanced, unusual connotation 'accord' so basic to the spirit of the treaty document.

In the area of religious concepts, a single reference to 'the god', *p3 ntr* in Egyptian and *DINGIR-li* stimulated considerable discussion by both scholars. It was not possible to arrive at a conclusive determination as to the precise sense of *p3 ntr* or *DINGIR-li*. It was possible, however, to doubt the conclusion that the chief gods of Egypt and Hatti, respectively, and their earthly counterparts, the respective kings of Egypt and Hatti, had, in enacting the treaty, responded to the command of one god who ruled over both nations.

Basic to the ideology of the treaty is the notion of a long-standing divine plan calling for peace between Egypt and Hatti. International peace reigns in heaven; war among the gods is rejected. The chief gods of Egypt and Hatti reached an accord, endorsed by their respective pantheons, and Ramesses and Hattušili have acted in accordance with it. There is mutual recognition between the chief god of Egypt and the chief god of Hatti; they will henceforth work in consort. There is much to suggest that the peace of the gods is an Egyptian legacy, an idea very much in the air during the Amarna age.

On earth, the two lands, Egypt and Hatti, were to become as one land. Earlier, such sentiments had been used in official correspondence to extol royal marriages between the two lands; now, in the Ramesside

correspondence of a cosmopolitan age, the image of two becoming one expressed the policy of peace between the two superpowers, Egypt and Hatti. It would not be long before the notion of a sole god, already known in the cosmic dimension of Egyptian religion, would be transmitted to the political dimension, yielding the concept of one god, ruler of all nations.

THE EGYPTIAN BACKGROUND TO ISAIAH 19.18

Sarah Israelit-Groll

On that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt speaking the language of Canaan and swearing by the Lord of Hosts. One shall be called the City of the Sun (Isa. 19.18).

ביום ההוא יהיו חמש ערים בארץ מצרים מדברות שפת כנען ונשבעות לה'
צבאות עיר ההרם יאמר לאחת

According to Isaiah 19, God will bring upon Egypt civil war, natural and economic catastrophe and overall political chaos. There will be fear in Egypt, fear of the 'Judaic God', that will induce the people of Egypt to begin worshipping that god.

I do not believe that the expression 'the language of Canaan' refers to a recognized Canaanite dialect or Aramaic. Rather, I would suggest that Isaiah envisages a massive absorption of Semitic elements into spoken Egyptian that would distort the language, giving it a Semitic façade.¹ The time was indeed ripe, for it was at this time that Semitic words that had been written for centuries in the syllabic script in order to identify them as foreign were finally 'naturalized' and written according to the orthographic rules for native Egyptian words.²

Isaiah, an educated Judaeen aristocrat, was acquainted with the Egyptian language and culture. This can be seen, for example, in his use of the expression פִּי אֵאוֹר (i.e., *ps-itrw*) 'the Nile' (Isa. 19.7). פִּי אֵאוֹר is usually translated 'the mouth/side/brink of the Nile'. It is well known that אֵאוֹר derives from the Egyptian word *itrw*. In Isaiah's time (the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty) *itrw* signified 'water in general, rivers, arms of

1. Cf. the wholesale introduction of Canaanite words and occasionally even complete sentences in the earlier Anastasi papyri.

2. For example, *šlm* (Pianchi 12), *cry.t* (Pianchi 75). *Trj* (Pianchi 32) is not previously documented, but is clearly of Semitic origin (see J.E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], pp. 368-69).

the Nile'. In order to signify 'the Nile', *itrw* had to be defined with the masculine definite article *p3*, that is, *p3-itrw*. Isaiah, aware of this grammatical rule, adds the Egyptian definite article.³ Another example may be the difficult word כַּפֶּה (Isa. 19.15). This seems to be an abbreviation of the Egyptian *hrd-n-k3p*, the title of commoners adopted by the palace (Moses, for example, would have been a *hrd-n-k3p*).⁴ The title itself had fallen out of use by the time of Isaiah, but his use of the word demonstrates a knowledge of ancient Egyptian social institutions.⁵ Isaiah also knew of the five names of the Pharaoh.⁶ Furthermore, the phrase עִיר הַהָרִים יֹאמֵר לְאַחַת is syntactically Egyptian. In Egyptian, when a person or city receives a second name or nickname X, it is referred to by the phrase X *dd.tw n.f* 'X says one to him'.

Isaiah was not hostile to Egyptian culture. On the contrary, in addition to his acquaintance with the Egyptian language, he seems to have accepted the prevailing Canaanite view that the foundation of religion, thought and craftsmanship originated in Egypt. This view is most clearly seen in the Story of Wenamun. Wenamun lived at the time of the Twenty-First Dynasty (1087–945 BCE). He was sent to bring lumber from the Lebanon. At Byblos he became involved in an argument with the king of Byblos. The king refused to deliver the lumber free of charge, backing up his demand for ample remuneration with the claim that Canaanite civilization was no longer inferior to that of Egypt:

Now Amon created all lands, and it is after he had created the land of Egypt, from which you came, that he created them. But it was that craftsmanship should reach the place where I am that it left there [i.e., Egypt]. And it was that philosophy [*sb3y.t* 'philosophy, religion, humanities'] should reach the place where I am that it left there.⁷

3. As is well known, the masculine definite article *p3* is present in the proper name פִּינְחָס (*p3-nḥsy*: 'the Nubian') and the feminine definite article *t3* in the common noun תַּמְסַח (*t3-msh*: 'crocodile').

4. See S. Groll, 'The Identical Characteristics Existing between the Personality of CPR I3 and the Personalities of Joseph and Moses', in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies. Division A: The Bible and its World* (Jerusalem: World Congress of Jewish Studies, 1994), p. 21.

5. For the institution of the *hrd-n-k3p* see E. Feucht, 'The *HRDW N K3P* Reconsidered', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.) *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1985), pp. 38–47.

6. Isa. 9:5. See A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Munich: Beck, 1953), II, pp. 218–19.

7. A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 1; Brussels:

Isaiah was the logical continuation of the king of Byblos. The five cities apparently represent the major 'theologies' of Egypt.⁸ The 'semitization' of these cities implies a re-fusion of Israelite and Egyptian cultures; the cultural legacy which had originated in Egypt was about to return there.

In such a context, it seems most likely that עיר החרס is a reference to El-Amarna, the home of Egyptian monotheism which exercised so great an influence on the formation of Israelite monotheism (or vice versa). I thus follow a number of commentators who accept the reading עיר החרס 'the city of the sun' of a few Hebrew manuscripts, although I do not accept the prevailing opinion that it is a reference to Heliopolis (biblical On).⁹ The reading of the majority of the Hebrew manuscripts, עיר ההרס 'the City of Destruction', however, is not surprising; it would seem that Isaiah deliberately choose the rare vocable חרס 'sun' instead of the common synonym שמש precisely because of its phonetic similarity to the word הרס 'destruction'. Here we find profound sarcasm vis-à-vis the materialistic values which were so despised by Isaiah. The city was thought to have been destroyed because it was physically in ruins, yet Isaiah singles it out because he sees that the spiritual power and influence of El-Amarna as the source of Egyptian, and ultimately Israelite, monotheism had survived.¹⁰

Fondation Egyptologique reine Elisabeth, 1932), 68.16–69.4. Similarly, one of the homes of Kothar-and-Ḥasis, the Ugaritic god of crafts and magic, was *ḥkpt* 'Memphis' (<*ḥw.t-k3-ptḥ*). See J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2nd edn, 1977), pp. 55, 107.

8. Each important and ancient Egyptian city had its own 'theology'. See J. Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London: Hutchinson, 1952 [repr. 1957]), pp. 42–45. The number five is probably symbolic.

9. See, for example, H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27* (BKAT, 10.2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), p. 736; J. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* (WBC, 24; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985), p. 257; *Tanakh: A New Translation of The Holy Scriptures according to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia and Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1985), p. 656 n. h. For the documentation of the Hebrew manuscripts and the versions as well as various modern interpretations of the expression see Wildberger, *Jesaja*, pp. 728–29.

10. Akhenaton's successors indeed abandoned his religious center and he was certainly hated in certain circles (in the inscription of Mes [line S 14] he is referred to as *p3-ḥrw n 3ḥ.t-itn* 'the enemy from El-Amarna'), but I do not believe that they succeeded in completely extinguishing all memory of him and of his religious theories from the Egyptian consciousness. From the Nineteenth to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, that is, to the time of Isaiah, one finds numerous references to *p3-itn* 'the

Isa. 19.18 should therefore not be treated as a late addition;¹¹ rather, one should attempt to comprehend the prophet's deep sensitivity to and subtle conception of the international affairs of his time.

deity Aton', as opposed to \emptyset -*itn*, 'the solar disk'. In particular, *p3-itn* is often associated with the rising sun. The proper name *Loukianos Naphenaton* (M. Chaîne, *Le manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des 'Apophtegmata Patrum'* [Cairo: L'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1960], no. 36), which may be analyzed as Loukianos of *ahe(3h.t)-n-p(p3)-aton(itn)* 'the Horizon of Aton' with metathesis of the *p*, suggests that memory of the site of Akhenaton's religious center may have survived even into Coptic times. For recent studies on Akhenaton and his religious reform, see J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* (Yale Egyptological Studies, 2; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); *idem*, 'The Natural Philosophy of Akhenaten', in W. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (Yale Egyptological Studies, 3; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 89-102; J. Assmann, 'Die "Häresie" des Echnaton von Amarna: Aspekte der Amarna-Religion', *Saeculum* 23 (1972), pp. 109-26; *idem*, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism* (trans. A. Alcock; Studies in Egyptology; London and New York: 1995), p. 158; H. Brunner, 'Echnaton und sein Versuch einer religiösen Reform', *Universitas* 17 (1962), pp. 149-62; G. Fecht, 'Zur Frühform der Amarna-Theologie: Neubearbeitung der Stele der Architekten Suti und Hor', *ZÄS* 94 (1967), pp. 25-50; E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen: Ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971); O. Keel (ed.), *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt* (BBB, 14; Fribourg: Kegan Paul International, 1980); D. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

11. Cf. for example, Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p. 729 'Es ist in der neuern Forschung beinahe ausnahmslos anerkannt... dass es sich in 16-25 um Zusätze handelt, die gegenüber 1-15 sekundär sind'.

ONCE AGAIN THE 'PLUMB LINE' VISION OF AMOS 7.7-9:
AN INTERPRETIVE CLUE FROM EGYPT?*

James K. Hoffmeier

Professor Cyrus Gordon has long been a champion of the comparative method, that is, using various ancient Near Eastern materials to assist in interpreting the Hebrew Bible. The visions of Amos 7–9, along with the heated discussion between Amaziah the priest of Bethel and the Judae-an prophet, have been the subject of an incredible amount of scholarly investigation over the past several decades. I have no desire to add to the mountain of secondary material by simply rehashing old discussions. However, I would like to probe one aspect of the so-called 'plumb line' vision (7.7-9) in the light of an Egyptian literary and iconographic motif that has heretofore not been considered. This study is offered as a tribute to one who has demonstrated on many occasions the importance of Egyptian materials in the study of Hebrew literature. Before delving into this particular vision, it is necessary to review *some* of the plethora of studies that have examined the five visions for their purpose, interrelationships, and how they have treated the 'plumb line' vision.

Concerning the purpose of the five visions, scholarly opinion is divided. Some postulate that at least the first four visions accompanied the call of Amos to be a prophet and were personally experienced.¹

* This paper is an expanded and updated version of the one presented under the title of 'Amos 7–9: A Literary Unit?', at the Society of Biblical Literature Mid-West Regional Meeting, held at Northwestern University (March 11, 1985). The original version was a collaboration with Mr Daniel Schmidt. The ideas he contributed to the initial paper were subsequently published by Schmidt as 'Another Word-Play in Amos?', *GTJ* 8.1 (1987), pp. 141-42.

After this manuscript had been submitted, I became aware of M. Weigl's 'Eine "unendliche Geschichte": 𐤀𐤍𐤓 (Am 7,7-8)', *Bib* 76 (1995), pp. 343-87. Consequently, my contribution was not able to take into account this very thorough study.

1. G. von Rad, *The Message of the Prophets* (New York: Harper & Row,

Others, like Hans Walther Wolff, consider the first and second visions to be preparatory to Amos's larger mission.² None of the visions is taken to be part of Amos's actual preaching by any sources known to me. Rather, they are thought to serve as a means of convincing the prophet of Tekoa to go to Bethel because of the urgency of the situation by illustrating graphically the imminence of her destruction.³ But this suggestion seems problematic in that one might expect to find the visions placed before Amos preached at Bethel, and the placement of Amaziah's speech between the third and fourth visions would make little sense if this scenario were correct.

Explanations also vary considerably for how the visions relate to each other. The first two appear to be identical on form-critical grounds: Yahweh shows the prophet things which have a devastating effect on both land and sea (locusts in 7.1 and fire in 7.4), and each is followed by Amos's intercession (for example, 'O Lord God, forgive, I beseech thee! How can Jacob stand? He is so small!') and God's response ('It shall not be'). Most scholars agree that these two visions belong together,⁴ as do the third and fourth, constituting complimentary pairs.⁵ Some would add the third vision to this group,⁶ but this requires accounting for the missing intercessory words. The vision of the 'plumb line' showed that God had tested Israel and found it wanting,⁷ a position which this paper is intended to support. Kurt Koch prefers to see a

1967), pp. 101-102; K. Koch, *The Prophets: The Assyrian Period I* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), p. 39; T.W. Overhold, 'Commanding the Prophets: Amos and the Problem of Prophetic Authority', *CBQ* 41 (1979), p. 10.

2. Joel & Amos (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), p. 296; Koch, *The Prophets*, p. 41.

3. Wolff, *Joel & Amos*, p. 296.

4. H. McKeating, *Amos, Hosea, Micah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 52; Koch, *The Prophets*, p. 102; B. Thorogood, *A Guide to the Book of Amos* (London: SPCK, 1971), p. 10.

5. S. Paul, *A Commentary on the Book of Amos* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), pp. 223-24; F.I. Andersen and D.N. Freedman, *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1989), pp. 611-12.

6. Von Rad, *Message of the Prophets*, p. 102; J. Watts, *Studying the Book of Amos* (Nashville: Broadman, 1966), pp. 14-15; J. Motyer, *The Day of the Lion: The Message of Amos* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 1973), pp. 160-61; H.W. Wolff, *Confrontations with Prophets* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), p. 14.

7. Von Rad, *Message of the Prophets*, p. 102; McKeating, *Amos*, pp. 160-61; Wolff, *Confrontations*, p. 14.

break after the second vision, thus forming a second group consisting of the third through fifth visions. For him, this second group constitutes an 'unconditional prophecy of doom'.⁸

Discussions of these chapters tend to emphasize the autobiographical account of the confrontation between Amos and Amaziah, the priest at Bethel (7.10-17). Here, critical attention is focused primarily on v. 14 ('I am no prophet, nor a prophet's son'). This claim has prompted extensive remarks from biblical scholars about the nature and development of Israelite prophetism.⁹ Koch is one of the few who prefer to downplay the significance of this verse for the overall matter of prophecy.¹⁰ I concur with Koch, and further agree with Ward, that a perceived transition from 'primitive prophecy' to 'classical prophecy' is more the concern of the modern critic than of the writer of this book. Ward concludes:

To obtain answers one must pile inference upon inference, forcing possible nuances to do service as positive assertions, namely that the 'seer' was a scornful epithet used to imply the invalidity of Amos' office.¹¹

The aim of the present paper is to reaffirm the widely held view that the five visions represent a literary unity and to reconsider the 'plumb line' vision and its role in the sequence. My starting point for doing so lies in my understanding of the relationship between the 'plumb line' vision and the section in which Amaziah confronts Amos. Rather than viewing this narrative as something intrusive to the sequence of visions, as Peter Ackroyd¹² has claimed, or as 'an insertion' as David Noel Freedman and Francis Andersen have suggested, or as a 'biographic

8. Koch, *The Prophets*, p. 42.

9. Cf. all the commentaries listed in notes throughout this study, and see J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), pp. 182-85; J. Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), pp. 53-118; and just recently Å. Viberg, 'Amos 7.14: A Case of Subtle Irony', *TynBul* 47.1 (1996), pp. 91-114 for a thorough review of the recent literature and differing interpretations.

10. Koch, *The Prophets*, p. 37.

11. J.M. Ward, *Amos & Isaiah: Prophets of the Word of God* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1969), p. 32.

12. P. Ackroyd, 'A Judgment Narrative Between Kings and Chronicles? An Approach to Amos 7.9-17', in G.W. Coats and B.O. Long (eds.), *Canon and Authority* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), p. 71.

interlude', as Bruce Vawter and others have thought,¹³ I prefer to see the pericope as integral to the message of Amos 7-9, a vehicle to bring unity to the five visions, and the key to understanding their interrelationships.

The unity of this passage, Robert Coote posited, was a result of the tripartite redactional history of the book.¹⁴ He places the visions of chs. 7-9 in his 'B' group, a portion committed to writing sometime in the seventh-sixth century BC by Deuteronomistic editors. More recently, Hugh Williamson has similarly argued that a Deuteronomistic redaction is behind the alignment of the visions and the Amos-Amaziah confrontation.¹⁵ While this analysis has wide support in certain circles, it is highly speculative and, therefore, not particularly convincing.

A more interesting accounting for the sequence is that the visions are arranged in what Coote calls a 'seasonal sequence from vision to vision' that is paralleled by a 'spatial sequence' as God moves closer and closer to Bethel.¹⁶ This quite naturally leads to the fourth vision, the basket of summer fruit (*qāyis*), which itself pictures the end of the agricultural year, and symbolically, the end (*qēš*) for Israel.

I too believe that there is a literary and theological unity to the five visions along with the biographical narrative, but not owing to a protracted redactional process. Instead, it will be suggested below that the five visions may actually represent the prophet's preaching and a genuine attempt by Amaziah to stifle the prophet's denunciation of Israel. In order to support this contention, the relationship between the biographical narrative (7.10-17) and the third vision must be explored, and before exploring this relationship, a survey of previous chapters is imperative.

The book opens with a scathing judgment of the nations. In the second chapter, Amos turns his attention toward the Northern Kingdom,

13. B. Vawter, *Amos, Hosea, Micah, with an Introduction to Classical Prophecy* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1981), pp. 89-95; Motyer, *Message of Amos*, p. 169; McKeating, *Amos, Hosea, Micah*, pp. 55-56; Wolff, *Amos & Joel*, p. 296.

14. R.B. Coote, *Amos among the Prophets: Composition and Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), pp. 89-95.

15. H. Williamson, 'The Prophet and the Plumb-line: A Redaction-Critical Study of Amos vii', *OTS* 26 (1990), pp. 113-15.

16. Williamson, 'Prophet and the Plumb-line', p. 89. For the idea of a seasonal sequence as the background to the five visions, see also S. Talmon, 'The Gezer Calendar and the Seasonal Cycle of Ancient Canaan', *JAOS* 83 (1963), pp. 3-17.

castigating it for its attitude toward God: the people refuse to acknowledge him by obedience to the Law.¹⁷ Examples of their resistance to God are documented thoroughly, for example, prophets are silenced or ignored while Nazirites are forced to violate their vows (2.12), the poor are oppressed (5.12), worship of pagan gods abounds (5.26) and a penchant for partying and heavy drinking prevails (4.1; 6.4-6). These practices are quite the opposite of God's expectations.

Because of these conditions, judgment is anticipated in a general way in the opening chapters. Gradually this picture changes so that the visions of chs. 7-9 yield vivid images of Israel's end. The first two visions, 7.1 and 7.4, contain the destructive images of locusts and fire, but they are averted, thanks to the prophet's intercession. In the final vision, a devastating earthquake (9.1-3) shakes and destroys Bethel, while the third acts as a transition where coming events are anticipated through the actions of the representative figures of Amos and Amaziah. The 'plumb line' vision, then, is the key to understanding the development of the sequence of the visions.

Critical to the understanding of the sequence of the five is the meaning of the third vision. The understanding of *'nāḱ*, however, is disputed which has complicated matters. The traditional meaning 'lead',¹⁸ which was the basis for understanding a 'plumb line', was questioned by Benno Landsberger over thirty years ago.¹⁹ He noted that the Akkadian word *annāku*, cognate with the Hebrew term *'nāḱ* actually means 'tin', not 'lead'. Therefore, he reasoned, a plumb line could not have been intended in Amos's third vision. Because of its softness, he thought that tin might signify Israel's weakness and perishability.²⁰ Another problem for the traditional translation of *'nāḱ* is that the Hebrew word for 'lead' is known, namely *'operet* (Exod. 15.10; Num. 31.22; Jer. 6.29), and a Hebrew word for tin also exists, namely *b'dil* (Num. 31.22; Ezek. 22.18, 20). This latter realization raises questions for Landsberger's

17. Some call attention to Israel's avoidance of social responsibility, for example, Motyer, *Message of Amos*, pp. 180-81; Wolff, *Confrontations*, pp. 11, 19; J.L. Mayes, *Amos* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), pp. 45-46. But this problem is merely symptomatic of the larger problem of infidelity to God and his covenant demands.

18. BDB, p. 59; KB, p. 69 offers both tin and lead as meanings!

19. 'Tin and Lead: The Adventures of Two Vocables', *JNES* 24 (1965), pp. 285-97.

20. Landsberger, 'Tin and Lead', p. 287.

interpretation. Despite the fact that Hebrew words for 'tin' and 'lead' are known, the majority of biblical scholars writing since Landsberger's study was published agree that *'nāḱ* is cognate with Akkadian *annāku* meaning tin, and it has altered their interpretation of this vision.²¹ There is, however, no concurrence among Amos scholars for *why* the text opted for a foreign (obscure?) word over against the more recognizable Hebrew equivalent, *'operet*. Indeed, those advocating 'tin' for the meaning of Hebrew *'nāḱ* can neither explain why the Akkadian cognate is used nor have they offered a compelling interpretation for the vision if 'tin' is intended. The suggestion that a tin wall, like the bronze wall of Jer. 15.20, is meant to signify protection seems problematic in view of the fact that tin, like lead, is extremely soft and that only when mixed with copper or another metal can hardness be obtained. James Muhly, an Assyriologist who has specialized in ancient metallurgy, believes that 'tin' is the proper translation of *'nāḱ* but admits, 'I have not the faintest understanding of the sense of the passage'.²²

The ongoing interpretive problems of *'nāḱ* meaning 'tin' in Amos 7.7-8 have recently led Hugh Williamson to reopen the debate of this elusive word and to argue for a return to the traditional interpretation.²³ He offers a good defense of the meaning 'plummet', observing that even if *'nāḱ* is cognate with *annāku* the meaning 'plumb line' cannot be ruled out.²⁴ Perhaps plumb bobs in ancient Israel were made of tin. In fact, the reference to Zerubbabel, in the architectural setting of rebuilding the temple, has *hā'ēben habbdīl* (lit. stone of tin) a 'plummet in his hand' (Zech. 4.10). Based upon how *'nāḱ* is treated as a plumb line in the Targums, the LXX and the Vulgate, Williamson claims:

21. G. Brunet, 'La Vision de l'étain', *VT* 16 (1966), pp. 387-95; W. Holladay, 'Once More, *'nak* = "Tin", Amos 7.7-8', *VT* 20 (1970), pp. 492-94; J. Ouellette, 'Le mur d'étain dans Amos, VII, 7-9', *RB* 80 (1973), pp. 321-31; W. Beyerlin, *Bleilot, Brecheisen oder was sonst? Revision einer Amos-Vision* (OBO, 81; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1988).

22. These words are from a letter written to me dated November 20, 1985. I appreciate Professor Muhly's discussions with me on this problem. See his *Copper and Tin* (Hamden, CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1973), and 'Sources of Tin and the Beginnings of Bronze Metallurgy', *AJA* (1985), pp. 275-91.

23. 'Prophet and the Plumb-line', pp. 105-12.

24. 'Prophet and the Plumb-line', pp. 107-108, 111.

This seems sufficient to establish that a number of writers in antiquity saw no problem in using tin as a part of a plumb-line—and if they did not, presumably Amos need not have either.²⁵

Thus he believes that a plumb line is the device in the Lord's hand in the vision. Furthermore, he shows that the expression *hōmat 'nāk* need not be emended to obtain the meaning 'a wall built with a plumb-line',²⁶ as some contend.²⁷ Finally for Williamson, he suggests that what is implied by the vision is that the wall had been constructed with a plumb line, but was now out of line as God's measuring activity was meant to convey. I agree with Williamson's position, and would like to offer some supporting evidence.

Little is known about the plumb lines and the material from which they were made in the ancient Near East. In fact, I am not aware of a clearly identifiable, surviving plumb bob from ancient Israel. But Egypt, Israel's neighbor to the south, offers some instructive evidence. Perhaps the earliest use of the plummet was as a tool for surveying and building that I.E.S. Edwards traces back to the Old Kingdom (c. 2700–2200 BC).²⁸ Similar architectural tools from the New Kingdom have also been discovered. Those from the Theban tomb of Senedjem from the early Nineteenth Dynasty (1300–1280 BC) have limestone bobs.²⁹ The word for plummet in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom onwards is *th*.³⁰ A number of different determinatives are used for its writing, some of which look identical to the shape of plumb bobs used by present-day masons.³¹

In addition to the architectural use of the plumb line, they were also attached to the balance beam of scales in order to facilitate accurate readings. This practice can be documented as early as the Old Kingdom. In the tomb of Mereruka (c. 2350 BC) at Sakkara, a relief shows a

25. 'Prophet and the Plumb-line', pp. 112.

26. 'Prophet and the Plumb-line', p. 112.

27. For example, Holladay, 'Once More', pp. 492–94.

28. *The Pyramids of Egypt* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1961), pp. 257–58.

29. R. Freed, *Ramesses the Great: An Exhibition in the City of Memphis* (Memphis, TN, 1987), p. 166. My thanks to John Larson of the Oriental Institute for drawing these objects to my attention. He also believes that other plummets he has seen in other collections were made of stone, but he could not recall the exact type.

30. A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, V (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1931), p. 323.

31. *Loc. cit.*

man holding scales weighing turquoise, while a scribe stands on the right and records the reading.³² At the lower end of the vertical bar, which holds the horizontal arm, a plummet is clearly visible (Figure 1). In tomb 2 at Beni Hasan, from the reign of Senusert I (1943–1898 BC), men weigh objects on a standing scale that also has a plumb line attached to it (Figure 2).³³ Similarly, gold is shown being weighed on tall, standing scales in the famous Punt relief from Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri.³⁴ In this instance, a pointer rather than a plumb bob is used as the balance indicator. However, in a colorful painting from the late Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181) gold rings are being weighed on a scale in which a plummet is employed (Figure 3). An artisan is shown steadying the bob which appears to be made of a dark substance. There is also evidence for the use of the plummet in vignettes from the Book of the Dead chapter 125 that span from the New Kingdom through the Greco-Roman period. These contain the well-known judgment scene in which the heart of the deceased is weighed against the standard of *ms't* (truth, justice). On many of these scenes, the plummet is visible, often in the steadying hand of Anubis, while Thoth takes the reading.³⁵ In the famous Ani Papyrus, the plummet is also executed with a dark colored paint in the polychrome heart weighing scene (Figure 4).

This brief survey of Egyptian sources demonstrates that plumb bobs were widely used in Egypt for architectural purposes and in connection with scales. The limited number of extant plumb bobs known to me are made of limestone, and are light in color. However, in the Book of the Dead vignettes, and the example in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky, the bobs are clearly painted in a blue-black hue, which might represent a dark stone like basalt or a galena-lead.³⁶ Lead was mined in Egypt throughout Pharaonic history, and many lead objects have survived. Among them are weights on fishing nets, jewelry, beads and various

32. The Epigraphic Survey, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), plates 29 & 30.

33. P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan 1* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893), plate XI.

34. E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahri*, III (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898), Plate LXXXI.

35. See R.O. Faulkner, *Book of the Dead* (London: The British Museum, 1985), p. 14 (papyrus of Ani), 34–35 (papyrus of Huenefer)

36. A good example is that of Ani; Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, p. 14.



Figure 1. *Relief from the town of Mereruka at Sakkara*

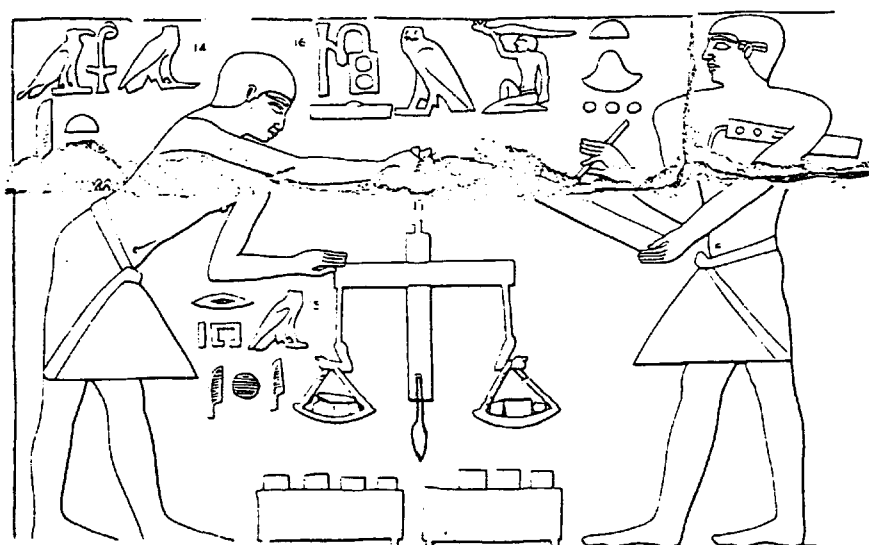


Figure 2. *Relief from tomb 2 at Beni Hasan*



Figure 3. *From the Tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky in Western Thebes, Tomb 181. Reproduced with the permission of the British Museum.*

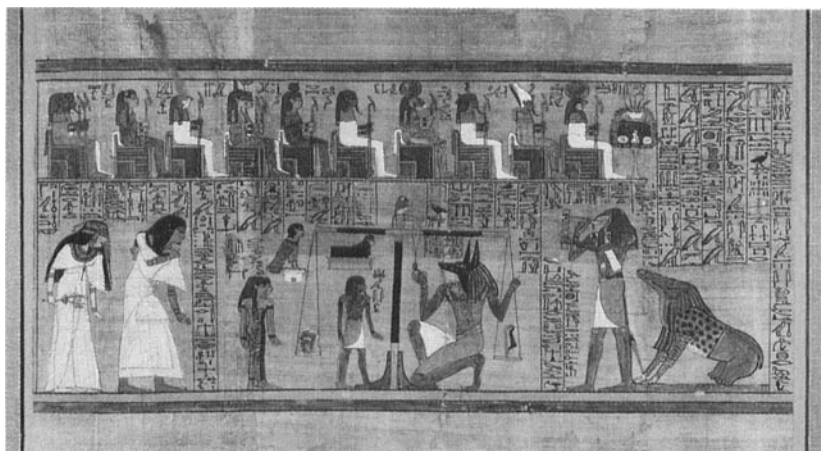


Figure 4. *From the Book of the Dead of Ani. Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

domestic utensils (often miniatures or models).³⁷ Of particular interest are hollow cast bronze weights filled with lead.³⁸ These objects illustrate that lead was associated with at least one aspect of weighing.

The Egyptian term for lead appears to be *dhṭy*, which is found in texts as early as the Annals of Thutmose III as bars or bricks (*dhṭt*) among the tribute from campaigns in western Asia.³⁹ In Late Egyptian, the spelling shifts to *dhṭy*.⁴⁰ It has been posited that the word for tin was *dhṭy ḥd*,⁴¹ literally white or silver lead. If this is the correct meaning of *dhṭy ḥd*, a rather interesting parallel exists with the Latin *plumbum album*, 'white lead'.⁴² The Egyptian terminology, and the Latin for that matter, suggests that the two metals were not sharply distinguished and might even have been confused in Egypt, a point conceded by J.R. Harris.⁴³ Furthermore, there is evidence that lead and tin could appear together as an alloy, sometimes with copper.⁴⁴ The metallurgical and linguistic evidence could explain how lead and tin could have been confused or understood interchangeably throughout the Near East, including Israel. Indeed because of this potential confusion, Williamson suggested that the use of *'nāḳ* (Akk. *annaku*) in Amos need not preclude the meaning 'lead'.⁴⁵

As stated above, the Egyptian word for lead is thought to be *dhṭy*, which in Late Egyptian appears as *dhṭy*. Normally in Egyptian words that use the *ḏ* can experience a phonetic shift to *d*; the reverse, however,

37. W.M.F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* (London: British School of Archaeology, 1927), p. 49; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (rev. J.R. Harris; London: Edward Arnold, 4th edn, 1962), pp. 243-44.

38. W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 220, Figure 130.

39. K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie = Urk. IV* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), pp. 686, l. 16, 706, l. 9, 744, l. 14.

40. L.H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, IV (Providence: B.C. Scribe, 1989), p. 165.

41. J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), p. 150. Lesko includes Harris's suggestion with a ? (Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, IV, p. 165). Many years ago, R.A. Caminos was uncertain what the word *dhw/y* meant, calling it an 'unknown metal', noting that was 'carefully distinguished from *dhṭy*' (*Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* [London: Oxford University Press, 1954], p. 218).

42. Muhly, *Copper and Tin*, p. 240.

43. *Lexicographical Studies*, pp. 66-68.

44. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, pp. 216, 254.

45. 'Prophet and the Plumb-line', p. 111.

is quite unusual.⁴⁶ How then is the $d > \underline{d}$ shift explained? Perhaps the reason is not a linguistic one but a symbolic one. If indeed the plumb bobs on scales of the New Kingdom (and subsequent periods) were made of lead ($d\dot{h}ty$), and Thoth ($\underline{d}hwt\dot{y}$) was the deity associated with this device, could it be that the shift to $\underline{d}h\dot{t}y$ might be explained as a word play on $\underline{d}hwt\dot{y}$? Certainly Thoth is identified with the scales of justice and the plummet even before his appearance in the heart-weighing vignettes of the Book of the Dead.

In the literary realm, the plummet is found in association with scales as early as the literature of the First Intermediate Period (c. 2200–2100 BC) where it takes on metaphorical meaning. In the story of the Eloquent Peasant, the robbed peasant appeals his case to the High Steward. In the second petition, he showers praise on the Judge as being the paragon of justice, beseeching him to be like the scales that are objective and accurate:

Plumb-line ($h\dot{z}y$) that carries the weight...
 Beam, tilt not, Plumb-line ($h\dot{z}y$), sway not awry!...
 Is it not wrong, a balance that tilts,
 A plummet (th) that strays.⁴⁷

Later in the third petition, the peasant asks a number of rhetorical questions in order to make his case that the Judge should be like the objective scales and Thoth, adjudicating impartially and justly:

Does the hand-balance deflect?
 Does the stand-balance tilt?
 Does Thoth show favor
 So that you may do wrong?
 Be the equal of these three.⁴⁸

Similarly, a Twelfth Dynasty official named Sehetepibre is lauded for his upright character and penchant for justice:

straight forward like Thoth⁴⁹...

46. While in the Annals there are three occurrences of the spelling d , there is one with \underline{d} (*Urk.* IV, 718.5) whereas in post-Eighteenth Dynasty writings, \underline{d} is consistently used (Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, IV, p. 165).

47. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), I, p. 173.

48. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, pp. 175–76.

49. In the Book of the Dead scenes discussed below, it is Thoth, god of wisdom and writing, who reads the scale by looking at the plummet to determine the guilt or

more precious than a plummet (*th*),
 one who is precise like a scale (*mḥst*).⁵⁰

Clearly from these texts, the plumb line is already associated with justice and the god Thoth before the funerary tradition of chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead from the New Kingdom through late periods. And, more importantly for the present study, this deity reads the plummet and weighs the acts of the deceased to determine guilt or innocence.

A similar connection between balance and plummet and justice is found in Isa. 28.17a: 'I will make justice the line (*qāw*), and righteousness the plummet (*mišqāleṭ*).' In an oracle of judgment upon Jerusalem because of the sins of Manasseh, the Lord announces, 'I will stretch over Jerusalem the measuring line (*qāw*) of Samaria, and the plummet (*mišqaleṭ*) of the house of Ahab' (2 Kgs 21.13).⁵¹ In both of these texts the word for plummet derives from the word *šeqel*, the weight, and is understood to be a measuring instrument.⁵² In another passage from Isaiah (34.11b) the same image is used to describe the doom of Edom, but the word '*eben*, stone, is found: 'He shall stretch the line (*qāw*) of confusion over it, and the plummet of chaos over its nobles.' Commenting on these implements in the Kings text, Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor observe that 'the measuring line and plummet are ordinary tools of construction, but when employed by YHWH, as in the present case, they aid in destruction'.⁵³ The idea behind the 2 Kings text and the two Isaiah passages, I believe, is precisely what is intended in the third vision of Amos.

The biblical and Egyptian data regarding the use of the plummet reviewed here demonstrates that in both countries, the plumb line was used for architectural purposes, and in Egypt it was connected with weighing scales. Because of its association with weighing, the plummet became associated with justice. This very same symbolic value of the scales (and plummet?) is found in the Bible. The fate of Babylon under King Belshazzar in Dan. 5.27 is described as follows: 'you had been

innocence of the party being judged on the Scale of Truth.

50. Translation my own, based on the text in K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch in akademischen Unterricht* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1928), p. 69.

51. The point here is that the same judgment experienced by Samaria, the northern kingdom, would visit Jerusalem.

52. KB, p. 581.

53. *II Kings* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988), p. 269.

weighed in the balances and found wanting'.⁵⁴

The Amos text seems to bring together both these ideas, testing/ weighing and judgment. But the question remains, why was the word *'anāk* used instead of one of the other words for plummet? Given the prophet's penchant for word-plays, as in 8.1-2, could the use of *'anāk* be intended to play on the word *'anoki*, that is, the prophet himself? Coote recognized this possibility some years ago. He declared, 'Whatever an *'anāk* is, the wordplay created probably means... "I am about to set myself (*anoki*) in the midst of my people"'.⁵⁵ The word *'anāk* would best lend itself to the pun, whereas the other possible terms, *hā'eḥen habbdīl*, *eḥen*, and *mišqāleṭ* would not have had the same literary impact.

The prophet's interest in Torah-based justice is symbolized by the plummet, which in turn comes to represent the prophet himself. Thus, it is suggested here that the plumb line is parabolic of Amos's prophetic ministry. As one responsible for uttering the divine oracle, Amos's message became the standard by which the people were measured, weighed in God's balances.

While fulfilling this role, Amos encounters one who represents the recalcitrant people, Amaziah, the priest of Bethel. Wolff suggests that Amos means the reader to understand Amaziah as 'the prototype of Amos hearers'.⁵⁶ This idea is supported by Daniel Schmidt's proposal that *'amš*, in the name Amaziah, plays on the use of the same term in 2.14 and 16 that is applied to the people 'who are powerful by human standards but whose power is futile in the face of the harsh judgment of 2:14-16'.⁵⁷ In challenging the message of Amos, Amaziah resembles other, similar figures and represents the defiant spirit so prevalent among the Israelites.

An interesting parallel to the Amaziah-Amos event is found in Jeremiah 20, where the prophet is barred from preaching at the temple in Jerusalem by Pashhur, who has Jeremiah incarcerated. Pashhur is a priest (*kōhēn*) and 'chief overseer' (*pāqid nāgîd*)⁵⁸ and is apparently

54. Other references suggest the connection between justice and scales, for example, Prov. 16.11; 20.23; Mic. 6.11.

55. *Amos among the Prophets*, p. 92.

56. *Confrontations with Prophets*, p. 12.

57. 'Another Word-Play in Amos?', p. 141.

58. So rendered by many recent commentators; J. Bright, *Jeremiah* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), p. 132; J. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah* (Grand

responsible for the security of the temple. One can only wonder if Amaziah, who is referred to as *kōhēn*, held a similar office at Bethel.

Jeremiah first denounces Pashhur's obstructionist behavior (20.4) and announces the priest's exile. Then the prophet expands the judgment to include Judah's exile (20.4c-5). In the case of both priests, their harassment of God's prophet sealed their own fate along with that of their respective nations. Like Pashhur, Amaziah's doom and exile is also declared by the prophet (7.16-17). Interestingly, Pashhur reacted to a message that involved a public parabolic act (breaking the flask) that symbolized the destruction of Jerusalem. Similarly, Amaziah challenged Amos after the disclosure of the 'plumb line' vision, which was perhaps acted out in Bethel, to signal that the Northern Kingdom had not met God's standard. While Amos interceded on behalf of Israel after witnessing the first two visions, he could no longer do so after disclosing the third vision which Amaziah repudiated. This rejection naturally leads to the fourth vision, the basket of summer fruit (*qāyīṣ*) which heralded the 'end' (*qēṣ*) which is vividly portrayed in the final vision, the earthquake symbolizing the coming destruction of Israel.

The role of the biographical unit, it might be suggested, serves as a unifying device for the five visions. The pattern, then, is two visions of warning, followed by intercession; a test (the plumb line), followed by Amaziah's rejection of that assessment (the biographical segment). As a consequence, the end of Israel is signaled in the fourth vision and realized in the final vision.

As stated above, these visions are not considered to be a part of the prophet's public preaching expositors of Amos. Perhaps this conclusion ought to be reconsidered. Could it be that the visions were publicly recounted at Bethel and the plumb line vision was dramatically presented as a parabolic act (like Jeremiah's breaking the juglet)? The vividness of the act and the obvious implications might have prompted Amaziah to try to muzzle Amos and expel him from Bethel, just as Pashhur tried to silence Jeremiah by imprisoning him. But, ironically, it was Amaziah (and Israel) who would be sent away in shame, just like Pashhur (and Judah) in Jeremiah's day.

While this suggestion for how the visions might be related to Amos's mission to Bethel is hypothetical, I believe the Egyptian evidence presented here does add weight to Williamson's reaffirmation that behind

the enigmatic *'anāk* is a plumb line that was testing Israel's conduct against the Torah, just as in Egypt a person's deeds and actions (symbolized by the heart) were weighed against the standard of *mꜣt*. Should the individual fail the test, they would be devoured by the monster Aamet, the swallower, and experience the 'second death'. When Israel (that is, the wall) was measured, it was found wanting, and it was ultimately expelled from the land of promise to experience another kind of death. In his condemnation of Amaziah for rejecting the warnings and the test, Amos declares, 'you yourself shall die in an unclean land, and Israel shall surely go into exile away from its land' (Amos 7.17c-d). Hosea, Amos's contemporary, also likens Israel's exile to a national death, 'Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from Death? O death, where are your plagues, O Sheol, where is your destruction?' (Hos. 13.14). He also uses the image of swallowing to describe Israel's fate: 'Israel is swallowed up; already they are among the nations as a useless vessel' (Hos. 8.8). Jeremiah expands on Hosea's motif by introducing a monster when depicting what happened to Judah in Babylon: 'Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon has devoured me, he has crushed me; he has made me an empty vessel, he has swallowed me like a monster' (Jer. 51.34). One can only wonder if this image of a monster swallowing up Israel is connected to the same familiar heart-weighing motif from the Book of the Dead. However, pursuing this question will have to be the subject of another study, perhaps when Professor Gordon attains 110 years, the ideal age of an Egyptian sage!

ANCIENT ISRAEL AS THE LAND OF EXILE
AND THE 'OTHERWORLD' IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN
FOLKTALES AND NARRATIVES

Susan Tower Hollis

It is a pleasure to present this article to Professor Cyrus H. Gordon in honor of his eighty-eighth birthday. Although never a classroom teacher of mine, various of his writings influenced me as I was considering entering graduate study in ancient eastern Mediterranean cultures. I therefore hope he will take pleasure in this offering which crosses the boundaries of Egypt and Israel as well as making use of tools developed in the wholly different field of folktale analysis.

Questions about folktales have exercised scholars since the early nineteenth century of our era, triggered particularly by the various editions of German folktales under the title of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* published by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm beginning in 1812.¹ During the intervening years, many different ideas about how to study these narratives, indeed even the very definition of *Märchen*, have been put forth, each with its own validity, but, with few exceptions, significant study of the possibility of folklore and folktales in the area of ancient Egyptian and biblical studies has been neglected, in the latter, even openly avoided.² Recent years, however, have seen this state of affairs change as a result of the availability of new resources for the study of folktale. These included the appearance in late 1958 of the first English translation of Vladimir Propp's *The Morphology of the Folktale*,³ and of Stith Thompson's motif index completed in the same year, followed in 1964 by his typology of folktales, a translation and

1. A good up-to-date study of the Grimm brothers and their work in light of contemporary theory may be found in Zipes 1988.

2. For a brief discussion of the problems, see Niditch 1993: 1-2.

3. A second edition appeared in 1968 (Propp 1968), and a good basic discussion of Propp and structural typology may be found in Dundes 1965.

enlargement of Antti Aarne's 1910 work on the topic. Then in 1960 came the publication of Albert Lord's *The Singer of Tales*, as well as a translation of Arnold van Gennep's *The Rites of Passage*, both of which presented scholars with yet some more possibilities for analysis of folk narrative.⁴

While all the noted works play a part in the present paper, van Gennep's tripartite pattern of the life cycle rite of passage, the morphology presented in Propp's work, and my personal sense of the importance of historical and geographic context affect it most strongly. In brief, a rite of passage as discussed by van Gennep and later by Victor Turner (1967, 1969) addresses the transition of an individual from one stage to another in his or her life. In the case of folktales, the movement most often consists of going from childhood to early adulthood, the latter generally denoted by marriage and/or assuming an adult role such as becoming king. The rite itself consists of a separation from the earlier life, in this case childhood; a transition, during which the individual lives removed from his or her community, often in apparent death; and a reincorporation, at which time, with celebrations including eating, the individual becomes part of the original community with a different, usually higher or more mature, status. For the purposes of this essay, it is this transition period, the separation from the home, family and community, which comprises the focus.

Propp's morphology, based on his study of one hundred Russian tales, breaks the action of the narrative down into a maximum of 31 functions or actions, designated by action verbs like 'send', 'go', 'violate' and 'return'. No one tale contains all the functions, but in each tale from the corpus, the order of functions or actions remains fixed: each occurs invariably in the same relation to every other one. Although the particular actions' relation to one another does not hold as invariably when one seeks to apply Propp's morphology to tales outside his Russian corpus, the concept of sensible order and action as the significant aspect of the tale holds true, it appears, virtually universally. Propp also identifies a maximum of seven actors, or *dramatis personae*, in any given tale. These individuals carry out the actions of the 31 functions that Propp identifies. For example, one finds that the individual in a tale who is identified as the 'king' carries no significance as the ruler

4. A brief but comprehensive summary of these and other influences on the study of folk narrative in the Hebrew Bible may be found in the first chapter of both Niditch 1993 and Niditch 1987.

but rather may fill a role such as the 'dispatcher', the actor who sends the hero, another of the *dramatis personae*, out on a quest for something which has been lost or is lacking.

In addition, one must consider the 'why' of the narrative within its particular culture, the reason for its existence and telling and retelling, which may be understood in the context of the functions of folklore (Bascom 1965). These functions include entertainment, maintenance of behavioral conformity, validation of cultural practices and education. A fifth function, sometimes part of a folktale, involves release from ordinary constraints, as in the freedom of behavior accepted during Mardi Gras in New Orleans. Thus the context of any given narrative assumes great importance in seeking what it means. Just as important—and this reflects a driving concern of mine—a complete examination of ancient narrative materials seeks to understand what the audience brings to the reading or performance.⁵

Over the years, the application of any of these approaches to ancient Near Eastern narratives beyond noting common motifs has been minimal. To be sure, a few scholars have identified and discussed to some degree the presence of folklore and folktale in biblical materials during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for instance, James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (Frazer 1911–15) and Hermann Gunkel in *Das Märchen im Alten Testament*, though his book was not translated into English until 70 years later (Gunkel 1987). During the same time period, the discussion of folklore in ancient Egyptian materials revolved largely around the 'Tale of Two Brothers', first published in 1852, which showed similarities with the episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife in Genesis 39 as well as parallels with non-biblical narratives. It also played a role in the discussion of folktale origins that raged during the last decades of the nineteenth century.⁶

Work on Egyptian narratives is necessarily constrained by the limited materials available. Emma Brunner-Traut's many editions of *Altägyptische Märchen*,⁷ a corpus drawn from three thousand years of history, contain a mere 42 items, consisting of folktales, myths and mythic tales, fables, *Schwänke* or joke tales, magic and wonder tales, and

5. I am indebted to A.B. Lord for this concern (cf. Lord 1960: 148).

6. For a fuller discussion of folkloric and other approaches to this tale, see Hollis 1990: Chapter 1.

7. Brunner-Traut 1997 is the eleventh.

finally narratives from the Christian period. This collection, representing known and available documents, is fairly complete, though different scholars will disagree about the classifications of the material.⁸ The lack of study of the Egyptian tales is remarkable, especially in light of T.E. Peet's 1929 Schweich Lectures in which he described Egypt as 'the home of the short story...[having] produced the first short stories to be told for their own sake' (Williams 1971: 269), though a book-length study of 'The Tale of Two Brothers' appeared in 1990 (Hollis 1990).

Thus it is not surprising that little comparison between ancient Egyptian and biblical narratives has occurred other than that of the opening episode of the 'Tale of Two Brothers' with its Potiphar's Wife motif (K 2111).⁹ In such discussions, the scholars have generally treated the incident without putting it in the context either of the narrative itself, respectively the 'Tale of Two Brothers' or the Jacob cycle, or the culture in which it arose, but rather they simply described the episode in a one-to-one comparison.¹⁰ If, however, one approaches the episode within the context of the wider tale (Egypt) or cycle (patriarchal narratives), one sees that the incident plays a major part in the transition of the hero from a subsidiary role, that of a younger brother in the former and of an official in a moderately well-off Egyptian household in the latter, to a major role, in the former to king of the land while in the latter to governor over all Egypt. In this role Joseph served as the means of his family's rescue from famine. In this way, one learns of the manner by which the family of Jacob came to Egypt from which they would eventually leave, all as examples of YHWH's acting in history on behalf of his people. It is thus possible to see that this kind of analysis enriches one's understanding of the particular narrative.

Similarly, through such analysis, one can often identify significant features of a narrative's culture as well as its relation to ideas in contiguous areas. For example, in a recent discussion, J. Robin King studied the story of Joseph as a special kind of hero tale that involves divine politics, comparing it with other ancient Near Eastern narratives including the ancient Egyptian narrative of Sinuhe (e.g. Wilson 1969),

8. For a recent discussion on some of these tales, see Hollis 1995b.

9. Thompson 1946: 275-76 identifies the motifs present in 'Two Brothers', defining a motif as 'the smallest element in a tale having the power to persist in tradition' (Thompson 1946: 415).

10. Yohannan 1968 does precisely the same thing, using the world as the stage.

the story of Idrimi, King of Alalakh (Oppenheim 1969c), the Apology of Hattusilis of the Hittites (Gurney 1954: 175-76), Esarhadden's Fight for the Throne in Assyria (Oppenheim 1969a), the Babylonian King Nabonidus and his God (Oppenheim 1969b), and the biblical legends of Jacob, Moses, and David (King 1987). In his discussion, King makes use of Propp's analytical approach, beginning with the initial, or alpha (α), situation present in each of the stories, following with the identification of eight separate narrative actions: the threat, the threat realized, a resulting exile, success in exile, exilic *agon* or challenge, exilic victory, threat overcome, and return and reconciliation, finishing with an epilogue. In his analysis he finds that the characters of significance in each tale resolve into the hero and his¹¹ deity, with the narrative serving to emphasize the power of the deity while highlighting the human hero (King 1987: 586-88). It is the active involvement of the divine figure which distinguishes these ancient narratives from the more modern folktale and epic.

A more complete comparison of ancient Egyptian and biblical folk narratives with modern folktales shows other distinctive and crucial differences and similarities. The latter include an entertainment value, a didactic function, and often information about cultural mores and taboos, thus exhibiting the same folklore functions found in modern folk narrative. In a crucial and distinctive difference, the action of the ancient narrative occurs in an identifiable place and time,¹² providing the hearer/reader with a form of cultural history, while modern tales tend to lack any specificity of place and time.¹³

One example of the biblical use of specific location for exile may be seen in Jacob's flight to and temporary settlement in his mother's lands to the east. This act served to reaffirm the Israelites' link with their putative geographic origins, since for the Israelites, the land of the Two Rivers, ancient Mesopotamia, represented their roots. In contrast, the land of Egypt, mentioned more times in the Hebrew Bible than any other save Israel itself, generally represents the 'other', those who do not share their belief in YHWH. One would therefore surmise that on

11. In each case, the hero is masculine; hence the use of the masculine pronoun is to be understood literally in this context.

12. This is not necessarily the case for all ancient narratives. One example of an exception is the Middle Egyptian tale of 'The Shipwrecked Sailor'.

13. For discussion of the characteristics of the modern folktale, see especially Lüthi 1982, though Lüthi 1970 and Lüthi 1985 will also be informative.

close study, additional features about the place of exile should emerge as important such as Israel's image of itself, its politics and its relations to other lands.¹⁴ Certainly Egypt's use of foreign lands in its narratives speaks to these issues, and it is the explication of its use of the Syro-Palestinian region which is of particular concern here.

That the ancient Egyptians perceived their land on the banks of the Nile as the center of the world is common knowledge to Egyptologists (O'Connor 1983: 188-202), but it is perhaps less well known to scholars of the other ancient Near Eastern civilizations. As early as the Middle Kingdom, 2040-1640 BCE,¹⁵ references to the king showed that ideologically the Egyptians perceived their ruler to have universal dominion in the world. For instance, in the story of Sinuhe, a pseudo-autobiography dated to Middle Kingdom, the protagonist eulogizes King Senwosret I,¹⁶ saying: 'You have subdued/overcome what the sun-disk encircles' (Sinuhe B 213)¹⁷ (cf. Redford 1976: 49; Blumenthal 1970: 200), and also 'Yours is all which the horizon covers' (Sinuhe B 232-33). Again it was said of Senwosret I, 'To him belongs what the sun encircles' (Blumenthal 1970: 199), and in a Middle Kingdom text from Coptos, Rahotep says to the king, '[You] rule [what the sun] encircles' (Blumenthal 1970: 200). Similarly a New Kingdom text presents the king as 'the sun-disk of all the land', while in another 'he is (the sun-god) Re under whose guidance people live... he illumines (the earth)...' (Redford 1976: 50, 58, nn. 56, 57).

Alone, however, these examples simply show that the Egyptians or, more properly, those writing and presenting ideas, perceived their ruler, and hence their world, as central. Other texts, most notably a series of curses and a stele addressing the plight of some exiles, correspondingly suggest that not only did the ancient Egyptians perceive themselves as the center of the world, but also that lands apart from Egypt served as places of punishment, exile, or living death. For example, among some juridical examples, probably from the Twentieth Dynasty, two oaths reflect Ethiopia as the place of banishment should the oath be false. In

14. This topic deserves significant research.

15. All dates reflect the chronology found in Baines and Málek 1984: 36-37.

16. Before the New Kingdom, the ruler of Egypt is called a 'king', not a pharaoh. This latter term derives from the Egyptian words *pr ꜥꜣ*, meaning 'Great House', which comes into use with the New Kingdom.

17. All translations from Sinuhe are by the author using the hieroglyphic text from Blackman 1972.

one the 'Oath of the Lord was given to (a defendant), saying, "Should I speak falsely, may [I] be mutilated and sent (to) Ethiopia!"', while a second reports that when a tomb robber confessed his crimes, he took the Oath of the Lord, saying, 'All that I have said is true. Should I reverse my word again tomorrow or after tomorrow, may I be put (in) the garrison of Ethiopia!' (Wilson 1948: 138, nos. 50, 51).

The so-called Stele of Exiles or Banished, dating to the Twenty-First Dynasty, 1070–975 BCE, contains an elaborate—and apparently successful—plea to the god Amun-Re to allow the return to Egypt of those whom the deity had banished in anger. In the text, the high priest Menkheperre approaches the god in procession to speak to him of the people who were in the oasis, not only requesting that the banished be allowed to return, but also that the god be gracious to them throughout eternity (Louvre Stele C. 256, ll. 15–16) (cf. Beckerath 1968: 13). Menkheperre then extends his request even further, asking for a decree from the god that he would 'not tolerate that one (again) bring away to the oasis any people of this land...from today to henceforth' (Louvre Stele C. 256, l. 17) (cf. Beckerath 1968: 13). As Jürgen von Beckerath observes relative to this stele, to be banished from Egypt is 'according to Egyptian perception, a living death' (Beckerath 1968: 35).

The Egyptians' concern with exile or banishment from Egypt evidenced distress not only because it represented a separation from their people, their land, and their values and customs, but also because of the risk of death away from home with a consequent improper burial. The latter appears most graphically in the story of Sinuhe mentioned previously. Known from more papyri and ostraca than any other literary narrative, this fictional tale purports to be an autobiography of an attendant of the wife of the Twelfth Dynasty king Senwosret I (for example, Baines 1982: 31). The tale opens with Sinuhe overhearing messengers telling Senwosret I, with whom he was on maneuvers in Libya to the west of Egypt proper, that the senior king, Amenemhet I, with whom he, Senwosret, served as co-regent, was dead. Although Senwosret, now the sole king, immediately returns to the capital to assume the throne, Sinuhe is panic-stricken—for the death may have occurred at the hands of the harem with whom he had close relations—and he flees to the east, across the river to the wall meant to repel the Sand-farers, that is, the Bedouin. From there he continues in an east-northeasterly direction where he meets an Asiatic who recognizes him and provides him with initial succor and care.

Sinuhe continues to move away from Egypt, relating, 'Land gave me to land' (Sinuhe B 29), an image recalling the underground railroad of ante-bellum nineteenth-century America or the 'Femaleroad' of Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (Atwood 1986). He went first to Byblos, returning then to Qedem for a time, finally being received and made at home by Ammunenshi of Syria. Reflecting typical Egyptocentric thinking as well as a certain political astuteness in his response to Ammunenshi's questions about the new Egyptian king, Sinuhe hymns the might and prowess of Senwosret I, highlighting the latter's expansionist tendencies at the expense of the southlands, for example, Ethiopia and Nubia, while downplaying any similar moves into the northern lands such as Syria.

As is typical of the traditional folktale hero known in the modern world as well as the heroes of the cycle of biblical patriarchs, the Egyptian exile flourishes in Syria, receiving many benefits from his host. In turn, Sinuhe successfully fights various enemies of the Syrian ruler, eventually engaging in combat with an opponent of the Syrian ruler who was perceived as 'a champion...without peer' (Sinuhe B110). Sinuhe's success in this battle gained him many accolades and much prestige among the foreigners. At this point, he begins to yearn for home, saying 'What is more important than that my corpse be buried in the land in which I was born' (Sinuhe B159-60). The hero's worries about his age and his physical condition eventually come to the ears of the Egyptian king by means of the messengers and envoys whom Sinuhe has hosted. In time Senwosret I writes to the exile, sending him gifts and inviting him to return home. In his letter, the king reiterates Sinuhe's concern:

Think of the day of burial,
the passing into blessedness.
A night is assigned for you with oils
and mummy wrappings from the hand of Tait.¹⁸
A funeral cortege will be made for you
on the day of interment,
and a mummy case in gold,
the head in lapis lazuli.
The heaven will be above you,

18. The goddess of weaving and thus connected intimately with production of the linen used for wrapping the deceased's mummy. One finds reference to her function in this regard from the Pyramid Texts on.

you having been placed in the hearse,
 oxen drawing you,
 and musicians before you.
 The dance of the *mw*-dancers¹⁹ is done
 at the door of your tomb;
 the offering-list will be read to you;
 sacrifice is made before your offering-stone.
 Your tomb-pillars, made of white stone,
 are in the midst of (those of) the royal children.
 You shall not die in a foreign land!
 and the Asiatics will not inter you,
 that you not be wrapped in the skin of a sheep
 when your enclosing wall is made.
 This is too long to roam the earth!
 Take thought for the corpse,
 Come back! (Sinuhe B190-199).

Sinuhe's reaction to this message:

What compares with this which is done for a servant
 whose heart led him astray to strange lands? (Sinuhe B202),

reiterates the typical Egyptian view of living outside the Two Lands.²⁰
 He then returns to Egypt as quickly as possible and is told by the king:

The burial of your body will not be a small matter,
 without your interment by the Asiatics (Sinuhe B258-59),

presaging the burial favors the ruler would accord him at this death. Thus one finds in Sinuhe an Egyptian exile, a man who fled for fear of his life, survived tests and trials in the Syrian land, was invited back home, and finally was welcomed in glory and honor, a very different status from that in which he left.

Before leaving this narrative, one needs to understand that in the lines of invitation to return lies more than simply the concern for a proper burial. They also witness an identification of the organized, orderly world with Egypt. Indeed, for the ancient Egyptian, '[t]he African and Semitic peoples and foreign cities and monarchies were equated with the forces of chaos, always ready to subvert creation' (Yoyotte 1981: 128), and it is worth noting that the hieroglyph used in writing the name of every foreign land depicts a mountainous desert

19. Dancers connected with the mortuary ritual for the deceased. For a recent discussion, see Reeder 1995.

20. A common epithet for Egypt in ancient Egyptian texts.

(cf. Gardiner 1957: Sign List N 25). This contrast appears even more strongly in the Egyptians' use of terminology describing themselves and other peoples. For themselves, they used the word *rmꜥ*, usually translated 'mankind', although more properly it should be 'humankind' since its usual writing includes both the male and the female determinatives, as well as the word *rhꜥt*, which designates specifically the common folk of Egypt. In contrast, they referred to other peoples with words like *pꜣt*, *r-pꜣtyw*, *šmꜣw*, and *ḥꜣstyw*, each of which means 'foreigners', the distinctive terminology thus emphasizing the Egyptians' ethnocentricity (cf. for example, Baines 1982: 40).

The popularity of the story of Sinuhe continued into the New Kingdom, while at the same time several more tales appeared, a number of which related Egypt to its northeastern neighbors. Some of these narratives appear to reflect particular historical activity, if not actual incidents. The 'Taking of Joppa' tells how the rebel town of Joppa was infiltrated by the soldiers of the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaoh Tuthmosis III through deception: gifts delivered in baskets to the rebel prince in apparent acquiescence to the latter ruler actually contained Egyptian soldiers who emerged to take the town (for example, Wentz 1973: 81-84), a motif recalling the Greek tale of the Trojan horse and the modern tale of Ali Baba and his 40 thieves. A second tale about Tuthmosis III in Syria is fragmented to such a degree it is difficult to get the story line beyond presenting the king as the main actor and Syria as its location (cf. Botti 1955). Both tales certainly reflect the pharaoh's presence in Syria-Palestine as he established and maintained an empire. A third tale, 'The Report of Wenamun', reflects Egypt's involvement in same area at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty when Egypt's power was on the wane, a loss which the narrative shows very clearly. None of the three narratives says anything about the Egyptian sense of exile when in the northeast area; their concerns lie elsewhere, namely in portraying empire building or trade, although one senses in the ending of 'Wenamun' a sadness at having been away from Egypt for more than a year (P. Moscow 120,2,65-66) (cf. Lichtheim 1976: 224-30).²¹

The Nineteenth Dynasty, however, provides two *Märchen*-like tales which also point to the Syria-Palestinian area, 'The Tale of Two Brothers' and 'Doomed Prince or the Prince and his Fates',²² both of

21. One should note, however, that Wenamun's words appear in the context of his seeing the Tjekker, Egyptian enemies, coming for him.

22. On these tales and other tales of magic and wonder in ancient Egypt, see

which clearly use the location as a place of exile, an 'otherworld', as did Sinuhe. In the New Kingdom tales, as in the Middle Kingdom 'Sinuhe', this 'otherworld' resembles that of the modern fairy tale where specific tests and trials occur and from which the hero returns home triumphant and transformed.²³ Unlike their modern analogues in which the 'otherworld' lacks specificity of place or time, these Egyptian tales are very specific that this 'otherworld' lies to their northeast in Syria-Palestine.

In the first of these tales, two brothers and the wife of the older brother live together, probably in the delta area of northern Egypt, since not only do they raise barley and emmer, but also the younger brother herds his older brother's cattle, all characteristic activities of the area. The narrative begins with an attempted seduction of Bata, the attractive younger brother, by his older brother's wife. Upon his refusal of her invitation, she turns around to her husband Anubis and accuses her young brother-in-law of the attempted seduction. Anubis naturally goes after his younger brother, resulting in a pursuit which ends with the sun-god providing a protective river filled with crocodiles for the younger brother. At this point, Bata clarifies the situation and identifies the true culprit, and then, after severing his phallus and throwing it into the divinely-created river, he journeys to the Valley of the Pine. The narrative continues with the Ennead, the company of gods, creating a wife for him as a companion because it is worried that he is lonely. Ultimately this wife, like that of Bata's older brother, betrays Bata to his death, first in the Valley of the Pine and then twice after his return to Egypt.

Although the location of the Valley of the Pine has long been debated by Egyptological commentators, both external and internal evidence places it clearly outside Egypt and quite precisely in Syria. In 1968 Emile Chassinat observed that the text itself affirms that the locale lay outside Egypt when it states that the older brother's 'heart wished to return to Egypt' (P. d'Orbiney 13,5)²⁴ (Chassinat 1968: 701 n. 4), thus

Hollis 1995b. For readily available translations of these two narratives, see Erman (ed.) 1966; Lichtheim 1976; and Simpson (ed.) 1973. The 'Tale of Two Brothers', besides being translated in Hollis 1990, is also translated by J.A. Wilson in Pritchard (ed.) 1969.

23. For a different view, albeit very superficial in discussion, see Redford 1992: 233-34.

24. All translations from the Papyrus d'Orbiney are those of the author using

putting the brother's search outside the land of Egypt. More recently I have identified two additional passages which confirm the location of this valley outside Egypt (Hollis 1990: 114-18). In one, the king is told that the divinely scented hair of Bata's wife is a 'greeting <from> another land' (P. d'Orbiney 11,5), while in the other, Bata's wife 'came to Egypt with [the messenger woman of the king]' (P. d'Orbiney 12,1-2). That it lies in Syria becomes clear from Ramesses II's Qadesh Battle inscriptions, which place it close by Qadesh, northeast of Byblos in Lebanon (cf. Hollis 1990: 114-18).

Furthermore, when one looks at the activity in this section of the story, it becomes clear that the action occurs outside the ordered land, this emphasized by the description of Bata's locale as a land of scrub and brush, most definitely not a place of farming and pasturing as was the Nile delta. In addition, when Bata gets to the Valley, he places his heart²⁵ on top of a pine—certainly symbolizing his death to ordinary existence—and lives there successfully until the tree is cut down, at which point 'he [falls] dead' (P. d'Orbiney 12,7). His older brother Anubis learns of his death by means of pre-arranged, drink-related signs, following which he journeys to the valley to rescue his younger brother. Thus not only does the audience clearly understand Bata's valley as outside Egypt, with all the implications carried by that idea, but it observes the action of the older brother as that of the mortuary god Anubis, which he surely is, thus further emphasizing the sense of exile and virtual death when in a foreign land.

Anubis, the age-old royal mortuary god whose responsibility it was both to preside over the mummification activities surrounding the preparation of the dead king, the Osiris king, for his next life and to revive the king to live in the next world through his activity in the Opening-of-the-Mouth ceremonies, carries out these precise activities in rescuing Bata (Hollis 1995a). In the tale, Anubis seeks his sibling's heart for three years, eventually finding it and restoring it to its place. That done, he then embraces his brother,²⁶ restoring him to life in the manner so commonly portrayed on temple walls, in which the iconography shows the deity giving life to the king by embracing him. The hero, revived by his brother, returns to Egypt and eventually becomes

the hieroglyphic text from Gardiner 1981: 9-30a.

25. For a fuller discussion of the importance of the heart in ancient Egyptian thought, see Hollis 1990: 118-26.

26. For discussion of the nature of Bata, see Hollis 1990: 64-70.

king, truly a shepherd-boy-becomes-king narrative of the type beloved by people of all times and all places. Thus in this story, Syria-Palestine serves not only as the land of exile outside the ordered land of Egypt, but also as the land of death, the land of the living dead, that is, Bata without his heart or his phallus.

The second New Kingdom narrative, 'The Prince and his Fates', opens, as did 'Two Brothers', with 'once upon a time'. In this case, a king and his wife are without children, and the king prays for a child. His prayer is answered and the nameless prince is born, but he is born to die from his destined fates, a crocodile, a snake²⁷ or a dog. Although the king seeks to protect the child by placing him in a tower during his growing years, in time, not only does the father grant the boy's request for a hound, but, when the growing boy eventually requests that he be allowed to travel, to act as he wishes until 'the god does what is in his heart to do' (P. Harris 500, vs. 4,13),²⁸ his father obliges, totally disregarding what might be considered good sense. Thereupon the prince, accompanied by his hound, sets out on a journey which ends in Syria. Here he competes anonymously with a number of other young men for the hand of the daughter of the Syrian prince. Although the Egyptian prince proved to be successful, of course, the young woman's father refuses to allow him to marry his daughter because the young man was patently unsuitable—he had identified himself as the son of an Egyptian chariot-soldier (P. Harris 500, vs. 5,11). The Syrian prince reckons without his daughter, however. The young woman swears by Pre-Harakhty, the Egyptian chief deity of this period, that if the young man is not allowed to marry her, she will starve herself to death, and, when her father orders that the young man be slain, she says that she will die before sunset the same day. These threats eventually lead her father to capitulate, and the two young people are married.

Following his marriage in this foreign land, as in *Sinuhe*, the young man is given all kinds of good things by the Syrian prince such as a house, lands, cattle and the like. In time he tells his wife of his destined fates, and she saves him from the snake. One later finds the young man running from his dog, only to be seized by the crocodile which carries

27. See Assmann 1992: 152 and n. 18 for early references to the crocodile and the snake as agents to carry out threats in imprecations.

28. All translations of the 'Doomed Prince', which is found on the verso of Papyrus Harris 500, are those of the author using the hieroglyphic text from Gardiner 1981: 1-8a.

him away to where it has been fighting some kind of demon. The crocodile seems to be bargaining with the young man for help, apparently in exchange for his life, when the papyrus breaks off, leaving its modern audience in suspense. Although scholars have hotly debated what the ending is, it seems likely that the Egyptian prince survives, circumventing his fates, to return to Egypt with his foreign wife and take the throne, as would have been appropriate and as did Bata. This tale, rather than being a shepherd-becomes-king type as in 'Two Brothers', represents the type in which a young man leaves home to seek his fortune, undergoes a series of trials and tests that earn a wife, riches and possibly a kingdom, followed by a return home to become king. Both types have innumerable parallels from other times and other cultures. The point is, however, that in each of these cases, the same identifiable land serves as the place of transition from one stratum of social existence to another.

The astute observer will ask appropriately why this land in particular was emphasized and whether Egyptian tales exist showing exile and death in other lands. And indeed, at least one other text is known which details activity in a different land, namely 'The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor'.²⁹ This story, dated to the Middle Kingdom and available to us from only one papyrus, relates the meeting of the narrator with a serpent on a fantastic island following a shipwreck. Although the serpent identifies himself as the Lord of Punt, a land to the southeast of Egypt on the western shore of the Red Sea which was the source of various products like myrrh and electrum, the statement that the island on which the sailor has fetched up will not be there for him to return to calls into question both the locality and the actuality of the place. Thus this tale does not affect the present discussion; it does, however, add to our understanding of the Egyptocentricity of this ancient people, especially in regard to an appropriate burial in the homeland when the serpent predicts to the sailor, 'Behold you will reach home in two months; you will embrace your children, and you will be renewed in the midst of your burial' (P. Leningrad 1115, 168-69).³⁰

The emphasis on Syria-Palestine in these narratives both demonstrates the Egyptians' Egyptocentric view of the world and reflects the economic and political relations which Egypt had had with the area to some degree or another from its earliest history in the late fourth

29. See Baines 1990 for an in-depth discussion in addition to Hollis 1995b.

30. Translation by the author.

millennium BCE right up to the time of these tales near the end of the second millennium. Through the years, Egypt had served as a geographical conduit for the precious minerals and metals from its neighbors to the south in Kush and Upper Nubia to those in the eastern Mediterranean, and Egypt's centrality in the brokering of trade goods should not be underestimated.³¹ In addition, Egypt's political involvement as empire builder in the area during the last half of the second millennium also played a role. Nevertheless, while clearly benefiting their northeastern relations, the Egyptians always viewed the area as foreign, and they, like all peoples, felt the need to define themselves over against the 'other', the foreigner and the foreigner's land. Although the isolated location of Egypt, surrounded on three sides by desert and on the fourth by the Mediterranean Sea, minimized the Egyptians' need for such definition, these tales showed that it did exist.

In conclusion, the Egyptian view of Syria-Palestine as an 'other-world', a place of exile, death and transformation, results from a set of complex interrelations involving identity, culture, politics and economic forces. It is my thought that the same kind of complexity affects ancient Israel's use of neighboring lands in its narratives. Thus it becomes clear that a close examination of the place of exile in these ancient narratives carries the potential of elucidating and enriching one's understanding of the relationship of different lands and cultures to each other.

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31. See Bleiberg 1995; Kemp 1983: 122-24, 129, 135-49; and O'Connor 1983: 252-71 as well as the index of Redford 1992.

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AN EGYPTIAN ANALOGUE TO THE PRIESTLY BLESSING*

Sharon R. Keller

The Priestly Blessing (PB) of Num. 6.24-26 is a familiar biblical passage, in part because it remains central to Jewish and Christian liturgy. Perhaps for that reason it has been the subject of much study, both in its biblical context and in relation to extra-biblical Near Eastern sources.¹ Even though the Near Eastern parallels to this tricolon blessing are numerous, the discussions of them have, for the most part, concerned only lexical similarities in the individual phrases of the benediction.² To date, no Mesopotamian analogue has been found to the Priestly Blessing in its entirety. There is, however, an Egyptian text that parallels the Priestly Blessing in form and in content, and, perhaps, even in occasional function.

A short, little known, Egyptian text dated to Egypt's First Intermediate Period (c. 2134–2040) contains a blessing that is strikingly similar in meaning as well as in structure to Num. 6.24-26.³ The text in

* יהי כבוד תלמידך חביב עליך כשלך וכבוד חברך כמורא רבך ומורא רבך
כמורא שמים.

1. These parallels are so well attested that they need not be rehearsed here. See most recently C. Cohen, 'The Biblical Priestly Blessing (Num. 6.24-26) in the Light of Akkadian Parallels', *Tel Aviv* 20 (1993), pp. 228-38, and M. Fishbane, 'Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing', *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 115-21.

2. Although they are often included in discussions of the PB, in this paper I shall not deal with either the verses that precede nor the verse that follows the PB. For Num. 6.27 see P.A.H. Boer, 'Numbers 6:27', *VT* 32 (1981), pp. 1-13, and more recently, M. Bar-Ilan, 'ושמו את שמי על בני ישראל', *HUCA* 60 (1989), pp. 71-81 (Hebrew).

3. The First Intermediate Period is here dated according to J. Baines and J. Malek (*Atlas of Ancient Egypt* [New York: Facts on File], 1980). The majority of the book of Numbers is ascribed to the Priestly (P) Source, but already by the turn of the century G.B. Gray felt that the PB was not a product of P, but that in fact it

question is a Letter to the Dead, written on a tubular red clay pedestal that functioned as a jar-stand.⁴ Typically, an offering for the deceased could be placed in a bowl or a jar, which then might be placed on a stand; this particular stand has a text written around it in nine vertical lines. As a genre Letters to the Dead are all addressed to a deceased person to petition the deceased for some type of assistance. The twelve extant examples of this genre are concerned with a host of personal and familial difficulties, and in all instances the petitioner envisions help as emanating from the world of gods and of spirits. These texts allow us to be eavesdroppers into very personal and private accounts of familial life as well as of daily trials and tribulations.

The letter on the jar-stand reads as follows:⁵

(1) This is an explanatory reminder of what I said to you with reference to (myself) 'You know what Idw said concerning his son: (2) "whatever has been and whatever will be (there), do not cause him to be afflicted with any affliction". Do the like thereof for (me)!' (3) Behold, now this vessel is brought (to you, that) your mother will litigate concerning it. It would be pleasant (4) that you should support her. Grant now that there should be born to (me) a healthy male child. You are a precious spirit. (5) Behold now, these two, the maid-servants who are causing Seny to be afflicted, Nefertentet and Itai (6) confuse them, destroy for (me) now every affliction which is against (my) wife. You know that I indeed do what is (7) needful therein. Destroy it greatly (yea) destroy it greatly. You live for (me), The Great One shall praise you, (8) and the face of the Great God will be gracious over you; he will give you pure bread with his two hands. (9) I beg you now, for a second healthy male (child) for your daughter!

In this letter to a deceased father, the petitioner complains that two

was 'of earlier origin than the date of its incorporation in P' (G.B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers* [ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906], p. 71). This early dating is now the general consensus, and D.N. Freedman goes farther than others by dating the PB to the twelfth century (D.N. Freedman, 'The Aaronic Benediction [Numbers 6.24-26]', in J.W. Flanagan and A.W. Robinson (eds.), *No Famine in the Land: Studies in Honor of John L. McKenzie* [Claremont, CA: Claremont Graduate School, 1975], p. 41). This early dating has now been unquestionably established see n. 13 below.

4. This letter is now in the collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

5. My translation was made from the hieroglyphic transcription of the hieratic text done by A. Gardiner, 'A New Letter to the Dead', *JEA* 16 (1930), pp. 19-22, pl. X, 1-3.

female servants are in some manner trying to prevent his wife from bearing healthy male progeny, a theme so familiar to us from ancient literature that there is no need to comment on it here, beyond pointing out that here again we see that epic themes are often taken from daily life occurrences. This letter presents a petition to the author's deceased father to seek the aid of his mother (that is, the author's paternal grandmother), so that together they may alleviate the author's problems in the mortal realm and grant him and his wife a healthy male child.⁶

As is easily seen, the main plea of this letter culminates with a blessing that is strikingly similar to the biblical Priestly Blessing. The biblical text reads:

יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ:
יְאֹר יְהוָה | פָּנָיו אֵלֶיךָ וְיִחַנֶּנָּךְ:
יֵשֶׁא יְהוָה | פָּנָיו אֵלֶיךָ וְיָשֹׁם לָךְ שְׁלוֹם:

The Lord Bless you and Guard you; The Lord make his face Shine on you and be Gracious unto you; The Lord lift up his face to you and grant you peace.⁷

The Egyptian text reads:

(7) *h̄si.t ʿst (8) nfr*

The Great One shall Praise you

hr n ntr ʿj im.k

The face of the Great God will be Gracious over you

dit.f n.k t w^b m ʿwy.fy snwy

He will give you pure bread with his two hands

The initial comparison is nearly exact: both blessings progress from the general to the particular, with the first colon calling for a generic

6. This is not to say that the wife is barren; female children and/or sickly male children could have already been born. For a full discussion and analysis of this Letter, as well as the other Letters to the Dead, see S.R. Keller, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead in Relation to the Old Testament and other Near Eastern Sources* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1989), pp. 144-57.

7. For the meaning of שלום/'peace' see J.I. Durham, 'שְׁלוֹם and the Presence of God', in J.I. Durham and J.R. Porter (eds.), *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies (New Corrected Edition)* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), pp. 272-93.

blessing from the deity, and the middle colon asking that the face of the deity confer goodness, that is favor, upon the recipient.⁸ In the third colon the blessings diverge slightly from each other in their specifics, but they both appeal to the deities to bestow their favor to the recipient. Clearly, these texts share striking parallels in their content. Of course, the Priestly Blessing is directed to the people of Israel as a group, whereas the Egyptian blessing is a personal one, but both these patterns are in keeping with the normative models of each culture. In the Bible, blessings are generally offered for the collective population, whereas in Egypt, blessings and prayers are offered by and for an individual.⁹ The biblical blessing has been interpreted as a Priestly prayer for God's continued blessing for the people. That blessing *de facto* would grant both personal and communal fertility. The Egyptian text fits its mold for, in effect, it becomes part of a prayer for personal fertility.

In addition to the similarity of content, the two blessings also show a remarkable conformity of structure: the ascending tripartite construction of the blessings are identical. Various attempts have been made to analyze and restructure the Priestly Blessing to arrive at a specific symmetrical structure,¹⁰ but these attempts have focused on the syllable count, pronunciation, and metrical structure of each colon and have caused new problems of interpretation, just as they have solved old ones.¹¹ The simple symmetry inherent in the Priestly Blessing becomes

8. For the meaning of פָּרַח here see among others M.I. Gruber, *Aspects of Non-verbal Communication in the Ancient Near East* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), pp. 554-83.

9. D. Sweeney, 'Intercessory Prayer in Ancient Egypt and the Bible', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985), p. 221.

10. See Freedman, 'Aaronic Benediction'; O. Loretz, 'Altorientalischer Hintergrund Sowie Inner- und Nachbiblische Entwicklung des Aaronitischen Segens (Num 6.24-36)', *UF* 10 (1978), p. 16; and K. Seybold, *Der aaronitische Segen: Studien zu Numeri 6/22-27* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), pp. 18-23.

11. Most consider the PB to be a form of poetry, yet 'Haran fully accepts the hymnodic affinities of the benediction, whose diction inevitably draws us to the Psalter for comparison. He insists, nonetheless, that poetic parallelism is absent from the benediction, and he therefore objects to its classification as poetry, notwithstanding the ascending number of words in each successive line (3-5-7) and the ascending number of letters (15-20-25), yielding a total of 60 letters; and, according to Freedman, a similarly ascending syllable count' (B. Levine, *Numbers 1-20* [AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1993], p. 241).

all the more apparent when juxtaposed to its Egyptian analogue:

(7) *h̄si.t ʿst* (8) *nfr*

The Great One shall Praise you

יְבָרְכֶךָ יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁמְרֶךָ: Num. 6.24

The Lord Bless you and Guard you

hr n ntr ʿz im.k

The face of the Great God will be Gracious over you

יְאֵר יְהוָה | פָּנָיו אֱלֹהֶיךָ יִהְיֶה: Num. 6.25

The Lord make His face Shine on you and be Gracious unto you

dit.f n.k t wʿb m ʿwy.fy snwy

He will give you pure bread with his two hands

יָשָׂא יְהוָה | פָּנָיו אֱלֹהֶיךָ וַיִּשֶׂם לָּךְ שְׁלוֹם: Num. 6.26

The Lord lift up his face to you and grant you peace

In each of the blessings, the first colon contains three words, the second five words, and the third seven words. Furthermore, each stich of the Priestly Blessing has two actions associated with it: v. 24 *bless* and *guard*, v. 25 *shine* and *be gracious*, and v. 26 *lift up* and *grant*.¹² The Egyptian blessing is much simpler and more compact, for each colon has only one verb, but this too shows a tight, precisely planned structure. The progression of 3/5/7 is as mathematically balanced as it is simple and elegant. It is clear that we are dealing with a carefully structured form. This progression, found in both the Hebrew and Egyptian forms, is too precise to be arbitrary or coincidental.

Interestingly enough, the parallel between the two blessings may even extend beyond their form and content to their possible function. The Letters to the Dead were placed in tombs, for it was thought that the tomb was a type of portal to the netherworld, and a letter so placed would be sure to reach its addressee. The letter need not be placed in the tomb of the addressee; any tomb would do as a sort of Post Office Box to the netherworld. All of the extant Letters to the Dead were associated in some way with an offering or gift to the deceased, here with the offering left on the jar stand. A gift to the deceased served as a 'stamp' to assure the letter's pick-up and delivery to the addressee in

12. There is no agreement whether or not these six verbal forms represent six actions or three actions. See Fishbane, 'Form and Reformulation', esp. pp. 115-16, and more recently Cohen, 'Biblical Priestly Blessing'.

the next world. Although this Egyptian text was not found in situ, that its find spot was a tomb is firmly established, and the purpose of the Letter as a petition for aid from the deceased is inferred in part from its archaeological setting. The blessing that concludes the letter functions almost as a gift offering to the deceased—please do this for me and my wife... In that I'm sure you will grant this favor, May the great one praise you and protect you even in death—for after all the prayer is being wished onto the deceased! Of course, the Priestly Blessing functions in Numbers in quite a different way, but an archaeological discovery was made that suggests that the biblical Priestly Blessing may at some time have functioned in nearly the same way as the Egyptian text.

It is quite unusual for biblical passages to be discovered as archaeological artifacts, that is, as material remains from the biblical period; it was therefore extraordinary as well as fortuitous when two texts of the Priestly Blessing were found in so suggestive a setting as a grave. In 1979, at Ketef Hinnom near the Valley of Hinnom in Jerusalem, two incised silver amulets dating from the late seventh century BCE were discovered.¹³ The amulets are of unequal size, and the texts are of unequal length, yet they are very similar to each other and bear a striking likeness to the Priestly Blessing as it is found in Numbers. The text on the smaller amulet reads:¹⁴ 'Rest, [Be]nayahu, [and] await YH[WH], and be awake [for him]! YHWH bless you, and may he keep you; YHWH make his face shine upon you, and may he give you peace'. The text on the larger amulet reads: 'The Lord bless you, he keep you; the Lord make (his face) shine (upon you)'.

Attempts have been made on the basis of these texts, as well as on the basis of the version found at Qumran, to reconstruct an original of the Priestly Blessing. Was it originally a 10-word text that was later expanded to a 15-word text, or was it originally a 15-word text that was later shortened? On the basis of the much earlier Egyptian material

13. G. Barkai, 'The Priestly Benediction of Silver from Keteph Hinnom in Jerusalem', *Cathedra* 52 (1989), pp. 37-76 (Hebrew). Since this find antedates P, there can no longer be any question that the PB is indeed older than its inclusion in the P text (see n. 3 above).

14. Translations according to M.C.A. Korpel, 'The Poetic Structure of the Priestly Blessing', *JSOT* 45 (1989), pp. 3-4. For an alternate reconstruction of the text see A. Yardeni, 'Remarks on the Priestly Blessing on Two Ancient Amulets from Jerusalem', *VT* 41 (1991), pp. 177-80.

presented here, I must agree with Marjo C.A. Korpel that 'all three forms of the Aaronic blessing are acceptable variants of the same basic text'.¹⁵

The use of the Priestly Blessing on amulets is not per se surprising; the triple mention of the Divine Name in the blessing makes it a desirable and efficacious text for amulets as well as for other magical incantations, and, indeed, the text was still used for these purposes in much later periods, through to Medieval Europe.¹⁶ But that these amulets were found in a seventh-century BCE context in situ, in a burial cave, further defines and specifies the magical potency of the Priestly Blessing at least on a popular level. Again it has been suggested, and I believe rightfully so, that the Priestly Blessing may have served as some form of a talisman, and that the presence of these amulets in a mortuary context indicates that the Priestly Blessing may have been viewed as a means of affording protection to the deceased on their way to the netherworld.¹⁷ Implicit is also the wish that the Lord would deal kindly with the deceased once they safely reached Sheol.

Post-biblical and medieval Jewish commentaries and tradition similarly associate the Priestly Blessing with the dead and the netherworld. The *Sifre* and its parallel text in *Midrash Rabbah* both interpret the Priestly Blessing in relation to the protection it affords the soul both at the time of death and later in the afterworld, and the medieval compilation, the *Yalqut Shimeoni*, sees the protection as afforded in the 'world to come'. *Midrash Rabbah* states: 'And Keep thee means, He will keep thy soul in the hour of death, another interpretation is that And Keep Thee means, he will keep thy foot from Gehenna...thus Israel are both blessed and guarded'.¹⁸ Though such an interpretation goes against the strict strain of biblical thought, the preservation of these traditions and superstitions along with the archaeological evidence points to a popular

15. Attempts have been made on the basis of these texts, as well as on the version found at Qumran (see J.A. Loader, 'The Model of the Priestly Blessing in 1QS', *JSJ* 14 [1983], pp. 11-17) to reconstruct an original of the PB.

16. See the Geniza amulet published by J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), pp. 237-38. For medieval sources see J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939), pp. 92-94, 151, and esp. 290 n.37.

17. Levine, *Numbers* 1-20, p. 242.

18. *Sifre*, *Naso*, pars. 40 and 42, and *Midrash Rabbah*, *Parsha Naso*, 5 and 7, and also the *Yalqut Shimeoni*, *Naso*, par. 6. See also Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, esp. p. 290 n. 37.

belief that may have been current in the biblical period. The formulation here exactly describes the function of the blessing found in the Egyptian text: a prayer offered by the living on behalf of the dead. Together with the evidence from Ketef Hinnom, the Egyptian analogue provides new fodder for the interpretation of the role of the Priestly Blessing in the popular cult.

It must be noted that the Egyptian text from the First Intermediate Period, c. 2134–2040, antedates even the earliest possible dating of the Priestly Blessing. Freedman has dated the Blessing to c. 1200, but even that is later than the Egyptian text. Nonetheless, the parallels between these two texts are much too striking to ignore. The foregoing comparison between a biblical blessing and an Egyptian blessing, then, serves two purposes: not only does it attempt to illuminate form and function in a much debated biblical text, but it also adds two more pieces to the puzzle that comprises the shared cultural ecumene between Ancient Egypt and biblical Israel.

BIBLICAL INSTRUCTIONAL WISDOM:
THE DECISIVE VOICE OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Kenneth A. Kitchen

Some time ago,¹ I was able to set out the factual ground-rules for the format and history of ancient Near Eastern and biblical compositions that can be classified as 'instructional' wisdom literature—ground-rules derived *directly* from the surviving corpus of that literature, not mere theory. These works include the four constituent works in Proverbs, plus some 40 or so extra-biblical compositions from Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Levant. Much more recently, in a book of very considerable value, devoted to biblical 'wisdom' and Proverbs,² issue has been taken with the results achieved in 1977–79, but at the cost of error and misunderstanding of the factual data provided by that corpus. In relation to the non-biblical data and the overall history of the instructional wisdom *genre*, Weeks's work marks (alas) a clearly retrograde step, and therefore it may be in order to sort matters out.

Titles and Attributions of Authorship

Except when a work is specifically anonymous, the supposed author or compiler is *always* named in the formal, initial title to the whole work. In Egypt, this is clear beyond cavil in the cases of Hardjedef, Ptahhotep, [...]y for Merikare, Khety son of Duauf, Amenemhat I, 'Sehetepibre' [*name lost*], High Priest Amenemhat, Amennakht, Hori, Aniy, Amenemope, five 'educational' instructions, Onomasticon of

1. K.A. Kitchen, 'Proverbs and Wisdom Books of the Ancient Near East', *TynBul* 28 (1977), pp. 69-114; *idem*, 'The Basic Literary Forms and Formulations of Ancient Instructional Writings in Egypt and Western Asia', in E. Hornung and O. Keel (eds.), *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren* (OBO, 28; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1979), pp. 235-82.

2. S. Weeks, *Early Israelite Wisdom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

Amenemope, P. Louvre 2414 [*name lost*] and Amenothēs. In Mesopotamia, it is equally clear in the cases of Shuruppak, four versions (Old Sumerian Version [OSV] Abu Salabikh, Adab; Classical Sumerian Version [CSV]; Akkadian Version [Akk. V]), and Shube-awilim. In the Levant, it is equally crystal clear both outside the Hebrew Bible (Ahiqar) and in Proverbs (1.1, Solomon I; 25.1, Solomon II; 30.1, Agur; 31.1, Lemuel). The two prominent cases of anonymity come from Egypt. The first is *Man for his Son*, a work for the use of 'Everyman' (hence its generalized title), the second is the *Instruction according to Ancient Writings*,³ which—as its very name implies—was a compilation or distillation from older 'wisdom'.

Because it is fashionable in Old Testament studies to dismiss (without any scrap of objective, independent evidence!) the authorship (or compilership) implied in the four titles in Proverbs,⁴ Weeks has endeavoured to apply the same dismissive tactics to the authorial attributions in Egyptian and allied wisdom literature (pp. 10-11, 163, 164, 165, and so on), but in a misleading and lop-sided fashion. The attempt by Assmann to link the Egyptian instructional literature to the tradition of tomb-inscriptions is simply a mirage without a particle of proof. The texts in private tombs in 'ideal' biographies present the owner to posterity as having fulfilled the culture's social norms (summed-up in *maat*), extolling his king, his own probity and activities. There is no attempt to pass on any kind of instruction or *savoir faire*, nor any general observations about life.⁵ So the Assmann theory should be discarded. Secondly, both he and Helck (upon whom Assmann depends here) have dismissed all the Old Kingdom authorial attributions (Hardjedef, Ptahhotep, Merikare) as pseudonymous—again, without even one scintilla of factual, independent evidence to sustain such a view—yet Weeks uncritically swallows it all, and ignores all contrary

3. Wrongly described as 'a late work' by Weeks (p. 11); in fact, it is preserved on ostraca of the New Kingdom, all not later than the thirteenth–twelfth centuries BCE!

4. So also Weeks (following the common herd), pp. 41-46, on the flimsiest of grounds, all purely speculative.

5. See, for example, Old Kingdom tomb-texts included in J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), *passim*, and more recently by A. Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (Paris: Cerf, 1982); also the Old Kingdom section of the work by M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (OBO, 120; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992).

arguments and presentations. Helck's sole 'evidence' is the lack of original manuscripts (so far...) of Old Kingdom date. Which, being a negative, proves nothing at all. The facts are otherwise. Thus, it is noticeable that Weeks fails totally to understand the import of the Instruction of the High Priest Amenemhat, either in his discussion (absent from pp. 10-11) or in his data (p. 178). Ironically, this piece was inscribed at its author's volition in his own West-Theban tomb-chapel, for the benefit of his offspring (and is not a tomb-inscription in the ordinary sense of the phrase), using biographical data for educative purposes. There can be no doubt of its authorship, unless we carry anti-authorial scepticism to the point of mild lunacy. Sadly, most of the text is now lost, but the initial part remains. And the same applies to another high priest Ahmose and his work, as yet unpublished. So here are two cases where pseudonymity can be summarily thrown out of the window. Going further, the Instruction of Hori on an ostrakon is clearly the effort of a man apeing the instructional tradition, while no grounds exist for doubting the authorship of the five letter-writing instructions in the Late-Egyptian Miscellanies. Nobody has ever produced any rational reason for doubting the 'authorship' of Aniy, Amennakht or Amenemope in the New Kingdom, nor of Khety son of Duauf in the Middle Kingdom. In the case of Merikare, the historical situation expressed in that work is so special to the condition of Egypt when split between the Tenth and Eleventh Dynasties that it would have no contemporary relevance whatsoever if first composed only in the Twelfth Dynasty; scepticism here is wholly unfounded. In the case of the works attributed to Old Kingdom writers, scepticism—again—lacks any factual basis. Such scepticism can only cite the negative (and irrelevant) lack of Old Egyptian copies at present. The finding of just one papyrus would torpedo this negative overnight.

By contrast, one may point to positive and tangible indicators that point back in time for these works. The instructional part of Kagemni is expressed in an exceedingly lapidary and compact format foreign to true Middle Kingdom and later works, a characteristic still visible in Hardjedef.⁶ This has been ignored. Then, there is the evidence of successive citations from one Instruction to another. Brunner has documented one from Hardjedef to Ptahhotep (house and wife), another

6. And in early Old Kingdom writings such as the Third Dynasty 'biography' of Metjen (for example, Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, pp. 170-75; Roccati, *La littérature*, pp. 83-90, with references), and parts of the Pyramid Texts.

from Hardjedef to Merikare (on care for tomb), also an *Old Kingdom* citation in Koptos-Decree G of Pepi II (twenty-third century BCE), among other possible cases.⁷ Ptahhotep may be cited in Merikare,⁸ and more certainly in one loyalist Instruction of the early Twelfth Dynasty and by Sesostriis III a little later.⁹ Thus, there is good reason to take the original date of Hardjedef back into the Old Kingdom (pre-Pepi II), and both Hardjedef and Ptahhotep before Merikare, and Merikare before the Twelfth Dynasty. In short, the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period dates implied by the explicit 'authorships' should be taken seriously on tangible, factual grounds that are superior to the worthless and unsupported negations of ultra-scepticism. Finally, Papyrus Prisse preserves a version of Ptahhotep that represents not just incidental variants but its own recension of this work; the form of title in Prisse is unique, for example. While Gardiner dated Prisse much too vaguely to 'the late Middle Kingdom',¹⁰ Möller opted for a date at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, earlier than the other (and more 'classical') main manuscripts; compared both with the data in Möller's *Paläographie*, and with subsequent publications of Middle Kingdom papyri, the heart of the Twelfth Dynasty is late enough. There is every possibility that Prisse represents a version deriving directly from Old Kingdom usage, less revised than the 'classical' version. None of the foregoing matters finds any echo in Weeks's work, which is a very serious (and ultimately fatal) major omission.

In Mesopotamia, the data are fewer and quite possibly different. The named authors are all strictly human (as in Egypt). Shuruppak is a shadowy figure from hoar antiquity; his son Ziusudra bears the same name as does the Sumerian flood hero. That, as with Gilgamesh and Dumuzi, does not preclude an ultimate proto-historical origin for such a character, but offers nothing tangible for authorship. Of Shube-awilim, we know nothing, and therefore can say nothing. In contrast, we have

7. See H. Brunner, 'Zitate aus Lebenslehren', in Hornung and Keel (eds.), *Studien*, pp. 112-22.

8. Brunner, 'Zitate', pp. 138-39; cf. antecedently his papers on citations collected in H. Brunner, *Das hörende Herz* (ed. W. Röllig; OBO, 80; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), pp. 45-58.

9. Brunner, 'Zitate', pp. 124-25, 128 (contrast pp. 131-32). One may add here G. Fecht, *Der Habgierige und die Maat in der Lehre des Ptahhotep* (5. und 19. Maxime) (Glückstadt: Augustin Verlag, 1958), esp. pp. 49-50 and n. 1 (references).

10. In *JEA* 4 (1917), p. 65, reviewing Dévaud's work on Ptahhotep.

Ahiqar firmly attested in one cuneiform document, naming him as Abaninu-dari 'called Ahiqar', *ummanu* to Esarhaddon of Assyria. Despite Weeks's attempt to evade this piece of evidence (dismissing it merely because the text-copy is of Seleucid date), there is no reason whatever to doubt this datum. He was most likely historical, whether or not the Ahiqar wisdom book was his or not; it may well have been.

In the light of perhaps 90 per cent historical authorship in Egypt, uncertainty in Sumer, and a possibility in late Assyria, where does that leave Proverbs? Probably no worse than Egypt, and better than Mesopotamia. Anyone composing one or other of the four works in Proverbs within (say) the period 1000–600 BCE would do so following a tradition in the biblical world reaching back for well over a thousand years. Of that fact, the Egyptian and Mesopotamian data permit no doubt. Those who would in one breath deny such a heritage and in another claim that Proverbs 22–23 draws upon Amenemope cannot have their cake and eat it. Certainly, the scepticism about the titles in Proverbs expressed by Weeks (pp. 41–43) rests on no particle of independently verifiable fact, only on the usual sterile negative speculation. By contrast, those titles should be treated with respect, as we ought also to treat most of the other titles. Scepticism here is not 'healthy' (Weeks, p. 42), but ignorant and arrogant. The titles for Solomon I, Agur and Lemuel are proper, formal titles beyond reproach, when compared with the rest of the corpus;¹¹ that of Solomon II is likewise. Here, Weeks would object to *gam* in such a case; but *gam-'elleh* could have been prefixed when Solomon II was first appended to Solomon I, if *gam-'elleh* in fact was not included from the date of its collection and formulation, if Solomon II really was simply added to I from II's inception.

Subtitles and Titular Interjections

It is heartening that Weeks and I agree that Prov. 10.1 and 24.23 are in effect subtitles (Weeks, p. 13). However, in my case it is not just that they are very short—they are!—but that they lack almost all the

11. 'The Words of Agur', 'The Words of Lemuel', titles are formulated precisely as is 'The Words of Ahiqar', while 'The Proverbs of Solomon' (Prov. 1.1ff.) represents parallel phraseology, going into a title of some length, just as Khety son of Duauf and especially Amenemope did, not to mention Shube-awilim (Akk. version).

elements proper to a real main title (a point missed or not understood by Weeks). Long subtitles do, of course, exist—compare Ptahhotep (42-51) and especially Ankh-sheshonqy (4.17–5.19). His adduction of *gam* as a criterion for subheadings is all very well, but depends upon the originality of its presence in Prov. 25.1. Prov. 10.1 is not a cliché but a title, albeit a brief subtitle. It is an integral part of the entire work in which it is situated (see on Prologues below). The fuss about ‘*tq* in Prov. 25.1 is much ado about nothing; in Gen. 12.8 and 26.22, it indicates someone moving on/forward in context; in Job, rocks/mountains move/are moved. There (Job) and elsewhere (Psalms), people advance (in age), and it is used of the eyes (advance > grow old > go weak). Hence, with the transitive use of the *hiph’il* in Prov. 25.1, it is merely captious to reject the simple interpretation that Hezekiah’s men ‘moved/brought forward’ proverbs of Solomon, that is, (re)copied them out. For a root with so few attestations in Hebrew, it has quite a variety of clear usages, and it is merely perverse to deny this one. In various meanings (including passing by, advancing forward, and so on), the same root occurs from Old Akkadian (late third millennium BCE) onwards, and in Ugaritic (second millennium BCE), so ‘*tq* is no novelty in any case. The ‘many problems’ that Weeks feels about the titles in Proverbs (p. 45) are almost entirely the artificial products of hyper-scepticism and wooden-headed interpretation of biblical data by Old Testament scholars ignorant of the wider context. The ‘wishful thinking’ (p. 46) is in Weeks’s own head, to dismiss the potential historical reference of these titles. There is no scintilla of verifiable, factual evidence available to fault any of the four titles in Proverbs, whether we like it or not.

The Matter of Prologues

One of the biggest methodological and factual bumbles in Dr Weeks’s work is over prologues. The presence or absence of prologues in this large group of texts is an observed fact; it has nothing to do with my opinion or anyone else’s. The possible significance or otherwise of having a prologue (Weeks, p. 13) has no bearing whatsoever on the objective fact of their presence in some works (Ptahhotep, Shuruppak [all versions], Khety son of Duauf, ‘Sehetepibre’, Man for his Son, Amenemhat I, High Priest Amenemhat, Amennakht, Amenemope, Counsels of Wisdom, Solomon I, Ahiqar, Saite Instruction and Ankh-

sheshonqy), and of their absence from other works (Hardjedef, Merikare, Shube-awilim, Ancient Writings, Hori, five 'educational' works and Onomasticon of Amenemope, Solomon II, Agur, Lemuel, P. Louvre D.2414, and Amenothos).¹² Presence/absence and significance are two separate issues. The first is a physical fact, not a 'criterion' as Weeks wrongly terms it (p. 13); the second (significance) requires future study for its proper elucidation.

The charge that Weeks makes, that 'a "prologue" for Kitchen is simply anything preceding the main text, regardless of form or nature' (p. 6) would suggest that he has neither read my work attentively nor the original texts at all. So far, of all the prologues attested, only three are narrative; all others are exhortative, or state their aim. With the sole exception of Ptahhotep, the narrative prologues are confined (so far) to the period roughly 700–600 BCE onwards. So, it is not 'simply anything preceding the main text'; content falls into one or other of two main categories. Form is a secondary matter—the ancient writers could and did vary their treatment as they wished within the genre and within its constituent parts—they were not rigid blockheads such as Old Testament scholars (that way inclined) would like them to have been. On this basis of observable data my approach cannot be 'undermined'—because it is *not* an approach—it merely states the facts as they are in the original texts.

Weeks has also not grasped the facts concerning the history of prologues (pp. 12–13). The immovable fact remains that short prologues so far exist only in the third and second millennia BCE, and long prologues only in the first millennium BCE, while (not surprisingly) medium prologues overlap from the late third through the second millennium; one would some day expect to see them tailing off into the early first, if ever appropriate works are recovered. Apart from this last theoretical suggestion, what has just been stated about prologues is hard fact, and neither Weeks nor anyone else can change it. The short prologues come in Shuruppak (OSV and Akk. V), Amenemhat I, 'Sehetepibre', Man for his Son, High Priest Amenemhat and Counsels of Wisdom. Medium ones are found in Ptahhotep, Khety son of Duauf, Shuruppak (CSV),

12. Loss of text precludes our knowing at present whether prologues were present or absent in, for example, Imhotep, Kagemni, Aniy (where any former prologue is lost before what is at present extant, see the new edition of Aniy by J.F. Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani* [OBO, 141; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994]).

Amennakht and Amenemope. Long ones occur in Solomon I, Saite Instruction, Ahikar, and Ankh-sheshonqy. This is fact; see the texts in the Excursus at the end of this paper. What is also fact is that by its content (almost all exhortation before chs. 8 and 9, while these also include that mode) Solomon I, 1-9 has the place and nature of a prologue.¹³ None of our post-Solomonic works (so far) has an exhortatory prologue: Saite Instruction, Ahikar and Ankh-sheshonqy are essentially narrative. This is all hard fact, that the texts present to us. Before Solomon, all known prologues (other than Ptahhotep's narration) are short/medium and exhort (or state aims). After Solomon, all known prologues are long and narrative. This is also hard fact. It is therefore fatuous to deny (as does Weeks, p. 13) that Solomon is transitional; he is exhortative (like virtually all his predecessors) and long (not short/medium) like his successors. He combines old content and new proportion. This, again, on the total data, is plain fact. How else can one describe this situation except as transitional? Narratives certainly did not develop from exhortation; they were an alternative (cf. Ptahhotep) that became preferred (for whatever reason). But the change is factual; hence the point that Solomon I in about the tenth century BCE is transitional is a valid observation of fact; it is not merely an 'argument' (as Weeks would have it). The content and length combine to give this result. This, of course, does not agree with ruling theoretical dogma handed down in Old Testament studies through the past century. Too bad for the dogma; but it must always be facts, not theory, that should be sacrosanct. The remaining vital fact (and fact it is) needing to be stressed here is that in the works that have them, prologues are an integral part of the composition in every case—they are not added in afterwards, as the dogmas of *Alttestamentler* demand of Proverbs 1-9, a position already challenged (for example) by Kayatz among others. And there is currently no proven, factual reason¹⁴ to treat Solomon I any differently.

13. Quite recently, D.A. Garrett (*Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs* [New American Commentary, 14; Nashville: Broadman Press, 1993], p. 43 and n. 91), has suggested that in Solomon I, 1.2-7 was the prologue, while 1.8-9.18 would be the first segment of main text. This is theoretically possible, but he has failed to notice the usages of address to sons, in the various works concerned, which data would clearly favour taking Prov. 1.8-9.18 as all prologue. Garrett's option would make Solomon I even more archaic.

14. For the invalidity of hallowed excuses (one can hardly call them reasons) for doing so, see my 'Proverbs and Wisdom Books', pp. 102-108.

Stylistic Features

Weeks (pp. 13-14) states that Proverbs very largely uses 'the poetic technique of parallelism, *which is unusual in the foreign literature*' (my italics). The italicized part of his statement is wholly erroneous, an incredible gaffe. He clearly has not read the non-biblical works properly, or he would soon have discovered otherwise.¹⁵ He nowhere defines his 'parallelism' more closely; one suspects that he means two-line parallelism. And chides this writer for setting out dating-criteria. What are the facts?

Binary parallelism (two-line units, bicola) is universal in what he quaintly calls 'the foreign literature'. Thus, 10 out of 15 surviving paragraphs (§§1, 2, 4, 5-7, 9, 10, 12, 14) of Kagemni are bicola of various kinds. Bicola dominate in Hardjedef, recur throughout many paragraphs in Ptahhotep, and are endemic in Merikare. In Sumer, Shuruppak also uses bicola. In the second millennium the tale is the same. Witness (for example) Man to his Son and 'Sehetepibre' (Twelfth Dynasty), and Hori, Amennakht, Aniy and Amenemope (New Kingdom). The bicolon survives in lesser measure in this genre into the first millennium, and is visible in the Saite Instruction and even in Ankh-sheshonqy, P. Louvre D.2414 and Amenothès. (In the first millennium, the one-line 'punch-line' comes into favour; it is attested much earlier, but rather sporadically then.)

Triple parallelism (three-line units, tricola) is solidly attested—again, via Kagemni, Hardjedef, Ptahhotep, and virtually all the texts cited for binary units. They are less pervasive but well represented.

Quatrains (four-line units) also occur clearly from Kagemni, Ptahhotep, Shuruppak, Man for his Son, Amennakht, Hori, Amenemope (chs. 3, 10), and so on, all the way down to Ahiqar and Ankh-sheshonqy. Larger units (five, six, seven or more lines) can also be found, but much less commonly.¹⁶ Again, this is a statement of hard, observable fact: I have been through all the texts in considerable detail (in the original languages) over decades; Weeks, clearly, has not. As for

15. The syntactic and stichometric structure of these works is often ignored in semi-popular sets of translations, and cannot therefore be studied by merely reading English versions in *ANET* or the like.

16. A modest but typical selection of examples of everything from one-line to five-line units (and references for larger ones) was given in my paper, 'Basic Literary Forms', pp. 278-80. Weeks appears to have overlooked all this.

the chronology of usage of various types of parallelism (and non-parallelism), the facts remain exactly as this writer stated them in 1977, and it is significant that Weeks fails to cite that documented evidence (my 1977 paper, pp. 88-90), mentioning only the undocumented summary (my p. 98; cf. his pp. 13-14).

I may summarize as follows, taking his objections into account. First, binary (two-line) parallelism is clearly attested both in wisdom literature and in other genres all the way from the third millennium BCE to well into the first. Thus in Egypt, we find it in the Pyramid Texts and tomb-biographies as well as in wisdom already in the third millennium BCE, and it enjoyed use in various genres for 2000 years thereafter. The same timespan and similar width of use can be seen in Mesopotamia, from Sumer to the Seleucids. But there are observable differences in use between different genres of texts, certainly in Egypt. Thus the binary colon remains a hot favourite in hymnody all the way down to the Graeco-Roman epoch (as in the great temples then), but not so in the parallel stream of wisdom literature. The Saite Instruction¹⁷ is already moving towards use of one-line sayings or monostichs and miniature paragraphs, which indubitably replace the bicolon in popularity in the subsequent Demotic works (Ankh-sheshonqy, and so on) without eliminating it entirely, as anyone who reads these texts carefully can see. In other words, from about 500 BCE onwards, on the basis of known texts, the popularity of the bicolon was swiftly waning in wisdom texts in Egypt. Across in Mesopotamia, the Aramaic Words of Ahiqar (before 475 BCE) similarly excel in miniature paragraphs and monostichs, while bicola, and so on, have to be looked for (and can occasionally be found). Therefore it is clear fact that in externally dated wisdom works, bicola are internationally on the way out, regardless of what ongoing use is made of them in hymns and whatever else. In that context, the ubiquitous use of bicola in Proverbs does not agree with a dating after the sixth century BCE; it follows the ubiquitous tradition of the use of bicola, tricola and quatrains observed in this class of texts from Mesopotamia across to Egypt throughout the examples of the third and second millennia BCE, on which Solomon I at least would

17. For the excellent *editio princeps* of this text, see now R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135) (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 52; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1992); and a useful appreciation of it by J.F. Quack, 'Ein neuer ägyptischer Weisheitstext', *WO* 24 (1993), pp. 5-19, including strophic translation.

directly follow. At this point Weeks allows himself a non-sequitur. Namely, early texts continued to circulate for many centuries, hence the use of bicola, and so on, is unending, and there are late examples of them. But he is mistaken on both counts. (a) Recopying and transmitting old texts (of third, second millennia BCE) as in Egypt and Mesopotamia is not to be confused with the composition of quite different later, new texts. We still republish Shakespeare today—but nobody now composes in his way! And (b) there is all the difference in the world between composing a work entirely of bicola, tricola and the odd quatrain, and composing a work consisting almost entirely of one-liners and miniature essays, with only a tiny scatter of the old style bicola, and so on. It is impossible to confuse the structure of an Ankhsheshonqy with that of a Hardjedef or Man for his Son! Or of the main bulk of Proverbs with the main bulk of Ahiqar. In each case, in terms of format, it is a different world! Here, Weeks is badly astray on his facts, having clearly no idea whatsoever (p. 14) of the true extent and distribution of all forms of parallelism in the non-biblical texts. In the Old Testament, of course, parallelism continued in use, for example, in the Psalms (hymnody) and in the prophets for long enough in the first millennium; but these are not instructional wisdom literature any more than the Egyptian or Akkadian hymns that ran down in time alongside Ankhsheshonqy or Ahiqar and beyond—different genre, different usage, throughout. Therefore, my original account still stands, simply because it is based on ‘the whole corpus of Near Eastern wisdom literature’ (Weeks’s phrase, p. 14), so far as known to us currently, which Weeks’s work (disastrously) is not.

It is time to round off this tragedy of errors, and then return (thankfully) to happier ground. First, further notes to the list of sources and studies of texts (pp. 162ff.). On the end of p. 165 the studies by Anthes on Amenemhat I are conspicuously absent (he, of course, favoured actual authorship, for good reasons). On p. 169, under Amenemope, equally conspicuously absent is the important study by J. Ruffle,¹⁸ which remains as a lasting corrective to bad method in making comparisons between biblical and other wisdom books. The Letter of Menna (O. OIC 12074) (p. 171) should not even be in Weeks’s book: it is not a wisdom text at all, but merely a florid letter of rebuke from a father to his wayward son—the mere presence once of the word *sboyet*,

18. ‘The Teaching of Amenemope and its connection with the Book of Proverbs’, *TynBul* 28 (1977), pp. 29-68.

'instruction', does not make it otherwise! The 'good grounds for supposing that the father [and] the son...are...historical' exhibits Weeks's lack of knowledge of the facts. Menna and his son Piry are totally 'historical', being very well known members of the royal workforce at Deir el-Medina that cut the kings' tombs at Thebes. Menna is attested in Years 25–31 of Ramesses III and his son Merysakhmet/Pairy in Year 30 of Ramesses III to Year 4 of Ramesses V/VI, in administrative records and such. For the Saite Instruction (his pp. 171–72), see Jasnow's edition (n. 17 above). Finally, I turn to the failings of others, about which Weeks also is uneasy. He alludes to McKane's supposed distinction between 'instruction' and 'sentence literature' (his pp. 8–9). Never was there a more fatuous definition than the latter. All literature consists of sentences, and is therefore 'sentence literature'. McKane intended by this term the observations to be found in wisdom texts that are statements, not advice or imperatives—for example, Ptah-hotep's equivalent of 'wrongdoing never brought its venture safe to port'. However, it is a major error to call this a form of literature; it is merely a syntactic pattern that may pop up anywhere at any time in texts—and does. And 'exhortation' would be a better term than 'instruction', which smacks too narrowly of school or a workshop in English. Neither 'instruction' (*lege* exhortation) nor 'sentence-literature' (*lege* observation) is a genre, even remotely; they are merely two forms of expression, like questions, exclamations, and so on, that anyone might use at any time, singly or in groups. That is why Weeks (p. 9) found it 'difficult to apply such a definition to all the Egyptian instructions, which vary considerably in style and mode of address'. Of course they do (and so do Proverbs and the rest of the Levant). And they rule out totally this silly error by McKane about genre.

Conclusion

Enough said on the sad side. But the refutation of error is here simply a means to get closer to positive fact. Let us return (and gladly) to better things, not least in all fairness to Dr Weeks. His Chapter 4, for example, rightly seeks to rid biblical studies of the false ideas that early Israelite wisdom was merely a secular affair, not to mention equally false ideas that ancient wisdom moved from secular to religious or vice versa. In his Chapter 5, he rightly eliminates the overly optimistic concept of some special group of 'wise men' as a class. In fact, in any

ancient Near Eastern monarchy, the chief officials of any ruler would be looked to for their counsel, sometimes genuinely, sometimes to be overruled by the king's wiser solutions, as often in Egypt. And Chapter 6 finally lays to rest von Rad's wrong idea that the Joseph narrative in Genesis is 'wisdom literature' (an error noted by this writer long ago). If Joseph is 'wisdom literature', then so is practically the whole Bible: it all aims to instruct in one way or another. In Chapter 7, similarly, Weeks has well disposed of false equations between Hebrew and Egyptian officialdom and administrative practice in David and Solomon's time (as I had done back in 1988), and of Alt's nonsense about Solomon chanting onomastic lists of plants and animals, rather than instancing fables or the like featuring such creatures (Weeks, p. 113). Finally, he stresses the limitations of our knowledge about schooling in ancient Israel (Chapter 8). All this is notable gain, and should be accepted and applauded. So much for relatively modern errors in Old Testament studies. He and other younger scholars must now take courage to break away from the distorting shackles of the nineteenth-century theoretical, *a priori* bases that still dominate too much Old Testament 'scholarship', reducing it to a dead fossil.

From the ancient Near East, which is ancient Israel's real context (and not just 'foreign literature'!) there comes an ever growing stream of objectively dated, well understandable data that provide—whether we like it or not!—clear, factual, objective standards of measurement against which all our modern ideas of the eighteenth–twentieth centuries CE must be ruthlessly tested, to fail them, confirm them, or modify them as may be necessary. And nothing is gained by hiding from, distorting, rejecting or despising this growing flood of first-hand information (as some would). Persistence along such lines will inevitably expose biblical studies to derision in other disciplines, as backward and obstructionist. Better to dispose of one's inherited prejudices, and embrace new factual aids as and when they come to us!

Excursus: Prologues from Instructional Wisdom Books.

*Ptahhotep.*¹⁹ *Autobiographical, with request to King.*

'O Sovereign, my Lord!

Old age comes on, ageing descends,

weakness comes, decrepitude grows anew,

the mind slumbers, being wearied²⁰ daily.

The eyes are weak, the ears dulled;

strength fails, through my weariness of mind,

the mouth is silent, it can no longer speak.

The mind is forgetful, it cannot remember (even) yesterday,

the bones, old age suffers because of them.

Good has become bad, all taste has gone,

what old age does to people is bad every way.

(Even) the nose is blocked and cannot breathe,

because of ageing during life's conduct.

May this humble servant be commanded to appoint a "staff for old age".

—Then I can tell to him matters (befitting) judges,

and counsels of the ancestors who had listened to the gods.

—Then one can act on your behalf likewise,

that troubles may be removed from the people,

and that the Two River-banks may serve you!'

Then said the Majesty of this god:

'Instruct him, then, about speech first,

then he will be an example to the sons of the grandees,

(and) obedience will enter into him, and all dependability;

tell him, there are none born wise.'

Shuruppak (Old Sumerian Version). Exhortation.

'My son, let me give you instructions,

may you pay heed to them!'

Shuruppak (Classical Sumerian Version). Exhortation.

'My son, let me give you instructions,

may you take my instructions!

Ziusudra, let me speak a word to you,

may you pay heed to it!

Do not neglect my instructions,

do not transgress the word I utter.

19. Following the Prisse text in this translation. The 'classical' version alters the order of some line-groups, and shows minor variants of phrasing with the same basic meaning.

20. Preferring here the *wrd* of C.

Precious are an old man's instructions,
may you submit to them!

Shuruppak (Akkadian Version). Exhortation.

'My son, [let me give you instructions, *or sim.*],
Ut-napushte, [may you accept my instructions, *or sim.*]
My instruction, [may you not neglect it, *or sim.*],
The word which [I utter, may you not transgress it, *or sim.*]!'

Khety son of Duauf. Exhortation and aims.

'I have seen those who are beaten,
so, to books put your mind!
Look at the one press-ganged into labouring,
see, nothing surpasses books,
like (a boat) on the waters are they.
Read now at the end of (the book) *Kemyt*,
you'll find this dictum there as follows:
"As for a scribe in any post at the Capital,
he will never suffer want there."
When one serves only someone else's need,
one does not come forth satisfied.
I cannot see a post to compare with it,
that this dictum could speak of.
I shall make you love books more than your mother,
I shall set out their excellence before you.
It (= scribal employ) is greater than any other employ,
there is nothing to compare with it in the land.
When one begins to grow, still a child, one is (already) greeted,
Sent on errands, before return he is already dressed in an (adult's) kilt.'

'Sehetepibre' [real name, lost]. Calls attention.

'I say something important,
I cause you to hear,
I cause you to know
Conduct eternally (valid),
a manner of living aright,
to attain the state of blessedness.'

Man to his Son. Exhortation.

'Listen to my voice—
do not neglect my words,
do not ignore what I shall say to you.
Achieve repute without erring therein,
for slackness has no place in a wise man.'

Amenemhat I. Exhortation.

'O you who appear as a god,

listen to what I shall say to you—
that you may be king of the land,
that you may rule the territories,
that you may achieve abundant good fortune.'

High Priest Amenemhat. Aim.

'I speak,
so I may cause you to hear what befell me,
from the first day since I left my mother's womb.'

Amennakht. Exhortation.

'You are a man who hears discourse,
to distinguish good from bad.
Pay attention,
listen to my words,
do not neglect what I shall say.
'Tis fine indeed, that a man be found good in all tasks.
Let your mind be like a mighty dyke,
while the water rages at its flank.
Receive my utterances in every respect,
do not refuse to observe them.
Look upon every employ,
and all that's done in writing.
You will discern affairs,
so the advice I tell you will be an excellence.
Do not ignore a discourse of (good) character,
but (instead) a long tirade which is out of place.
Let your mind be patient(?) in its haste,
you shall speak after you are asked to.
Become a scribe, and frequent the House-of-Life,
so (you'll) become a (treasure)-chest of the writings.'

Amenemope. Exhortation.

'Give your ears, hear what's said,
give your mind to understand them.
Profitable is it to put them in your mind,
but woe to him who neglects them.
Let them rest in your body as container,
so that they be fixed firm in your mind.
When there arises a storm of words,
they'll be the mooring-post for your tongue.
If you spend your life with these in your mind,
you will find it to be good fortune.
You will find my words to be a treasury of life,
and your body will flourish upon earth.'

Solomon I. Exhortation. Only main injunctions listed here.

'Hear, my son, the instruction of your father,
and reject not the ruling of your mother' (1.8)

(..... 25 verses.....)

'My son, if you accept my words,
and my commands you treasure with you,
to direct to Wisdom your ear,
(then) you shall incline your mind to insight.' (2.1-2)

(..... 20 verses.....)

'My son, my teaching ("law") do not forget,
and my commands may your mind retain.' (3.1)

(..... 34 verses.....)

'Heed, O sons, a father's instruction,
and give ear to know discernment.' (4.1)

(..... 8 verses.....)

'Listen, my son, receive my words,
and years of life shall be multiplied for you.' (4.10)

(..... 17 verses.....)

'My son, to my wisdom pay heed,
to my understanding turn your ear.' (5.1)

(..... 42 verses.....)

'Keep, my son, the command of your father,
and reject not the instruction of your mother.' (6.20)

(..... 15 verses.....)

'My son, keep my words,
and my commands treasure up with you.' (7.1)

(..... 80 verses.....).

Ahiqar. Long narrative.

Long biographical narrative, five 'plates' surviving, and ending on a sixth now lost.²¹

Saite Instruction. Narrative and praise of king.

Narrative (1.1-2.8, preceded by a lost column '0', with [Title] and beginning), ending (2.8-14) with praise of Pharaoh.²²

Ankh-sheshonqy. Narrative.

Long narrative of 80 or more lines (cf. Ahiqar, 79 lines), in 4 columns.
Hence not printed here.

21. Too long to give in full here. For the latest, and superior edition of the Aramaic Ahiqar, see now B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. III. Literature, Accounts, Lists* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1993).

22. Again, too long to print in full here, though not as long as Ahiqar (originally half his length?).

The foregoing series of full translations of almost²³ every prologue except the very long narratives and Solomon I (1.8–9.18) will sufficiently illustrate what has been pointed out about prologues above, as well as in 1977–79. Their exhortatory nature should be clear, as well as their extensive use of parallelism (mostly bicola, sometimes tricola, and a rare monostich or so). They have much in common, but in each case each author has ‘done his own thing’ within the ruling conventions. The ancients were the masters of their literary tradition, not its servile, wholly repetitive slaves (as some biblical scholars seem to imagine they should be). The texts themselves must be our instructors.

23. Only Counsels of Wisdom is omitted, because there are two possible incipits, each too fragmentary to make much sense at present; both are short.

ISAIAH 18: THE EGYPTIAN NEXUS*

Meir Lubetski and Claire Gottlieb

Although Egypt is one of the most frequently mentioned nations in the Hebrew Bible, the linguistic impact of the Egyptian language and culture on the biblical text has not been fully researched.¹ Egyptian contacts with the Syro-Palestinian region date back to the Old Kingdom and are well documented.² Archaeological finds show evidence of reciprocal trade relationships between Egypt and Canaan beginning with the Egyptian First Dynasty (c. 3050–2950).³ There are at least seven sites in southern Canaan attesting to the fact that Egyptian traders

* The researchers received their degrees under the sponsorship of Dr Cyrus H. Gordon. He will always be our inspiration, our mentor and teacher. It is our honor and privilege to dedicate this article to him. We thank him for his expert advice and encouragement at all times and especially during the preparation of this paper. We would like to thank Dr Sharon Keller for her insight and cooperation at the inception of this work.

1. Several scholars have recognized this fact. See J.K. Hoffmeier, 'Egypt as an Arm of Flesh: A Prophetic Response', in A. Gileadi (ed.), *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988), p. 79. Also T.O. Lambdin, 'Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament', *JAOS* 73.3 (1953), pp. 145-55; W.A. Ward, 'Notes on Semitic Loan-Words and Personal Names in Late Egyptian', *Or* 32 (1963), pp. 413-36. Also J.J. Janssen, 'Notes on Semitic Loan-Words and Personal Names in Late Egyptian Ostraca', *JEOL* 19 (1965-66), pp. 443-48; J.A. Tvedtnes, 'Egyptian Etymologies for Biblical Cultic Paraphernalia', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Egyptological Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), pp. 215-21; R.J. Williams, 'A People Out of Egypt', in *Congress Volume: Edinburgh 1974* (VTSup, 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), pp. 321-32.

2. For the Old and Middle Kingdoms see W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 5; Wiesbaden: Jahrtausend v. Chr., 1962)*, p. 5. W.F. Albright, 'The Egyptian Empire in Asia in the Twenty-first Century BC', *JPOS* 8 (1928), pp. 223-24.

3. M. Wright, 'Contacts between Egypt and Syro-Palestine during the Protodynastic Period', *BA* 48.4 (1985), pp. 240-50.

lived among the Canaanite population and even built trading outposts occupied solely by Egyptian personnel.⁴ This contact caused Egyptian words and phrases to enter the Palestine area in pre-Israelite times.⁵ In the New Kingdom, Egypt's imperialistic ambitions caused her to intensify her communication with the Syro-Palestinian area.⁶ Egyptian records that mention Semite slaves living in Egypt have been found.⁷ We also have Northwest Semitic magical texts dating to the fourteenth century BCE that were transcribed into hieratic syllabic script.⁸

Conversely, there was a significant Semitic influence on the language of Egypt from early times and Egypto-Semitic lexicographical and grammatical features are well represented in the earliest inscriptions.⁹ During the Rameside period Hebrew words were transliterated into Egyptian hieroglyphics, indicating that some of the Egyptians understood the Hebrew language.¹⁰ Semitic dedicative inscriptions written in Proto-Sinaitic from the Sinai, the Egyptian source of copper, indicate that many of the laborers may have spoken a Semitic language.¹¹

4. R. Gophna, 'Egyptian Trading Posts in Southern Canaan at the Dawn of the Archaic Period', in A.F. Rainey (ed.), *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (Israel: Tel Aviv University, 1987), pp. 13-17.

5. M. Görg, 'Methodological Remarks on Comparative Studies of Egyptian and Biblical Words and Phrases', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985), p. 58.

6. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens*, pp. 258-64.

7. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens*, pp. 359-67.

8. R.C. Steiner, 'Northwest Semitic Incantations in an Egyptian Medical Papyrus of the Fourteenth Century BCE', *JNES* 51.3 (1992), pp. 191, 199-200. Greek magical spells were also transcribed into the Egyptian language. See D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 241. The international character of magic merits further investigation.

9. In practices that were international, such as magic and medicine, we also have Greek texts that were translated into the Egyptian language. There are also many Greek personal and place names that were transcribed into the Egyptian hieroglyphic script. This indicates that the ancients were definitely multilingual and provides a wide open field for researchers.

10. A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts, Part I* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), pp. 19-25, esp. p. 25 (Egyptian p. 68, line 23.5).

11. W.F. Albright, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and their Decipherment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966). See also *idem*, 'Northwest Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century BC', *JAOS* 74 (1954), pp. 222-23.

Israel's strategic geographical position as an important military and trade route between the West and the lands of the Fertile Crescent was a significant factor in the symbiosis of Hebrew culture with that of her neighbor, Egypt. Throughout the Bible there are references to Egypt and her people. Indeed, the biblical evidence itself clearly demonstrates that from early patriarchal times the Hebrews were exposed to the influence of the Egyptian mode of life. This is reflected in both biblical prose and poetry.

The Hebrew language has been enriched because of Israel's proximity to many nations of the ancient Near East. With the discovery of the Ebla documents it has become clear that, in addition to cognate vocabulary, many elements of grammar and sentence structure are common to Northwest Semitic and Egyptian.¹² It is often difficult to discern the direction of loan words. It is possible that as foreign words and concepts entered the Hebrew language they gradually became Hebraized and woven into the literary fabric of ancient Israel until, eventually, the alien sources were no longer noticed and often completely forgotten.

The purpose of this paper is to show that Isaiah, an educated scribe and prophet, understood the Egyptian language, and, in addressing the Egyptians, used language that was mutually understandable. Biblical texts written about or for a specific people should be interpreted in the context of the culture, literary style and idiom of that nation. Keeping this in mind we will analyze Isaiah 18 philologically and conceptually and at the same time will retain the integrity of the Hebrew *textus receptus*. The researchers have reviewed an extensive body of exegesis, both ancient and modern, much of which is repetitious. Therefore, only a representative portion will be cited.

Chapters 18 and 19 of the book of Isaiah are part of the 'Oracles to the Nations' section that start with ch. 13. In these chapters Isaiah foretells the fate of each nation in turn. Isaiah's prophesies concerning the Egyptians in chs. 18 and 19 are not directed primarily to the inhabitants of the land of Israel. Rather, the prophet intends to make his prophesies known and comprehended by all the nations, but first and foremost by the Egyptians to whom they are addressed. Some of the words and phrases he uses can be termed 'Isaiah language' since they are Egyptian terms or Hebrew words that have Egyptian significance and were coined by Isaiah. They are not found in any other book of the Bible.

12. C.H. Gordon, 'The "Waw" Conversive: From Eblaite to Hebrew', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* (1983), pp. 87-90.

Furthermore, when Isaiah describes something Egyptian it is familiar and precise.¹³ Thus, it is only by acknowledging the Egyptian factor that one can appreciate the full beauty and artistry of Isaiah's language.¹⁴

Isaiah received his call to prophesy during the reigns of the Judaeen kings Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, approximately 769–698 BCE (Isa. 1.1).¹⁵ Rabbinic sources disclose that he was of noble descent, moved in royal circles, and was associated with the temple in Jerusalem.¹⁶ During the period of Isaiah's prophetic calling the Assyrians conquered the Northern Kingdom of Israel and subjugated large areas of the Kingdom of Judah. King Hezekiah and the city of Jerusalem survived the siege mounted by the Assyrian forces of Sennacherib. Egypt, threatened by the Assyrians, tried to persuade the various kings of the Syro-Palestinian region, including Hezekiah, to confront the Assyrian forces. Isaiah repeatedly warned Hezekiah that an alliance with Egypt would prove to be futile.¹⁷ In fact, the prophet rejected any coalition with any foreign power, asserting that only the God of Israel would be able to save the nation.

Egypt, during the twenty-second and twenty-third dynasties (950–730), witnessed the rise of the so-called Libyan or Bubastite kings.¹⁸ Egypt had now become hopelessly divided into a country of petty kingdoms, each one vying for supremacy. In the meantime, Kush (Ethiopia) in the south, which had previously remained loyal to Thebes, had

13. D.B. Redford, 'An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative', in A.F. Rainey (ed.), *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (Israel: Tel Aviv University, 1987), p. 138.

14. Machinist has already demonstrated that Isaiah had an intimate awareness of Assyrian history and style of writing and idiom (that he gained from official Assyrian court literature) and employed it when writing about Assyria. The same can be said to be true of his knowledge of Egypt. See P. Machinist, 'Assyria and its Image in first Isaiah', *JAOS* 103.4 (1983), pp. 720–24.

15. H. Tadmor, 'Chronology', *EncBib*, IV, pp. 301–302.

16. *b. Meg.* 10b; 15a; *b. Ber.* 6a.

17. A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 345. For the biblical account of the confrontation with Assyria see 2 Kgs 18–19 and the parallel version in Isa. 36–37. For Isaiah's admonitions see 30.1–7 and 31.1–3. See also J.B. Bury, S.A. Cook and F.E. Adcock (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*. III. *The Assyrian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 74.

18. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pp. 328, 448; A.R. David, *The Egyptian Kingdoms* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1975), p. 28.

become a powerful state. Egypt's internal weakness enabled the Kushites to gain strength and eventually become the ruling dynasty. Since this was the period of Assyrian ascendancy Egypt found herself menaced from both sides.

Isaiah 18 relates to events taking place on Egyptian soil and alludes to the internal strife and political unrest that characterized Egypt during the twenty-third to twenty-fifth dynasties (c. 750–650). Therefore it is important to consider the historical background when interpreting the prophet's message. The chapter appears to serve a dual function. Convinced that reliance on Egypt would be contrary to Israel's advantage, Isaiah describes the weaknesses of Egypt to the leaders of Judah. At the same time he predicts the emergence of the Nubians of Kush as the dominant force in Egypt.

The chapter is divided as follows:

1. Verses 1 and 2 introduce the chapter and describe the country and its inhabitants.
2. Verse 3 is an invitation to the world to watch the coming events.
3. Verses 4 to 6 describe the devastation that will befall both the land and the people.
4. Verse 7 is a striking climax to the chapter.

The Egyptian language stratum is immediately evidenced in Isaiah's subtle choice of words whose meaning can be understood by those who are familiar with both languages. In many instances it is possible to detect a double meaning, or even several meanings, in his ingenious selection of words or phrases. This would be appreciated by the Egyptians, who loved word plays.¹⁹ Isaiah's preference for reduplicated Hebrew words when describing the Egyptians indicates that he knew of the Egyptian penchant for this style of writing and used this knowledge

19. The phenomenon of Hebrew words having more than one meaning in biblical literature has been recognized for quite some time. See C.H. Gordon, 'New Directions', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15 (1978), pp. 59-60; *idem*, 'Asymmetric Janus Parallelism', *Eretz-Israel* 19 (1982), pp. 80-81; J.K. Hoffmeier, 'Some Egyptian Motifs Related to Warfare', in J.K. Hoffmeier and E.S. Meltzer (eds.), *The Ancient World—Egyptological Miscellanies* (New York: Ares Publishers, 1983), p. 55; W. Herzberg, *Polysemy in the Hebrew Bible* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1979); P.R. Raabe, 'Deliberate Ambiguity in the Psalter', *JBL* 110.2 (1991), pp. 213-16; S.B. Noegel, 'Janus Parallelism in Job and its Literary Significance', *JBL* 115.2 (1996), pp. 313-20.

to write in a cryptic manner that was intelligible to the educated elite of his era.²⁰ Recognition of this enables us to fathom the hidden meanings of the text and adds an additional dimension to our appreciation of Isaiah's genius.

Isaiah 18.1

הוֹי אֶרֶץ צִלְצַל כְּנָפַיִם

Chapter 18 opens with the exclamation הוֹי, generally perceived by the commentators as a vocative and translated as 'ah', 'oh' or 'woe'.²¹ הוֹי is cognate to Egyptian *h3*, a vocative interjection standing at the beginning of a sentence.²² In an oracle directed to the inhabitants of Egypt the word would be better translated as 'Ho'.²³

Among the many interpretations of the phrase צִלְצַל כְּנָפַיִם three are prominent. First, צִלְצַל is equated with צִרְצָר in several lexicons and commentaries suggesting the meaning of a cricket or locust-like creature.²⁴ A second approach springs from the view that צִלְצַל is a

20. A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1978), pp. 210, 276-77.

21. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), p. 89; M.A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), pp. 252-62, esp. p. 257; J.D.W. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985) pp. 243-48. The medieval commentators Ibn Ezra and Kimḥi also saw the word as an emphatic. Cf. J. Payne Smith (ed.), *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 98; and L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), p. 242.

22. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 67. Cf. A. Herman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache II* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982), p. 471.

23. R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1976), p. 156; W.L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), pp. 77-78. See E. Henderson, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1857), p. 162. Henderson saw that it does not express a threat, but is a call to attention. See Isa. 1.24, 55.1 and Jer. 47.6 where it is the vocative and should be translated 'Ho'.

24. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), pp. 965-66. Also BDB (1974), p. 852. Holladay, *Lexicon*, p. 307. Cf. F. Zorrell, *Lexicon Hebraicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1984), p. 693. F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* (trans. from the 4th edn by S.R. Driver; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894), pp. 350-51. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1966),

reduplicated form of the word צל meaning 'shade' or 'shadow' and the doubling of the word is an allusion to protection.²⁵ The third notion rests upon the LXX and the Judaeo-Aramaic *Targum*, which view this phrase as denoting a sailing vessel. The word has also been interpreted as referring to sailing ships corresponding to Theodotion's translation *naves*.²⁶ For the *Targum*, however, the word כנפֿים symbolizes the boat's spreading sails and evokes the imagery of the flying eagle. In the LXX the wings are the oars of ships.

There is an alternative interpretation for צלצל that has not been recognized. The essence of Isaiah's genius is conveyed in this interpretation since it is an extraordinary description of Egypt. צלצל refers to a beetle.²⁷ Indeed, Onkelos translates Deut. 28.42 צלצל as סקאח, the sack carrier, an insect identified by Jastrow as the beetle.²⁸ A sixth-century medical manuscript, *Asaf Harofeh's Book of Medicine*, equates

p. 224. J. Jensen, *Isaiah 1–39* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1984), pp. 162–64. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), pp. 678–79. He suggests 'land of whirring wings'. See Kitchen's suggestion in K.A. Kitchen (ed.), *Rameside Inscriptions II* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), 1814.48. Cf. J.E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 391–92.

25. Ibn-Ezra noting the reduplication in צלצל proposes 'double shadow' indicating a wide country. In the Isaiah Scroll it is two words. See E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1959), p. 323. Also M. Goshen-Gottstein, *R. Judah Ibn Bal'am's the Arabic Original Ms Firkowitch Ebr-arab I 1377, Commentary on Isaiah* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1992), p. 98.

26. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, note d, pp. 89–90. J.H. Hayes and S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah the Eighth Century Prophet* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987), p. 254. John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 1–39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), p. 359. A.S. Herbert, *Isaiah 1–39* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 117–18. H.H. Rowley, 'Difficult Words in Hebrew Prophets', in *idem* (ed.), *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to T. H. Robinson* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1950), p. 56. G.R. Driver, 'Isaiah 1–19: Textual and Linguistic Problems', *JSS* 13 (1968), p. 45.

27. For complete documentation refer to M. Lubetski, 'Isaiah 18.1: Egyptian Beetlemania', in V. Haxen *et al.* (eds.), *Jewish Studies in a New Europe: Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen 1994 under the Auspices of the European Association for Jewish Studies* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel Publishers and the Royal Library, 1998), pp. 512–20.

28. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Pardes Publishing, 1943), p. 1019.

צלצל with a genus of insects of the dung beetle family חיפושית (a scarab). This beetle was pulverized and used to cure ear-aches.²⁹

Similarly *Papyrus Ebers*, which records medicinal prescriptions dating to 1300–1200 BCE, utilizes *hpr*, the dung beetle, as an ingredient in a prescription for treating a woman's disease.³⁰ However, Dawson noted that for medico-magical purposes the beetle hieroglyph was read as 'קצץ'.³¹ Since 'קצץ' is cognate to חיפושית which is צלצל, the Hebrew word צלצל is the Egyptian beetle, the symbol of Pharaonic Egypt. ארץ צלצל כנפים should therefore be translated as 'land of the winged beetle'.

אשר מעבר לנהרי־כוש

According to Ezek. 29.10 the Land of Kush (קצץ) commences where Upper Egypt ends. Aswân (biblical סוּנָה) seems to be the border. The region is located between the Blue and White Nile (Bahr el-Azrak and Bahr el Abyad, respectively).³²

29. Munich MS 231f 1116, last three lines. A slight variation of the text is found in the Bodleian MS opp. 687, f.83a. The precise lines of the various manuscripts were provided by Dr E. Lieber, Oxford, England. Dr B. Richler, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, was kind enough to photocopy the texts.

30. G. Ebers, *Papyrus Ebers, das hermetische Buch über die Arzneimittel der alten Ägypter* (2vols.; Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1875); W. Wreszinski (trans.), *Der Papyrus Ebers* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913), nos. 818, 823.

31. W.R. Dawson, 'Studies in Egyptian Medical Texts', *JEA* 20 (1934), p.187. For Egyptian 'ayin paralleling Semitic ה or ח see Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian*, p. 67. See also W. Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1921), p. 27. For the Syriac and Aramaic cognates see C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1928), pp. 213, 258. Cf. J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim 2* (Berlin: Benjamin Harz, 1924), p. 96.

32. For the form כוש see A.E. Cowley and E. Kautzsch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), p. 398. Also G.B. Gray, *The Book of Isaiah 1–27* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930), p. 308. The word נהר meaning 'river' or 'stream' appears in Egyptian texts written in Egyptian hieroglyphs. See K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1907), p. 710, line 15. Also Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian*, pp. 187–89. For further explanation of the location of Kush see Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, pp. 244–45. He suggests that מעבר means 'in the region of'. כוש נהרי refers to the many rivers of the Atabara region and perhaps those of the Blue Nile.

Isaiah 18.2

השלח בים צירים

ים צירים is a Semitic loan word found in Egyptian texts referring to couriers.³³ ים is also the Nile which is called a sea in Arabic to this day. Consequently, the phrase should be rendered 'who sends couriers across the Nile'.

ובכלי-גומא על-פני-מים

The usual translation of the first half of the phrase is 'vessels of papyrus'.³⁴ The general word for ship in Egyptian is *kr*, *ḳrr*, *ḳwr* or *ḳr*.³⁵ This is an exact cognate to the Hebrew word for vessel, כלי, since Semitic *l* is written as *r* in Egyptian.³⁶ The Hebrew dictionary notes that the etymology for the word is not certain.³⁷ It appears that the prophet ignored other known Semitic terms for boat such as ספינה and אניה and instead chose an Egyptian word to describe an Egyptian ship.³⁸

גומא comes from the Egyptian word *ḳmʒ*, meaning 'reed'.³⁹

33. W.F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1934), p. 67 no. 16. See A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), p. 70. Gardiner wants to emend the Egyptian word *ḳr* to '*ḳr* to correspond to Hebrew עֵזֶר. However, the emendation is unnecessary.

34. Vg. *In vasis papyri*. See M. Cohen (ed.), *Isaiah* (Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'; Jerusalem: Bar Ilan University, 1996), p. 124, where Kimḥi quotes Saadia, a native of Egypt, referring to כלי גומא as vessels of papyrus sailing the Nile.

35. *Wb*, V, pp. 21, 57, 134. Lesko, *Dictionary*, IV, pp. 6, 18, 20, 42. *Ḳ* and *k* often interchange in Egyptian.

36. Ward, 'Notes on Semitic Loan-Words', p. 419 n. 1. See also Albright, *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions*, p. 237. See Exod. 2.3 for the vessel that carried Moses in the river, translated by Aquila as 'papyrus vessel'.

37. E. Ben Yehuda, *A Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew*, III (London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959), p. 2388. See Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, p. 456 where it is 'ship'.

38. See Isa. 2.16, 23.1, 43.14, 60.9 where Isaiah uses אניה when addressing other nations. It is recognized that Isaiah used the phraseology and idiom of the language of the people he was referring to in his message. See n. 14.

39. *Wb*, V, p. 37. Lesko, *Dictionary*, IV, p. 11. Also written in Egyptian *gmy*. *Wb*, V, p. 170. See also Lesko, *Dictionary*, IV, p. 58. Also Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, p. 196; Lambdin, 'Egyptian Loan-Words',

Accordingly, vessels of papyrus are reed ships or light boats, constructed of papyrus, that would be recognizable to the Hebrews as characteristic of Egypt.⁴⁰

לכו מלאכים קלים

This phrase is reminiscent of Ezek. 30.9: ביום ההוא יצאו מלאכים , מלפני בציים , 'On that day messengers will go forth from my presence by ships'. Ezekiel is sending messengers to the inhabitants of Kush by ships. However, compared to Isaiah's prophesy, Ezekiel's message is more dire as he predicts the downfall of Kush.⁴¹

גוי ממשך ומורש

Rather than immediately revealing the identity of the people to whom the message is being delivered, the prophet describes their characteristics. The phrase is usually translated as, 'a nation tall and smooth skinned'.⁴² This is a general depiction of the tall, clean-shaven Egyptians and Kushites. However, the Hebrew stem מִשַּׁךְ is used when referring to bow drawing (1 Kgs 22.34; Isa. 66.19). This corresponds to Egyptian *msk*, meaning 'armed' and also to the Ethiopic cognate meaning 'to bend' (as a bow).⁴³ Another Egyptian cognate to מִשַּׁךְ is *msk* or *msk3* meaning 'skin' or 'leather' (or possibly 'plucked skin').⁴⁴

p. 149. Also J.R. Harris, *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 263.

40. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, p. 93. The ancient authors also observed that papyrus was used for the construction of sailing boats. See Plutarch, *Moralia* 4; Herodotus, *Histories* 2. For an illustration of papyrus boats see *ANEP*, fig. 109. Cf. H. Guthe (ed.), *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1903), p. 502 for an ancient Egyptian picture.

41. Ezekiel also uses a familiar cognate to Egyptian. צַע is *ḏ3l*. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 318; *Wb*, p. 515; Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon*, p. 956. For the Coptic cognate see W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 754.

42. See Oswalt, *Isaiah*, p. 357. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, p. 90. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, p. 243. Gray, *Isaiah 1–27*, p. 306.

43. See BDB, p. 604 and entry 7 where the pual pt. מִשַּׁךְ is 'long', 'drawn out' or 'tall'. For the prefix מ see Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, pp. 140, 236. For 'armed' see *Wb*, II, pp. 149–50.

44. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 118. In Assyrian *mašku* means skin, leather, or hide. See CAD, X, pp. 376–79. *S* and *š* interchange in Egyptian and Hebrew. See Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian*, pp. 432–33. Cf. J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), p. 700.

This is an example of Isaiah's use of multi-valent words. Both the Kushites and the Egyptians were masters of the bow. The Hebrew root מִדַּת refers to something plucked out, bald, glistening or burnished.⁴⁵ This would then give the phrase the meaning 'clean-shaven bow drawers', thereby contrasting the clean-shaven Egyptians with the bearded Semites.⁴⁶

מִן־הַזֶּה וְהַלָּאָה

This unique expression appears exclusively in this chapter twice. מִן־הַזֶּה, which has no satisfactory interpretation in Hebrew, is cognate to the Egyptian compound preposition *m-h3w* referring to time.⁴⁷ Therefore it means 'from this time and onward'.⁴⁸

גּוֹי קִרְקוֹ וּמְבוֹסָה

In the Hebrew Bible קו means 'measuring line', but in the context of this verse this interpretation seems senseless. The reduplicated form קִרְקוֹ appears only in this chapter. Although there is no linguistic basis for it, the passage has been explained as 'a nation mighty and conquering', 'a nation mighty (?) and down-treading', 'a very strong nation'.⁴⁹ It is possible that the Egyptian cognate *k3i* meaning high or tall⁵⁰ is cognate to קו, while *k3k3w*, a 'traveling barge' or 'war-ship'⁵¹ corresponds to the Hebrew reduplicated form. In the DSS^{Isa} קִרְקוֹ appears as one word like the Egyptian reduplicated form. Thus this is an example of a blend word having a double meaning denoting 'a tall, ship-going people'.

45. BDB, p. 598. Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 693. See Ezek. 21.14-16, 33. The DSS^{Isa} superimposes a waw and uses the pual participle form וּמְבוֹרֵט. Either form is correct.

46. These can be seen in Egyptian art and iconography.

47. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 132; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 157.

48. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (p. 303) notes that the Hebrew expression is very strange.

49. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, p. 90. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, p. 243. Gray, *Isaiah 1-27*, p. 306.

50. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 275. *Wb*, V, p. 4.

51. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 276. *Wb*, V, p. 14. Cf. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, *K3i* 'boat of Nubian type' (p. 283).

מבוסה

The Egyptian noun *bšt* means 'rebel'.⁵² The Hebrew root בוס is used elsewhere by the prophet meaning 'to trample down' or 'subdue' (a rebellious people).⁵³ The idea of trampling over the enemy is reflected in Egyptian art and literature where Pharaoh is portrayed as treading on the conquered foe. Thus the phrase suggests 'a tall, ship-going and trampling people' and reflects the Egyptian political situation of the time.

אשר־בואו נהרים ארצו

The standard translation is, 'whose land the rivers divide'.⁵⁴ בואו is a *hapax legomenon*. The Egyptian cognate may be *bsi*, meaning 'flow of water'.⁵⁵ It can be found in Urk. IV, 112.5 which reads: *swr bsim 3bw*, 'The waters flowing from Elephantine'.

This would give the verse the meaning 'through whose land the rivers flow', hence referring to the tributaries of the Nile.⁵⁶

Isaiah 18.3

כל־ישבי חבל ושכני ארץ

A summons to be prepared for divine intervention is proclaimed. Isaiah is alerting all the inhabitants of the world that God has made his decision. The fourth-century poet Yose ben Yose as well as the medieval scholar Saadiah Gaon understood this phrase as a merism meaning 'those who live on earth and those who inhabit the ground below' (the

52. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 85; Lesko p. 163. See also n. 44 for *s* and *š* interchange.

53. See Isa. 14.25 and 63.3-6 where it indicates subjugating strong people. Also Zech. 10.5; BDB, pp. 100-101. C.L. Meyers and E.M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9-14* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), p. 205. Hoffmeier, 'Some Egyptian Motifs', pp. 63-64. For a discussion of the word בוס see Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 147-48.

54. Oswalt, *Isaiah*, p. 358. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, p. 243. See also S.P. Tregelles, *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), p. 110; and BDB, p. 102.

55. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 564. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 84.

56. For another interpretation see Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, p. 117. בואו may be related to Arabic *bazzu*, 'forcefully carry away'.

living and the dead).⁵⁷ Such a metaphor would be clear to the Egyptians, whose world consisted of two spheres, that of the living and that of the dead, since they considered the dead as part of the living family. In Ugaritic poetry *arṣ* refers to the underworld.⁵⁸

We read:

wrd . bṭḥptt
arṣ . tspr . by
*rdm . arṣ*⁵⁹

and go down into the nether-reaches of the earth,
 so that you will be counted with those who go down into the earth.⁶⁰

כַּנְשֵׁאֲנֵס הָרִים תִּרְאוּ וְכִתְקַע שׁוֹטֵר תִּשְׁמַעוּ

Here God describes his instruments for introducing the coming debacle. As the banner is raised and the horn is blown, he instructs all to see, hear and recognize the catastrophe that will soon occur.⁶¹

Isaiah 18.4

אֶשְׁקוּטָה וְאֶבִּיטָה בַּמְכוֹן

This phrase is indicative of a concerned and caring God who is about to watch his plans unfold.⁶² *מֶכֶון* refers to God's throne.⁶³ Here we have

57. The early composers of liturgical poetry understood the word *אֶרֶץ* as referring to the underworld. See D. Goldschmidt, *Mahzor Rosh ha-Shanah* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1970), p. 270. See also D. ben Joseph ben David, *Abudarham hashalem* (Jerusalem: Usha, 1963), p. 269.

58. J. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978), p. 142. The goddess *Arṣay*, one of the three daughters of Baal, is the goddess of the underworld. (Private conversation with Cyrus Gordon.)

59. *UT*, Text 51: VIII 7-9, p. 173.

60. Translation from C.H. Gordon, 'Poetic Legends and Myths from Ugarit', *Berytus* 25 (1977), p. 101.

61. For a signal raised by God cf. Isa. 13.2 and 49.22. Note that in Exod. 17.15 Moses names the altar of the Lord 'God is my signal'. For the action of the Lord being preceded by the sound of the horn see Exod. 19.16, 19.

62. For the spelling, form and discussion of the word *אֶשְׁקוּטָה* see E. Qimrom, 'A Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls' (thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 38-39. In Scripture instances of *כֹּה"ב* with waw and *ק"ר* with *qames hātūp* occur. For the word *הִבִּיט* stressing God's concern for the universe and its needs see Isa. 63.15 and Ps. 33.13-14.

63. See. Pss. 33.14, 89.15 and 97.2 where the word is used in the same context. For *ב* (*bet*) meaning 'from' see *UT* §10.5 p. 95 and §19.435 p. 370. Cf. M. Dahood,

the Lord informing the people that he will sit quietly on his high throne and observe as the events predicted by Isaiah occur. The time of the inception of the approaching disaster is critical. Egypt, the bread-basket of the ancient world, does not depend on rain for irrigation. Rather, fertility of the soil was contingent upon the inundation period of the Nile. The Egyptians knew this phenomenon as *pṛt Spdt*, the rising of Sothis, occurring at the opening of the new year close to the middle of July. When the Nile did not rise in season severe drought resulted.⁶⁴

כחם צח

Verses 4 and 5 employ the prefix כ repeatedly. This is cognate to the Egyptian *Kj*, a non-enclitic particle that expresses a simple future event or a determination.⁶⁵ The כ in כחם and כעב is indicative of God's timing of the approaching events. חם, meaning 'heat', is a cross-cultural word. It appears in Ugaritic, Hebrew, Egyptian, Coptic and Arabic.⁶⁶ The Coptic pronunciation approximates that of the Hebrew, indicating that the Egyptian pronunciation may have been close to that of the Hebrew.⁶⁷ צח is the name of a month in the old Hebrew calendar.⁶⁸

על-אור

None of the current translations of this expression is satisfactory.

Psalms, I (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), p. 202 and *idem*, *Psalms*, II (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968), p. 143.

64. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 205. Herodotus, *Histories* 2. See also Oswalt, *Isaiah*, pp. 368-69. Cf. Deut. 11.14 and Lev. 26.4. The seasons and the harvest are dependent upon the will of the Lord.

65. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 181, §242.

66. *UT* §19.870, p. 397.

67. Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 234. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 594. *Wb*, III, p. 278. *Wb*, IV, p. 468.

68. An inscription on a clay jar, dating from the sixth century BCE, has been discovered by Aharoni at Arad. It refers to the third day of the month of צח and indicates that צח is the name of one of the summer months. See Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, p. 95. See also *PEQ* (January-June, 1963), pp. 3-4. For an English translation of the inscription see J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. 1. *Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 51. See also Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Israel Exploration Society, 1975), pp. 42-43 (Hebrew). Aharoni suggests it is the hot month of Sywn. However see J.A. Soggin, 'Zum Wiederentdecken altkanaanäischen Monat צח', *ZAW* 77 (1965), pp. 83-86. It is August in Phoenician. See Stieglitz article in this volume.

However, removing the *maqeph*, or moving it back one radical, transforms the phrase to *על יאור* or *על־יאור*, 'upon the Nile' (see Isa. 19.7).⁶⁹ Thus the entire stich is Egypto-Semitic and is translated as 'the heat of the month of *ṣḥ* will be upon the Nile'.

כעב טל בחם קציר

The word *עב* conveys the meaning of thickness and also a cloud. Combined with *טל*, in the sense of rain, the phrase refers (in this context) to a heavy rain during a harvest day.⁷⁰ The translation becomes, 'there will be heavy rain in the heat of harvest'. Both allegories describe a situation of utter destruction, exceptional summer heat and unseasonable heavy rain that will destroy the harvest. This phenomenon is recognized by later exegetes who describe the heat wave that occurs during the month of *Ṣḥ* in the town of *gbtyw* (Koptus). In *Poems to Exodus* 12.2 the author identifies *Ṣḥ* with the month of 'Ab and writes:

in the midst of the month of 'Ab there will be death in Egypt, and famine in the south; for the Nile will be dry and will not rise. And all the sons of Arabia will hunger for bread.⁷¹

Isaiah 18.5

כִּי־לפני קציר כחם־פרח ובסר נמל יהיה נצח

Using the imagery of a ripening vineyard, the prophet describes the forthcoming calamity. A people will be killed and left without burial,

69. The system of diacritical marks did not reach its final form before the ninth century CE. See J. Blau, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), pp. 1-2. *יאור* is cognate to the Egyptian word *itrw* meaning river. *Wb*, I, p. 146. The River to the Egyptians is the Nile. The *t* also drops in Coptic. See Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 82 and Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 28.

70. For *טל* understood as 'rain' see S.D. Luzzatto, *Commentary to the Book of Jesaiah* (Tel-Aviv: Dvir, 1970), p. 152. Cf. 1 Sam. 12.17-18 for a description of destruction by rain during the time of reaping. See also Prov. 26.1. The Judeo Aramaic *Targum* to Hag. 1.10 translates *טל* as *מטר*. Cf. S. Duvdevanis, *Insefer Joseph Braslaui*, 'כחם צח על־אור, כעב טל בחם קציר' (Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sepher, 1970), pp. 334-38. For *עב* meaning 'heavy' or 'thick' see BDB, pp. 727-28. Also C.A. Briggs, *The Book of Psalms* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1960), p. 154. Also P.K. McCarter, Jr, *II Samuel* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1984), p. 457. Cf. Exod. 19.9 and Prov. 16.15. The LXX, Syr., and Vg. read *ביום* instead of *בחם*. However, *בחם* is more in keeping with the spirit of the text.

71. Cambridge University Library MS T-S H 11.51, p. 198.

carriage for the beasts and the birds of prey. The sprigs and shoots refer to both the crops and the people. All living things will be cut off, wither and perish. The ripening fruit always appears after the flower has blossomed and died, but this phenomenon will now be thwarted.

The expression *tm* (תם) is also recognized in Egyptian where, as in Hebrew, it means 'complete'.⁷² The stich says, 'before the harvest, when the blossoming is completed and the unripened fruit becomes a ripened grape'.⁷³

Similar sentiments are echoed in another context in *Papyrus Anastasi V*, portraying the sorry plight of the soldier in the heat of the scorching summer. The narrator contrasts the delightful joys of watching the *sn prh*, the 'unfolding lotuses' in the marshes, and the terrible heat of the sun when the Nile does not rise. The scribe transcribes the Hebrew word פרה into Egyptian hieroglyphs to depict the lotus flower. The heat of the sun is portrayed as an abomination to man.⁷⁴

וכרת הזלזלים במזמרות

The expression, 'He will cut off the branches with pruning hooks' uses the Hebrew words כרת and זלזלים both of which are familiar to the Egyptians. The word כרת is found in magical formulae. *R k[u]rt* is used in the context of being cut off from the community of the living.⁷⁵ זלזל transcribed into hieroglyphs with the meaning 'stick' or 'branch' is found in many Egyptian texts.⁷⁶

ואתה הנטישות הסיר אתו

תו is a *hapax*. Attempts to determine the root and etymology are not conclusive. While the stem occurs only once, תו, תו, תו are metaplastic

72. This has already been recognized by Gordon. See *UT* §19.2563, p. 498. Cf. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 298. Lesko IV, p. 30.

73. The ripening process is described in the butler's dream in an Egyptian prison, Gen. 40.10. Cf. Num. 17.23. For the meaning of the phrase see Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, pp. 141, 197.

74. A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels: Bibliotheca Aegyptica, 1937), p. 59 line 7,5. Also R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 229-30. For *prh* see Lesko, I, p. 177.

75. I.E. Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, I (London: British Museum, 1960), p. 73 n. 47. In Late Egyptian *krt* means carnage or massacre. See Lesko, *Dictionary*, p. 44. In Assyrian it is *karātu*. See *CAD*, VIII pp. 215, 226.

76. See Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian*, pp. 389-91.

variants of the same root in post-biblical texts.⁷⁷ They convey the sense of 'destroy', 'knock to pieces'. Hence the stich that begins with וְכָרַת, 'he will cut off', emphasizes the theme of ruin in the two subsequent verses. Moreover, the grammatical transition in the second syllable from sere (*e*) to the stronger patach (*a*) in the pausal form, lengthens the sound to add an ominous tone.⁷⁸ Finally, the sibilant *š* resonates with devastation. We have the prophet stressing the exigency of the situation by using an additional word, הָהוּ, for emphasis. Therefore the phrase should be translated as 'and the shoots remove—utterly destroy'.⁷⁹

Isaiah 18.6

יַעֲזוּבוּ יַחֲדוֹ לַעֵיט הָרִים וּלְבַהֲמַת הָאָרֶץ

The prophet describes the carnage left to the vultures of the mountains, a subtle reference to the Egyptian gods (represented as birds of prey and wild beasts) who not only cannot help the Egyptians, but will consume them.

וּקִץ עֲלֵיו הָעֵיט וְכָל־בַּהֲמַת הָאָרֶץ עָלָיו תַּחֲרֹף

'The voracious birds shall summer upon them, all the beasts of the earth shall winter upon them'. In the ancient Near Eastern tradition this is the most ignominious death that can befall any enemy. We read in the Annals of Asurbanipal:

I fed their corpses, cut into small pieces, to dogs, pigs, *zibu*-birds, vultures, the birds of the sky and the fish of the ocean.⁸⁰

In his oracles against Egypt, Ezekiel echoes an analogous sentiment:

You shall not be brought together nor gathered,
I have given you to the beasts of the earth
and to the fowl of the heavens for food (Ezek. 29.5).

77. See *m. B. Qam.* 2.1; *b. B. Qam.* 19a. See also *m. Sanh.* 7.3. Cf. W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (Leipzig, 17th edn, 1915), p. 875.

78. See Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, §29g, §67v, §72dd.

79. For a similar use of נָשִׂיחוּ see Jer. 5.10.

80. J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 288. The stele of Eannatum, the stele of the Vultures, depicts the fate of the slain enemy whose body parts are carried away by vultures. See *ANEP*, fig. 301, p. 95.

The theme of v. 6 is a motif in Egyptian art and literature from pre-dynastic times. The pre-dynastic Battlefield Palette portrays a battle-scene where a lion (the symbol of the victorious king) and various birds of prey devour the contorted bodies of the subjugated enemies.⁸¹ This is certainly not a respectable death for an Egyptian, who abhorred any type of desecration of the body.⁸² The appropriate place for the death and burial of an Egyptian is in Egypt as described in the Tale of Sinuhe. Although Sinuhe had found fame and fortune in his land of refuge he lamented his fate:

Whatever god decreed this flight, have mercy, bring me home!—
What is more important than that my corpse be buried in the land in
which I was born.⁸³

The king of Egypt describes the proper burial procession:

A funeral procession is made for you on the day of burial; the mummy
case is of gold, its head of lapis lazuli. The sky is above you as you lie in
the hearse, oxen drawing you, musicians going before you...⁸⁴

Isaiah 18.7

Verses 1-6 are composed poetically. Verse 7 summarizes the theme in prose. The verse begins: *בַּעַת הַהוּא יוֹבֵל־שִׁי לַיהוָה צְבָאוֹת*, 'In that time יְשׁ will be brought to the Lord of Hosts'.

The Hebrew word יְשׁ is usually translated as 'gift' or 'tribute' and it has the same meaning in Aramaic and Ugaritic.⁸⁵ The meaning of this verse takes on an added dimension when we realize that in Egyptian *šꜣy* refers to a 'victim of fate'.⁸⁶ The tribute being brought to the Lord of

81. C. Aldred, *The Egyptians* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1985), p. 79. E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 103-104. In an Egyptian myth Horus assumes the form of a lion and slays his enemies with his claws. See H.W. Fairman, 'The Myth of Horus at Edfu', *JEA* 21.1 (1935), pp. 34-35.

82. For the Israelite view of the importance of a proper burial see Deut. 21.23 and *b. Sanh.* 46b; 47a. Cf. the 'Book of Tobit', *APOT*, I, pp. 174ff.

83. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), I, p. 228.

84. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, pp. 229-30.

85. See J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. II. *Aramaic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 66-67, 73. M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 1556. *UT* §19.2666, p. 502 and text 1013, line 13, p. 218.

86. *Wb.*, IV, pp. 402-403; Lesko, III, p. 130. *šꜣy* is the Egyptian god of fate or

Hosts consists of the fated ones, the Egyptians, and their gifts. The sentiments of the verse echo those of Ps. 68.30-32, reminding humankind that kings will bring שְׂוֹ, 'tribute', to God's temple at Jerusalem, and that the Egyptians and people of Kush will hasten to stretch out their hands to the God of Israel.

וַמֶּעַם

This is a compound word consisting of עַם, 'nation', preceded by וַמֶּ, a conjunctive waw with enclitic mem, used as an emphasizing conjunction.⁸⁷ The word should read, 'indeed a nation'. The poetic repetition of the introduction to the chapter adds emphasis to the climax.

אֶל-מִקְדָּשׁ

Here Isaiah alludes to the Holy Sanctuary. מִקְדָּשׁ designates a sacred place starting with the early biblical narratives.⁸⁸

שֵׁם - יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת - הַר-צִיּוֹן

The prophet brings the poetic circle to a close, by heralding one of the appellations of the God of Israel, one of his epithets and his cult place: 'Šm,⁸⁹ The Lord of Hosts, Mount Zion'.⁹⁰ Accordingly, the verse

destiny. He appears in the Judgment Scene in the Book of the Dead (Papyrus of Ani) and is usually coupled with Renenet, the goddess of fortune. E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (New York: Bell, 1960), pp. 193, 235. For color illustration see R.O. Faulkner, *Book of the Dead* (London: British Museum Publications, 1985), p. 14. These gods also appear in *The Instructions of Amenemope*, 7.11. See H.O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope* (Copenhagen: Andr. Fred. Host & Son, 1925), p. 54. Furthermore, Šzy was an enduring god. There were popular cults of Šzy lasting into the Graeco-Roman period. Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p. 82 n. 65.

87. G.A. Rendsburg, 'Eblaite Ū-MA and Hebrew WM-', in C.H. Gordon, G.A. Rendsburg and N.H. Winter (eds.), *Eblaitica: Essays on the Eblaite Archives and Eblaite Language* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987), pp. 38-39. C. Wallace, 'Wm—in Nehemiah 5.11', in Gordon *et al.* (eds.), *Eblaitica*, p. 31. The connection of this construction to the Eblaite language was first pointed out by C.H. Gordon. See his *Forgotten Scripts* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), p. 171; also *idem*, 'The "Waw Conversive"', pp. 87-90.

88. See Gen. 13.4; 22.14; 28.11. The Lord himself chooses his holy place. See. Exod. 20.21; Deut. 12.11, 14. In Rabbinic times מִקְדָּשׁ became an epithet for God himself. See *Gen. R.* 68.9; *Ab. Zar.* 40b; *Nidd.* 49b.

89. M. Lubetski, 'Šm as a Deity', *Religion* 17 (1987), pp. 1-14. See also

culminates with a stich that is easily recognizable to the Egyptians since it parallels many of their inscriptions describing their deity, his attributes and/or epithets and his cult place.⁹¹ One of the Egyptian inscriptions reads: *Pr Īmn, sr nḥtw, nty m [S3]k3*, 'The house of Amūn, Foreteller of Victories, which is in Sakō'.⁹²

Another text reads: *Pr Īmn ḥnt nfr m Mnfr*, 'The house of Amūn of the Beautiful Foreland in Memphis'.⁹³

With consummate skill Isaiah delivers a single message to two nations synchronously. His ingenious choice of terminology and concepts that address both the Hebrews and the Egyptians in a manner that is mutually intelligible is artistry of the highest order. The prophet's language is a testimony to a rich legacy—one that has not been adequately recognized.

Translation of the Text of Isaiah 18

1. Ho! land of the winged beetle,
That is in the region of the rivers of Kush,
2. Who sends envoys by way of the sea, in reed ships upon the waters,
Go, swift messengers,
To a nation of clean-shaven bow drawers,

C.H. Gordon, 'Eblaite and Northwest Semitic', in Gordon *et al.* (eds.), *Eblaïtica*, II, p. 128.

90. It is possible that the Egyptians were familiar with Zion. See M. Gilula, *D3IWNY = ZION?*, in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985), pp. 48-49, 345-47. An Egyptian Temple dating to the thirteenth century BCE has been found north of Jerusalem. See G. Barklay, 'A Late Bronze Age Temple in Jerusalem?', *IEJ* 46.1-2 (1996), p. 43.

91. The phenomenon of addressing the message in the form familiar to the addressee is common in the ancient Near East. Examples can be found in the Amarna Letters. See *EA* 147 lines 9-15. The hymn is in Egyptian style. See J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig: Otto Zeller Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964), pp. 608-609, 1246. Also W.F. Albright, 'The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre', *JEA* 23 (1937), pp. 197ff. Also W.L. Moran (ed.), *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), pp. 233-34.

92. A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 106.

93. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, p. 120. See also pp. 115, 117, 392D. Cf. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II, p. 105 for a votive stele inscribed with a hymn to Amen-Rē'.

- To a nation frightful from this time and onward,
 A tall, ship-going and trampling people,
 Through whose land the rivers flow,
3. All who dwell on earth and all who inhabit the earth below,
 As a banner is raised on the mountains, see! When a horn is blown,
 take heed!
 4. For thus the Lord has said to me,
 I will sit quietly, observing from My high throne.
 The heat of (the month of) Şah will be upon the Nile,
 There will be a heavy rain in the heat of the harvest.
 5. For before the harvest when the blossoming is completed,
 and the unripened fruit becomes a ripened grape,
 He will cut off the branches with pruning hooks,
 and the shoots remove—utterly destroy!
 6. They shall be left together to the voracious mountain birds and to the
 beasts of the earth.
 The voracious birds shall summer upon them and all the beasts of
 the earth shall winter upon them.
 7. In that time a tribute shall be brought to the Lord of Hosts,
 A nation of clean-shaven bow drawers. Indeed! A nation, frightful
 from this time and onward,
 A tall, ship-going and trampling people,
 Through whose land the rivers flow,
 To the Holy Sanctuary (of) Shem—The Lord of Hosts—(at) Mount
 Zion.

Part VI

THE CUNEIFORM WORLD

TWO HEADS FOR THE KING OF EBLA

Alfonso Archi

(1) The Assyrian kings used various forms of punishments to intimidate their enemies and terrorize rebels. After conquering Bit-Halupe, near River Habur, Aššurnāširpal II chose the following punishment:

I erected a pile in front of his gate; I flayed as many nobles as had rebelled against me (and) draped their skins over the pile; some I spread out within the pile, some I erected on stakes upon the pile, (and) some I placed on stakes around about the pile. I flayed many right through my land (and) draped their skins over the walls. I *slashed the flesh* of the eunuchs (and) of the royal eunuchs who were guilty. I brought Ahi-yababa to Niniveh, flayed him, (and) draped his skin over the wall of Nineveh. (Thus) have I constantly established my victory and strength over the land Laqu.¹

However, when attacking the mountain populations in the vicinity of the Upper Zab, 'which none of the kings my fathers had ever approached', Aššurnāširpal II imposed a different punishment: 'I felled 260 of their combat troops with the sword. I cut off their heads and formed (therewith) a pile.'²

Severed heads were left in those places where there had been betrayal. Since Ameka, king of Zamua, had refused to pay his tribute, Aššurnāširpal II moved against him: '(I) killed 50 of the combat troops of Ameka in the plain. I cut off their heads (and) hung (them) out on trees of the courtyard of his palace'.³ This public display of severed heads is such an eloquent warning that, for certain crimes, it has continued into relatively recent times. Revolutions which have opened the

1. A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), II, pp. 124-25.

2. Grayson, *Royal Inscriptions*, p. 123.

3. Grayson, *Royal Inscriptions*, p. 132.

door to our modern society have often used beheading and the display of severed heads.

Punishment for the guilty, a warning to his fellows, triumph to the victor: this is what decapitation of the enemy meant in the Assyrian period. The most significant is the case of Teumman, king of Elam. Assurbanipal says that:

Teumman, whom Ishtar deprived of his reason, has spoken as follows... The head of Teumman, king of Elam, at the command of Assur and Marduk, the great gods, my lords, [I cut off] in the presence of [his] armies... In my eighth campaign I marched against Dunanu... in Gambulu, who had put his trust in the king of Elam, had not submitted to my yoke... The head of Teumman, king of Elam, I hung on the neck of Dunanu. With the Elamite captives, the booty of Gambulu, which at the command of Assur my hands had captured, with singers and music I entered Nineveh amidst rejoicing.⁴

Esarhaddon had already hung the heads of enemy kings from the shoulders of their followers:

Abdi-milkutti, its king [that is, of Sidon], who had fled before my arms into the midst of the sea, I pulled out of the sea, like a fish. I cut off his head... As for Sanduarri, king of the cities of Kundi and Sizu... I snared him like a bird from out of the mountain and I cut off his head. That the might of Assur, my lord, might be manifested to (all) peoples, I hung the heads of Sanduarri and Abdi-milkutti on the shoulders of their nobles and with singing and music I paraded through the public square of Nineveh.⁵

4. D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (New York: Greenwood Press Reprinting, 1968), II, pp. 331-34. Other passages are: '[After... I had celebrated the feast] of the *bît-akît*, [had laid hold of the reins] of Ishtar, [surrounded by Dunanu], Samgunu and Apla [and the decapitated head of Teumman,] king of Elam, [whom Ishtar had given into my hand], I made the entrance into Arbela amid rejoicing'; 'I, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, displayed publicly the head of Teumman, king of Elam, in front of the gate inside the city, where from of old it had been said by the oracle: "The head of thy foes thou shalt cut off"', Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, pp. 395 §1041, 396 §1047. Further, cf. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, p. 393 §1031: 'Urtaku, the son-in-law of Teumman, king of Elam, who was wounded by an arrow, but did not die, called an Assyrian for his own beheading, saying: "Come, cut off my head, take it before the king, your lord and let them have mercy."' See in general also: CAD, N 1, p. 175: *nakāsu* 2a, p. 178: *nakāsu* 6a.

5. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, pp. 211-12 §§ 527-28. These two events are recorded also in a Neo-Babylonian chronicle; see A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and*

The Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, particularly the later ones, willfully insisted in describing acts of cruelty in a sadistic way, since terror was one of the means those kings applied in order to keep conquered lands subdued. The reliefs and inscriptions in their palaces were there to warn everybody who was received at court. If, for earlier periods, there is little mention of such punishments, this is not because some of them were not used. Those inscriptions had another message to convey.

Some tablets from the Mari archives of the eighteenth century report the decapitation of Išme-Addu, king of Ašnakkum, a city in the upper basin of River Habur. He had instigated troubles among the Ida-Maraš tribes to the detriment of Mari. Some of his colleagues, so as to be seen in a good light by Zimri-Lim, king of Mari, sent the head of unfortunate Išme-Addu to Mari, together with his weapons:

a servant of Šadum-labua, brother of Sammetar, king of Ašnakkum, a servant of Terru, king of Urkiš and a servant of Ḫammi-kun, king of Šuduhum, have caused to arrive at the city of Saggaratum the head of Išme-Addu, king of Ašnakkum... [These have said:] '...Terru and [Ḫammi-kun(?)]... [have gone] to Ašnakkum and have killed Išme-Addu' (M.7411, 4-23); '1 wooden bow of..., 5 bronze arrows belonging to Išme-Addu, king of Ašnakkum, which Abum-El has brought to Ašnakkum' (ARMT XXV 447, 1-7).⁶

(2) A similar case is seen at Ebla: a zealous ruler, so as to ingratiate himself with his overlord, sent him the severed heads of two small rulers who were his enemies. The Ebla tablets are mainly administrative, so events are registered in the accounts of goods, mostly delivered as ceremonial gifts. A monthly list of deliveries of dresses, to be dated to Arrukum, vizier of Irkab-Damu, the penultimate king, opens with this passage:

TM.75.G.10219 obv. I 1-13: [1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 AKTUM-TÚG] 1 ÍB-III-ŠA₆-DAR 1 DIB GÁxLÁ TAR K[Û-GI] NÍG-BA Kù[n]-Jti-du 1 SAL-

Babylonian Chronicles (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1975), p. 83, Chronicle 1, IV 6-8: '(The fifth year...) In the month Tishri the head of the king of Sidon was cut off and conveyed to Assyria. In the month Adar the head of the king of Kundu and Sisu was cut off and conveyed to Assyria.'

6. In another letter, ARM II 33, 5'-6', Šadum-labua states: 'Since I have cut off the head of Išme-Addu, the enemy of my lord (i.e. Zimri-Lim), and I have sent it to my lord...' All the events have been studied by D. Charpin, 'Un souverain éphémère en Ida-Maraš: Išme-Addu d'Ašnakkum', *MARI* 7 (1993), pp. 165-91; the texts M.7411 and ARM XXV 447 are at pp. 189-90.

ŦÚG 1 ÍB-III-DAR ma-za-um Ar-mi-um^{ki} in UD SAG EN Su-NE-du^{ki} ù
SAG EN Za-ma-rúm^{ki} ŠU-MU-^cTAG

[1 cloak, 1 tunic] 1 multicoloured kilt of good quality, a gold plate of the weight of 30 (shekels): gift for Kuntidu; 1 dress S., 1 multicoloured kilt, for the courier of Armium, when the head of the king of ŠuNEdu and the head of the king of Zamarum were delivered.

Starting with the vizier Arrukum, the Eblaite administration kept from one side monthly accounts of deliveries of dresses (where we also occasionally find silver and gold gifts related to consignments of dresses) and from the other side annual accounts of consignments of objects in precious metals. The following quotation is from TM.75.G.1902(+), the annual account concerning the deliveries of metals for the year to which the monthly document cited above belongs.

TM.75.G.1902 (= MEE X 27) (+) rev. III 6-IV 4: 1 DIB GÁxLÁ TAR
KŪ-GI NÍG-BA Kün-ti-ì(NI) Ar-mi-um^{ki} in UD 1 SAG EN Ši-NE-ì(NI)^{ki}
ù 1 SAG EN Za-ma-rúm^{ki} NÍG-GU-DU

a gold plate of the weight of 30 (shekels): gift for Kunti(d) of Azmium when they took in consignment the head of the king of ŠiNEi(d) and the head of the king of Zamarum.⁷

ŠuNEdu/ŠiNEi(d) and Zamarum would appear to be mentioned only in these documents.⁸ They were, therefore, two entities of minor importance, on the margins of the Eblaite political system, possibly destroyed by this victory by Armium. Their leaders, in the exaltation of that military success, are called 'kings', EN, a Sumerian title which at Ebla is to be equated with *mal(i)kum*. Ar-mi-um^{ki} (Ar-mi^{ki} is another writing attested also in TM.75.G.1902(+)) and constantly used in the later documents⁹ was a city-state which became increasingly integrated with Ebla,¹⁰ and can be identified as Armān(um) of the Mesopotamian cuneiform sources of the third millennium BCE.¹¹

7. The meaning 'take in consignment' is suggested by a parallelism with ŠU-MU-^cTAG₄ 'consign' from the preceding passage. This can be applied well to passages such as ARET IV 7 (18); 14 (21).

8. A. Archi, P. Piacentini and F. Pomponio, *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla* (Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi, 2; Rome: Università di Roma-La Sapienza, 1993) (= *ARES* II), pp. 442, 479.

9. Cf. M. Bonechi, *NABU* 1990/28, p. 21.

10. See *ARES* II, p. 168.

11. Naram-Sin C 5: Ar-ma-nam^{ki} ù Eb-la^{ki} cf. I.J. Gelb and B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Freiburger

In geographical names sibilants are sometimes written with different series of signs,¹² as in the case of *Su-NE-du*^{ki} / *Ši-NE-NI*^{ki}. The shifting of a dental stop in final position (-/iD/) to /p/ (-/iʔ/; NI = i) is also well attested.¹³ In TM.75.G.1902(+) it is to be found also in the writing *Kùn-ti-NI* for the personal name *Kùn-ti-du*.

The term *ma-za-um* (TM.75.G.10219 obv. I 3) occurs also in TM.75.G.1878 (= *MEE* X 24) obv. IV 16, another archaic text to be dated to the time of vizier Arrukum: 1 T[*ÚG-NI.NI* 1 *ÍB-III-DAR-TÚG...*]-il *ma-za-um* *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} (obv. IV 14-17), which shows that the name of that official from Armium ended with the element -II. There is no doubt that *ma-za-um* is an uncommon writing for *ma-za-lum*. According to the scribal uses of Ebla /l+V/ can be expressed simply by V.¹⁴ This form seems to exclude the interpretation /maššār-um/ 'guard, watchman'.¹⁵ The l- series can stay for etymological /r/;¹⁶

Altorientalische Studien, 7; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), p. 257.

12. See *ARES* II, p. 18.

13. Cf. GNs like *Ha-la-bi-du*^{ki}, *Mug-ri-du*^{ki}, *Za-ra-mi-du*^{ki}, see J. Krecher, 'Observations on the Ebla Toponyms', in A. Archi (ed.), *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving* (Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi, 1; Rome: Università di Roma-La Sapienza, 1988), pp. 174-75; *ARES* II, p. 18. It does not appear necessary to suggest a value NI = *id*_x, suggested by M. Krebernik, 'Mesopotamian Myths at Ebla: *ARET* 5, 6 and *ARET* 5, 7', in P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla* (Quaderni di Semitistica, 18; Florence: Università di Firenze, 1992), p. 123; and M. Bonechi, *I nomi geografici dei testi di Ebla* (Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, 12.1; Wiesbaden: Ludwig Richter Verlag, 1993), pp. XXVII-XXVIII n. 9. The sign NI at Ebla has already the following values: *ni*, *i*, *ʾa*₅, *bu*₁₆.

14. A. Archi, 'Studies in the Pantheon of Ebla', *Or.* 63 (1994), p. 250, with previous bibliography.

15. For this interpretation, see P. Fronzaroli, 'Problemi di fonetica, 1', *SEb* 1 (1979), p. 84; *idem*, 'Materiali per il lessico eblaita, 1', *SEb* 7 (1984), pp. 170-71; G. Pettinato, *Testi amministrativi della Biblioteca L. 2769* (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla, 2; Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1980) (= *MEE* II), p. 30, ad. II. VIII 6-7.

16. M. Krebernik, 'Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla', *ZA* 72 (1982), pp. 210-11. One has, however, to consider *i-sa-i*, which is an anomalous writing for *i-sa-rí*; the meaning of this term is explained by the equivalence: *SI-SÁ* = *i-sa-lum* /*yišar-um*/ 'regular, normal', see Fronzaroli, 'Materiali', p. 187, and M. Bonechi, 'Un atto di culto a Ebla', in P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Miscellanea eblaitica*, II (Quaderni di Semitistica 16; Florence: Università di Firenze, 1989), II, pp. 138-39.

but the writing *ma-za-um* is in favour of etymological //l/. Therefore, the correct interpretation is /mazzāl-um/ 'messenger', from *mzl 'to run'.¹⁷ In the hierarchical order of the Syrian states of that period, the *mazzālum* followed the king (en), the Elders (ábba) and the 'agents' (maškim).¹⁸ Therefore, Kuntidu could be the name of the king of Armium.

Caesar, at the sight of Pompey's head, 'wept and lamented bitterly and did not reward the murders' (Cass. Dio 42.8). Irkab-Damu, instead, sent Kuntidu dresses, as well as a gold ingot weighing 235 gr, and, in accordance with the ceremonial tradition of that time, rewarded the messenger who carried them.

(3) A record of an annual account of outgoing metals, dated to the last vizier, Ibbi-Zikir (ninth year, according to a provisional ordering),¹⁹ concerns '6 shekels of tin to be melted in 54 shekels of copper: decoration for the head of Ilba-Išar which (is) on the gate of the king', 6 *GÍN DILMUN AN-NA ŠUB si-in 54 GÍN DILMUN A-GAR₅-GAR₅ NU₁₁-ZA 1 SAG Íl-ba-i-šar LÚ al₆ KÁ EN*, TM.75.G.2429 obv. XVIII 6-14.

This head 'on the gate of the king' is not that of a statue representing a royal ancestor.²⁰ It can only be a severed head placed at the entrance to the Palace or the city. The careful Eblaite administration did not fail to record the bronze support to which the head was affixed (6 shekels of tin and 54 shekels of copper: 1 mina, that is, 470 gr of bronze). The name of Ilba-Išar is known only as that of an official charged with a mission to the king of Ša/Šè-ti-LUM^{ki}, a place which is mentioned extremely rarely; it did not belong, therefore, to the area under the political influence of Ebla.²¹ *ARET* IV 4 (26)-(27) records three pieces

17. See G. Pettinato, *Testi lessicali monolingui della Biblioteca L. 2769* (Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla, 3; Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1981), p. 183 ad l. 13; M. Fales, 'La radice *mzl nei testi di Ebla', *SEL* 1 (1984), pp. 24-25.

18. See *ARET*, I, pp. 224-25, 294.

19. This classification has been given by A. Archi, 'Les comptes rendus annuels de métaux', in J.-M. Durand (ed.), *Actes du Colloque Mari, Ebla et les Hourrites* (Paris, 1996; in press).

20. For a list of the ancestors of the kings of Ebla, see A. Archi, 'Chronologie relative des archives d'Ebla', in *Amurru* 1 (1996), pp. 13-15.

21. It occurs only in *ARET*, VIII 532 (32), beside the two texts quoted here; cf. *ARES*, II, pp. 440-41. M.C. Astour, 'Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transjordan', in D.I. Owen and M.A. Morrison (eds.), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of*

of clothing which Ilba-Išar must give as a gift to the king of ŠatīLUM; Ilba-Išar himself receives as 'provisions for the journey', *NÍG-KASKAL*, three pieces of clothing of lesser worth, 6 shekels of silver and 5 minas of copper. The annual account of precious metals TM.75.G.1918 (*MEE* X 29) obv. XVI 19-23, in turn, records '6 shekels of silver as provisions for the journey for Ilba-Išar who went to ŠatīLUM'.²² Since TM.75.G.1918 dates from the fifth year of the mandate of Ibbi-Zikir and, therefore, precedes TM.75.G.2429, it is likely that the severed head which hung before the king's residence was that of the same official who had gone to ŠatīLUM, and who had been guilty of some offence.

(4) A difficult passage, TM.75.G.1358 (*MEE* II 37) rev. VII 10–VIII 19, has:²³

1+1+1 dresses to Dubi of Iti-Kamiš who consigned the head of the king of Kakmium (*ŠU-MU-‘TAG’4 SAG EN Kak-mi-um^{ki}*), 1+1 dresses to Inti, the overseer of Batine, when he gave his assistance (on the occasion) of the death of the king (*NÍG-DINGIR-DINGIR-DINGIR-DINGIR UG7 EN*) of Kakmium. 1 dress and 1 bracelet of copper and silver for the delivery of the king of Kakmium himself (*ŠU-MU-‘TAG’4 ME:TE²⁴ EN K.*). 1 cloth for the king of Kakmium on the occasion of his death (*in UD UG7-[s]û?*).

From the text, no clear elements emerge to show that, at that time, there was enmity between Ebla and Kakmium: 'a barber takes in possession gifts for the king Kakmium (*ŠU-I ŠU-DU8 EN K.*)', obv. I 14–II 6; an official takes in possession (*ŠU-DU8*) gifts for the son of the king of Kakmium, obv. IV 2-8, rev. I 8-11; dresses are taken in possession (*ŠU-DU8*) from another official for Maḥra-Damu and Durdulum of

Nuzi and the Hurrians (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1987), II, p. 12, proposes the identification of this city with *Ša-ti-lu*, in the Transtigridian, attested in an inscription of Šu-Sin of Ur.

22. The similarity between these passages of the two documents has been noted by M.G. Biga and F. Pomponio, 'Critères de rédaction comptable et chronologie relative des textes d'Ebla', *MARI* 7 (1993), p. 119.

23. The document is dated to the year of the death of the vizier Arrukum, see rev. VI 13–VII 1: '(gifts) for anointing the head (i.e. the purification ceremony on the occasion of a death) of the wife of Arrukum', *Ī-GIŠ-SAG DAM A*. Ibrium, who succeeded to Arrukum as vizier, is mentioned in obv. I 10.

24. The Lexical Lists have: *TE-ME* = *ramānum*, cf. M. Krebernik, 'Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla. Teil II', *ZA* 73 (1983), p. 37.

Kakmium, obv. III 1-8. Kakmium, mentioned very frequently in Eblaite documents, was a city-state located in the region to the north of Ebla. We cannot exclude a rebellion at the time of Irkab-Damu. Ilba-Damu²⁵ succeeded the king whose death is mentioned in this text.

(5) Although the administrative documents are silent on this point, the decapitation of the rulers of ŠuNEdu and Zamarum, like that of Ilba-Išar, could have been provoked only by a guilt for which they were held responsible. However, it would seem that many enemies killed in battle were beheaded also. The proof of this is not epigraphic but figurative.

In 1988, several limestone inlays came to light in the northern sector of the west unit of the Royal Palace G.²⁶ The carved side was found always turned towards the ground. Originally, the inlays were fixed to wooden planks (which have disappeared entirely) that were used, in part, as thresholds of a room. The panel, which originally decorated a room of the palace, was probably slightly higher than 3 m, and had 12 registers which followed each other alternating one register with scenes of battle and another with lion-headed eagles, each grasping in its claws two man-headed bulls (the two last registers were both decorated with military scenes). The panel was probably dismantled because it was damaged. This celebrated a victory of Irkab-Damu (the father of the last king) or, more probably, of his predecessor, Igriš-Ḫalab. However, the panel is only a few decades later than the Stele of the Vultures with which Eannatum of Lagaš celebrated his victory over Umma. On the obverse of the stele the emblem of the war-god Ningirsu, the lion-headed eagle Imdugud/Anzu, appears frequently: (a) as the handle of the net (over two lions); (b) on the head-dress of the female figure behind the large male figure; (c) behind that female figure; (d) as the handle of the reins of the god on the chariot in the lower register.²⁷

The iconography of the panel from Ebla, although heavily influenced

25. See *ARES*, II, p. 326.

26. See P. Matthiae, 'Masterpieces of Early and Old Syrian Art: Discoveries of the 1988 Ebla Excavations in a Historical Perspective', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 75 (1989), pp. 32-42, and plates I-VI.

27. Cf. I.J. Winter, 'After the Battle is Over: The *Stele of the Vultures* and the Beginning of Historical Narrative in the Art of the Ancient Near East', in H.L. Kessler and M. Shreve Simpson (eds.), *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Age* (Studies in the History of Art, 16; Washington, 1985), pp. 13-16.

by Mesopotamian models, is the result of a local interpretation: the Anzu-bird grasps a pair of man-headed bulls and not of lions, goats, deers or oxen.²⁸ In Mesopotamia it is the 'hero' who tames a pair of man-headed bulls.²⁹ As far as concerns some details of the Eblaite inlays,

the helmets, the armours, the knapsacks are identical, and, as concerns the compositional aspects, the position of the prisoners pushed and grasped by the nape of the neck, is closely similar to inlays with a military theme from the Prae-Sargonic Palace I at Mari. However, other compositional elements, like the killing of the enemies and the presentation of the cut off heads... are typical of the Ebla production.³⁰

These are cruel scenes: the defeated enemies are thrown on their backs and slaughtered with daggers; their severed heads are gathered in panniers or hang, grasped by the hair, from the hands of the victors (see figs. 1 and 2). It is a known fact that in many cultures warriors used to prove the number of enemies killed by taking their heads from the battlefield. For the ancient Near East, however, the inlays of Ebla represent the only testimony to such a custom.

Eannatum and Entemena of Lagaš (about 2450–2400), and later, the kings of Akkad, claim to have killed thousands of enemies and to have left heaps of corpses on the battlefields: *KI.GAL = SUR₆ = birūtum*.³¹

28. Cf. I. Führ-Jaepelt, *Materialen zur Ikonographie des Löwenadlers Imdugud-Anzu* (Munich: Selbstverlag, 1972). For the diffusion of Anzu outside Sumer, see also the lapis lazuli Anzu figure with gold mask found at Tell Brak, published by R.J. Matthews, W. Matthews and H. McDonald, 'Excavations at Tell Brak, 1994', *Iraq* 56 (1994), p. 185.

29. Cf. the votive plaque from Mari, where scenes with Anzu, who grasps two goats, alternate with those of the 'hero' who tames a pair of lions, goats and man-headed bulls, J. Boese, *Altnesopotamische Weihplatten* (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, 6; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1971), tables XXVI–XXVII.

30. Matthiae, 'Masterpieces', p. 41.

31. See A. Westenholz, 'berūtum, damtum, and Old Akkadian KI.GAL: Burial of Dead Enemies in Ancient Mesopotamia', *Afo* 23 (1970), pp. 29–31, who, however, interprets this term as 'burial mounds'. *CAD*, B, p. 267: *birūtu* 'a rare and poetic synonym for destruction'. I.J. Gelb, 'Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia', *JNES* 32 (1973), at p. 73 writes: 'Although our information for the early periods is rather sketchy, still it is interesting to note that Eannatum and Entemena, rulers of Lagash around 2500 B.C., write not of taking prisoners, but of piling up



Figure 1. *Ebla, Royal Palace G, inlay TM.88.G.300*



Figure 2. *Ebla, Royal Palace G, inlay TM.88.G.165*

The Stele of the Vultures shows, on the reverse face, Eannatum at the head of his phalanx of armed spearmen marching over naked bodies of the fallen enemies. In the upper register vultures are shown devouring the dismembered corpses (heads, but also arms) of the enemy. This same motif is found once again on the rather badly damaged base of a monument of Sargon of Akkad, where the bodies of those killed are devoured by vultures and dogs.³² It would appear that in Mesopotamia the bodies of the enemies killed were left on the battlefield, the prey of animals, thus denying them burial which was essential were they to enjoy some happy form of existence in the afterlife. For this belief, I cite a passage from Assurbanipal, although from several centuries later:

Nabu-bel-šumate, grandson of Merodach-Baladan (who had committed suicide)... I did not give his body to be buried. I made him more dead than he was before. I cut off his head and hung it on the back of Nabukata-sabat.³³

thousands of enemy corpses in large heaps (Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI*, pp. 20, 24, 26 and 38)'. For Rimuš and Naram-Sin of Akkad, see I.J. Gelb and B. Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, pp. 207 and 93.

32. P. Amiet, *L'art d'Agadé au Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1976), pp. 8-9, 73 (1 d); cf. J. Börker-Klähn, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* (Baghdader Forschungen, 4; Verlag Philipp von Zabern: Mainz am Rhein, 1982), pp. 127-28 (no. 18).

33. See Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, p. 312.

TWO LETTER-PRAYERS TO AMURRU

William W. Hallo*

The Akkadian name Amurru designates an ethnic entity conventionally equated with the biblical Amorites or, alternatively, 'a social group—the Semitic nomads from the western steppe',¹ as well as the steppe itself, an area located on the frontier between Mesopotamia and the Levant. It thus seems appropriate to discuss Amurru in the context of a tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon, whose work has so often illuminated both sides of just this frontier.

The first known reference to an Amorite occurs in a Fara text; more than 30 references have been identified in the Ebla corpus, and the ethnic label recurs in Sargonic times.² In Old Babylonian times, the Amorites seem to have been regarded, and to have regarded themselves, as distinct from the Akkadians of Mesopotamia. This is suggested as early as the beginning of the First Dynasty of Babylon by the mention of an 'assembly of Amurru' (*puhrum ša Amurrim*) in a letter from Sippar-Yahrurum,³ largely ignored since its publication in 1967,⁴

* The substance of this paper was presented to the joint meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Society of Biblical Literature, Chicago, 20 November 1994, for the session entitled 'Scholar for all Seasons: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon'.

1. J.J.M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon: A Study of the Semitic Deities Attested to in Mesopotamia before Ur III* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 16. According to J. Zarins, 'Jebel Bishri and the Amorite Homeland: the PPNB phase', in O.M.C. Haex *et al.* (eds.), *To the Euphrates and Beyond: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Maurits N. van Loon* (Rotterdam/Brookfield, VT: A.A. Balkema, 1989), p. 44, the Amorites were 'Semitic populations...from the western desert of Iraq and Southeastern Syria' involved in 'pastoral nomadism'.

2. A. Archi, 'Mardu in the Ebla texts', *Or* 54 (1985), pp. 7-13.

3. K.A. Al-A'dami, 'Old Babylonian Letters from ed-Der', *Sumer* 23 (1967), pp. 151-67 and pls. 1-17 and facing p. 156, esp. pp. 153-56 (IM 19431 = IM

which also refers to Sumu-abum, presumably the first king of that dynasty (c. 1894–1881 BCE), and Alumb(i)umu of Marad, previously identified as a contemporary of the second king, Sumu-la-el (c. 1880–1845).⁵

Further attesting to the distinctiveness of the Old Babylonian Amorites are the repeated references to ‘an Akkadian or Amorite’ in the edicts of the later kings of the dynasty, notably Ammi-ditana(?) (c. 1683–1647)⁶ and Ammi-saduqa (c.1646–1626).⁷ The latter, moreover, claimed a common ancestry with the Amorite rulers of Assyria in the so-called ‘Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty’.⁸ A final index of Amorite self-awareness was the belief in a deity variously called ‘the Amorite god’⁹ or simply Amurru.

The evidence on Amurru the deity has been critically assembled by Edzard; the following survey may be regarded as a supplement.¹⁰ He is not attested in the texts of Early Dynastic date from Abu Salabikh,¹¹

49341!). For the possible identification of ed-Der (Tall ad-Dair) with Sippar-Yahrurum, see L. de Meyer in *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes* 3 (1980), pp. 208–209.

4. But cf. S.J. Lieberman in M. de J. Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial* (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 14; Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1992), p. 129 n. 13.

5. W.F. Leemans, ‘King Alumbiumu’, *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 48–49.

6. F.R. Kraus, *Königliche Verfügungen in altbabylonischer Zeit* (SD, 11; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), p. 160 line 7; for the assignment to Ammi-ditana, see p. 293. For other suggestions see W.W. Hallo, ‘Slave Release in the Biblical World in Light of a New Text’, in Z. Zevit *et al.* (eds.), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), pp. 79–93, esp. 81 n. 5.

7. Kraus, *Königliche Verfügungen*, pp. 170–75, pars. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9.

8. J.J. Finkelstein, ‘The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty’, *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 95–118.

9. ^dDINGIR.MAR.TU = *ilum amurrûm*. Or: ‘the god of Amurru’ (*il Amurrim*).

10. D.O. Edzard, ‘Martu (Mardu). A. Gott’, *RLA*, VII, pp. 433–38; previously E. Ebeling, ‘Amurru. 2. a) Gott’, *RLA*, I, pp. 101–103. See now also J. Klein, ‘The God Martu in Sumerian Literature’, in I.L. Finkel and M.J. Geller (eds.), *Sumerian Gods and their Representations* (Cuneiform Monographs, 7; Groningen: Styx, 1987), pp. 99–116. (This study appeared too late to be included here.)

11. P. Mander, *Il Pantheon di Abu-Şālabīkh* (Istituto Universitario Orientale; Series Minor 26; Naples, 1986).

Fara¹² or Ebla,¹³ but is known from theophoric personal names beginning in Old Akkadian (Sargonic) times¹⁴ and from offering lists beginning in neo-Sumerian (Ur III) times.¹⁵ By Old Babylonian times, there are four known royal inscriptions dedicated to Amurru the deity, all dating around 1800 BCE, one by Damiq-ilishu, the last king of Isin (1816–1794),¹⁶ two on behalf of Rim-Sin, the last king of Larsa (1822–1763),¹⁷ and one on behalf of Hammurapi of Babylon (1792–1750).¹⁸ We are also reasonably well informed on what the deity looked like, or at least how he was pictured on Old Babylonian cylinder seals, thanks especially to the study by Kupper; by contrast, the contemporaneous canonical cuneiform literature on Amurru is not extensive.¹⁹

In Akkadian, a 45-line hymn to the ‘Amorite deity’ (of Old Babylonian date) was published by Gurney.²⁰ In Sumerian, Amurru was known as Martu (or perhaps Mardu or Marru or Amarru).²¹ The earliest literary text addressed to Martu (and Numushda) may be a dialectal (*eme-sal*) hymn in syllabic orthography from Lagash published by

12. LAK 211 refers to d^{TU}; cf. Edzard, ‘Martu’, p. 433.

13. F. Pomponio, ‘I nomi divini nei testi di Ebla’, *UF* 15 (1983), pp. 141–56. Previously G. Pettinato, ‘Culto ufficiale ad Ebla durante il regno di Ibbi-Sipīš’, *OrAnt* 18 (1979), pp. 85–215 and pls. i–xii.

14. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, pp. 15–16, 69–70.

15. N. Schneider, *Die Götternamen von Ur III* (AnOr, 19; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1939), p. 41 No. 307.

16. W.W. Hallo, ‘Oriental Institute Museum Notes 10: The Last Years of the Kings of Isin’, *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 54–72. Latest re-edition by D. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods, 4; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 103–104.

17. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, pp. 305–308.

18. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, p. 360.

19. J.-R. Kupper, *L’Iconographie du dieu Amurru dans la glyptique de la I^{re} dynastie babylonienne* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, Mémoires, 55,1; Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1961). Cf. pp. 69–76, for the ‘sources littéraires’.

20. O.R. Gurney, *Literary and Miscellaneous Texts in the Ashmolean Museum* (OECT, 11; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), No. 1; cf. pp. 15–19 and W. von Soden, ‘Zu dem altbabylonischen Hymnus an Anmartu und Ašratum mit Verheissungen an Rim-Sin’, *NABU* (1989), p. 78 No. 105.

21. For various proposals see A. Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder* (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 1959/1; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1959), p. 120 n. 2.

Thureau-Dangin²² and partly edited by Poebel.²³ There are three fragmentary collections of compositions which include hymns to the deity,²⁴ one of them, also in syllabic orthography, edited by Bergmann.²⁵ There is a short 'tambourine-lament' (*ér-šém-ma*)²⁶ published by Figulla,²⁷ and two 'long songs' (*šir-gíd-da*)²⁸ published by Chiera.²⁹ One of these, a fairly standard hymn of 58 lines, was edited by Falkenstein.³⁰

The other one, longer and more important, is mythological in character, and was characterized as 'an Amorite creation story in Sumerian' by Chiera, who provided a first transliteration and translation of the text.³¹ It was renamed 'The Marriage of Martu' by Kramer,³² and seems to involve the deity's wooing of the daughter of the god Numushda of

22. F. Thureau-Dangin in G. Cros, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1910), p. 207.

23. A. Poebel, 'Sumerische Untersuchungen. II: V. Der Emesal-Text AO 4331 + 4335 Vs. 2-5', *ZA* 37 (1927), pp. 161-76, 245-72.

24. *VS* 2.75-77.

25. E. Bergmann, 'Untersuchungen zu syllabisch geschriebenen sumerischen Texten: 3', *ZA* 57 (1965), pp. 31-33.

26. For this genre, and the translation offered here, see in greater detail Hallo, 'Lamentations', and J.M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. III (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), pp. 1871-81.

27. CT 42.7 iv; cf. S.N. Kramer, 'CT XLII: a Review Article', *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 41. The text is 28 lines long.

28. On this genre see C. Wilcke, 'Formale Gesichtspunkte in der sumerischen Literatur', in S.J. Lieberman (ed.), *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen* (AS, 20; Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 287; it is entered among other genres in line 594 of the unilingual lexical list known as 'Old Babylonian Proto-Lú'; see *Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon* 12 (1969), p. 54.

29. E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Crozer Theological Seminary Babylonian Publications, 1; Upland, PA, 1924), No. 8; *idem*, *Sumerian Epics and Myths* (Oriental Institute Publications, 15; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), No. 58.

30. Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder*, No. 4.

31. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, pp. 14-23.

32. S.N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 21; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944; 2nd edn, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), pp. 98-101 and n. 89. Cf. *idem*, *The Sumerians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 253; new edition *idem*, 'The Marriage of Martu', in J. Klein and A. Skaist (eds.), *Bar Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), pp. 11-27.

Kazallu, already linked to Martu in the Lagash hymn mentioned above (n. 22). Since Kazallu lay upstream from Nippur between the Euphrates and Arahtum Rivers, the city may well have served as a kind of way station for Amorites on their way to Sumer.³³ In Buccellati's words, the composition may be said to have dealt with the 'marriage of a Mesopotamian woman to an Amorite nomad, and it could well be that a princely marriage had provided the Sitz im Leben for the myth'.³⁴ In a recent study, Klein subtitles it 'the urbanization of "barbaric nomads"'.³⁵

For my purposes here, perhaps the most relevant literary text is a prayer to Martu published by Langdon which has the characteristic conclusion of a 'lament for appeasing the heart [that is, of the angry deity]' (*ér-ša-hun-gá*),³⁶ although not its generic subscript. It was dated to the Kassite period by Bergmann,³⁷ but to the Old Babylonian period by Michalowski,³⁸ and is partially paralleled by another Old Babylonian text, possibly from Sippar³⁹ or Lagash.⁴⁰ Since I hold fast to my conviction that such laments may be considered successors to the letter-prayers as means of personal communication with the divine,⁴¹ it raises the question whether there were, in fact, letter-prayers to Amurru in the Old Babylonian repertoire. The answer is yes—and not only in Sumerian but also in Akkadian.

33. Kupper, *L'Iconographie*, p. 75.

34. G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Istituto Orientale di Napoli Ricerche, 1; Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1966), p. 339.

35. J. Klein, 'The Marriage of Martu: The Urbanization of "Barbaric Nomads"', in M. Malul (ed.), *Mutual Influences of Peoples in the Ancient Near East* (Michmanim, 9; Haifa: University of Haifa, 1996), pp. 83-96. Cf. also *idem*, 'Additional Notes to "The Marriage of Martu"', in A.F. Rainey (ed.), *kinattūtu ša dārāti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1993), pp. 93-106.

36. On this genre see most recently Hallo, 'Lamentations'. Previously S.M. Maul, '*Herzberuhigungsklagen*': *Die sumerisch-akkadischen Eršahunga-Gebete* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), and the reviews by M.E. Cohen, *JAOS* 110 (1990), pp. 571-72 and by Hallo, *BiOr* 49 (1992), pp. 77-78.

37. Bergmann, 'Untersuchungen', pp. 33-42.

38. P. Michalowski, 'On the Early History of the Eršahunga Prayer', *JCS* 39 (1987), pp. 37-48, esp. p. 42 (4).

39. Michalowski, 'Early History', pp. 42-43 (6).

40. Hallo, review of M. Çiğ and H. Kizilyay, *Sumerian Literary Tablets and Fragments in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. I*, *JCS* 24 (1971), p. 40.

41. See Hallo, above, n. 36.

To begin with the Akkadian evidence, van Soldt has published what he regards as 'probably a school exercise',⁴² containing a late Old Babylonian letter to Amurru⁴³ in Akkadian.⁴⁴ The letter is said to be a *ze'pum*,⁴⁵ defined by Kraus as a kind of letter⁴⁶ and by Finkelstein more particularly as a roughly square tablet, typically used for letters which centered on an order or directive to the addressee to deliver some commodity to a third party or to the sender, and dated to the late Old Babylonian period beginning with Ammi-ditana.⁴⁷ This text, however, does not answer to this description as regards its contents. It is not a 'letter-order', to use the term first coined by Oppenheim,⁴⁸ but a 'letter-prayer', using the term first introduced into the discussion by me.⁴⁹ Herewith van Soldt's translation of the letter:

(1-3) Speak to my lord Amurru whose pronouncement is heard before Shamash: (4) Thus says Ardam, your servant. (5-6) You have created me among men and you have made me pass (safely ?) along the street. (7-9) Also, I used to bring you a sheep offering every year and I prepared (it) in honor of your venerable rank (*ana ilūtika kabittim*). (10-12) (But) now an enemy has befallen me (*ikšudannima*) and I am miserable (*muškēnekūma*). (Even) my brothers do not come to my help (*ul i'arirūni*). (13-14) If your great divine power (?) (*AN-ka rabitum*)... (*ša-ra-am*) (me), raise me up from the bed on which I am lying. (15-17) (Then) let me come to you, to your divine presence, bringing a generous (*tahdam*) sheep offering. (18-19)... (*da mu za ši ki il ma zu / la ma x*

42. A parallel of sorts may be found in the tradition of 'model-letters' in Chinese culture; cf. A. McNair, 'The Engraved Model-letters Compendia of the Song Dynasty', *JAOS* 114 (1994), pp. 209-25. My colleague H. Stimson assures me that the model-letters in these compendia indeed refer to epistles not characters.

43. Misspelled ^dMAR.MAR.TU, but this is just one of 'many mistakes' noted by the editor.

44. W.H. van Soldt, *Letters in the British Museum* (AbB, 12; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), pp. 84-85, No. 99.

45. Van Soldt, *Letters*, p. 84.

46. F.R. Kraus, 'Altbabylonisches *ze'pum*', *BiOr* 24 (1967), pp. 12-14. Previously Hallo, 'The Royal Inscriptions of Ur: a Typology', *HUCA* 33 (1962), p. 14.

47. J.J. Finkelstein, *Late Old Babylonian Documents and Letters* (YOS, 13; New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 4-6; cf. S. Greengus, review of CT 58 and AbB 7, *JAOS* 101 (1981), p. 258.

48. Hallo, 'The Neo-Sumerian Letter-Orders', *BiOr* 26 (1969), pp. 171-75, esp. p. 172.

49. Hallo, 'Individual prayer in Sumerian: The Continuity of a Tradition', *JAOS* 88 (1968), repr. in *Essays in Memory of E.A. Speiser* (ed. W.W. Hallo; AOS, 53, 1968), pp. 71-89, esp. p. 76.

ma). May my family not be dispersed (*qinni la ipparar*). (20-22) May the one who sees me submit a petition (?) (*ušaqrīb*) to your lofty divine power.

The evidence for the existence of a tradition of Old Babylonian letter-prayers written in Akkadian has been mounting steadily.⁵⁰ In 1968, I was able to list only four possible examples, three of them from Mari.⁵¹ One of these is probably addressed, not to a personal deity (*lamassu*), but to an Assyrian princess named Lamassi or Lamassi-Assur.⁵² The others have been newly translated by Moran,⁵³ Charpin and Durand⁵⁴ and Foster⁵⁵ respectively. (Whether the appeal of Kussulu⁵⁶ to the moon-god⁵⁷ is a letter-prayer⁵⁸ or an exercise in rhetoric⁵⁹ or even a parody⁶⁰ remains a matter of debate.) In addition,

50. Cf. the survey by R. Borger, *RLA* 3 (1957–71), pp. 575–76, to which the following may be considered a supplement.

51. Hallo, 'Individual Prayer', p. 78 n. 43.

52. M. Birot *et al.*, *Répertoire analytique* 2 (*ARM*, 16/1; Paris: Geuthner, 1979), p. 143 s.vv. (*ARM* 4.68).

53. W.L. Moran, 'A Letter to a God', *ANET* (3rd edn, 1969), p. 627, based on G. Dossin, 'Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari', *Syria* 19 (1938), pp. 125–26).

54. D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, 'La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim', *MARI* 4 (1985), pp. 339–42, with a new copy; cf. pp. 293–99; cf. J.M. Sasson, 'Yasmah-Addu's Letter to God (*ARM* 1:3)', *NABU* (1987), pp. 63–64 No. 109.

55. B.R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993), p. 157 No. II 38 = *idem*, *From Distant Days: Myths, Tales, and Poetry of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1995), p. 294; previous translation by T. Jacobsen *et al.*, *Before Philosophy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1949), p. 221 (*YOS* 2:141).

56. I follow the transcription of Foster, *Before the Muses*, I, pp. 154–55 = *idem*, *From Distant Days*, pp. 293–94, on the assumption that the name alludes to a bodily defect, perhaps involving the *kaslulkislu*.

57. C.J. Gadd and S.N. Kramer, *Literary and Religious Texts: Second Part* (*UET*, 6/2) No. 402.

58. So Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur* (1986), pp. 326–29, followed by K. Hecker and W.H.P. Römer, *Lieder und Gebete* (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, 2.5; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1989), pp. 750–52.

59. W.L. Moran, 'UET 6, 402: persuasion in the plain style', *JANESCU* 22 (1993), pp. 113–20; W.W. Hallo, *Origins: The Ancient Near Eastern Background of Some Modern Western Institutions* (Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East, 6; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), p. 173.

60. So tentatively D.O. Edzard, review of *Lieder und Gebete. I*, by W.H.P. Römer and K. Hecker, *Or* 63 (1994), pp. 138, 139.

Kraus⁶¹ and Foster⁶² have identified additional examples of the genre, and de Meyer has published a new one from his excavations at Sippar-Yahrurum,⁶³ addressed by the lamentation-priest Ur-Utu to a goddess.⁶⁴ There is now even a bilingual letter-prayer addressed to Zimri-Lim of Mari, according to Charpin.⁶⁵

When we turn to unilingual Sumerian letter-prayers, there were already nine addressed to various deities in the 'list of letter-prayers and other neo-Sumerian literary letters' which I compiled in 1968,⁶⁶ and their number has been augmented by at least one entirely new example of the genre, addressed to Nin-Shubur.⁶⁷ The list today is in need of updating, since some of its entries have meantime appeared in proper editions, most notably the letter-prayer of Sin-iddinam, king of Larsa, to Nin-Isina,⁶⁸ and that of Nin-shatapada daughter of Sin-kashid,

61. F.R. Kraus, 'Ein altbabylonischer Privatbrief an eine Gottheit', *RA* 65 (1971), pp. 27-36; *idem*, *AbB* 5 (1972), p. 140 (TCL 1.9). New translation by Foster, *Before the Muses*, I, p. 156 No. II 37 = *idem*, *From Distant Days*, p. 294. F.R. Kraus, 'Eine neue Probe akkadischer Literatur: Brief eines Bittstellers an eine Gottheit', *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 205-209; repr. in J.M. Sasson (ed.), *Studies in Literature from the Ancient Near East...dedicated to Samuel Noah Kramer* (AOS, 65; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1984), pp. 205-209.

62. S. Dalley *et al.*, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1976), No. 150, as interpreted by B.R. Foster, 'Letters and Literature: A Ghost's Entreaty', in M.E. Cohen *et al.* (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993), pp. 98-102.

63. L. de Meyer, 'Une lettre d'Ur-Utu galamah à une divinité', in M. Lebeau and P. Talon (eds.), *Reflets des deux fleuves: Volume de Mélanges offerts à André Finet* (*Akkadica* Supplementum, 6; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), pp. 41-43. Cf. above, n. 3.

64. On this Ur-Utu, see for now M. Tanret, 'Les tablettes scolaires découvertes à Tell ed-Der', *Akkadica* 26 (1982), p. 39.

65. Charpin, 'Les malheurs d'un scribe ou de l'inutilité du sumérien loin de Nippur', and deJong Ellis (ed.), *Nippur*, pp. 7-27.

66. Hallo, 'Individual Prayer', pp. 88-89.

67. C.B.F. Walker and S.N. Kramer, 'Cuneiform Tablets in the Collection of Lord Binning', *Iraq* 44 (1982), pp. 78-83.

68. D4 on the list. Cf. Hallo, 'The Royal Correspondence of Larsa. I. A Sumerian Prototype for the Prayer of Hezekiah?', in B.L. Eichler (ed.), *Kramer Anniversary Volume* (AOAT, 25; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976), pp. 209-24.

king of Uruk, to Rim-Sin, king of Larsa.⁶⁹ Others have been republished⁷⁰ or duplicated by newly published or newly identified exemplars.⁷¹ In particular one should add to the list the letter-prayer of Sin-iddinam to Utu,⁷² which survived in recognizable if altered, bilingual form into neo-Assyrian times.⁷³

One of the letter-prayers in the list was addressed to Amurru (Martu).⁷⁴ In 1989, van Dijk found its incipit in a late Old Babylonian catalogue of literary letters from Uruk,⁷⁵ and even thought he could posit a possible duplicate though this proves not to be the case.⁷⁶ I provide here a transliteration and translation of the Yale text, leaving the discussion of philological details for another occasion.⁷⁷

YBC 5641

(1) ^d Mar-tu dumu-an-na dingir me kù-kù-ga	To divine Amurru, son of Heaven, deity of all the positive (or: holy) divine attributes,
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69. C on the list. Cf. Hallo, 'The Royal Correspondence of Larsa. III. The Princess and the Plea', in D. Charpin and F. Joannès (eds.), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs: Etudes sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli* (Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1991), pp. 3787-388.

70. Notably M, republished in *ISET* 1 (1969), p. 126 (Ni 972).

71. Note, for example, VS, 17, p. 36 (duplicate of B6), YBC 16550 (unpublished duplicate of B7), and UM 29-15-995 (unpublished duplicate of I according to M. Civil, 'Enlil: the Merchant: Notes to CT 15 10', *JCS* 28 [1976], p. 78 [b 3]).

72. W.W. Hallo, 'The Royal Correspondence of Larsa: II. The Appeal to Utu', in G. van Driel *et al.* (eds.), *ZIKIR ŠUMIM: Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus...* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982), pp. 95-109.

73. R. Borger, 'Ein Brief Šin-idinnams von Larsa an den Sonnengott', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Phil.hist. Klasse* (1991), pp. 39-81.

74. Hallo, 'Individual Prayer', p. 89 (J). Correct the museum number listed there to YBC 5641.

75. J. van Dijk, 'Ein spätaltbabylonischer Katalog einer Sammlung sumerischer Briefe', *Or* 58 (1989), pp. 441-52, esp. pp. 444-45. (line 19). Now republished by A. Cavigneaux, *Uruk: Altbabylonische Texte aus dem Plaquadrat Pe XVI—4/5* (Ausgrabungen in Uruk—Warka Endberichte, 23; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1966), pp. 57-59 and p. 157, No. 112.

76. BE 31.30.

77. My thanks to Miguel Civil for collating my transliteration with the original and suggesting several improvements (October 1994) and to Piotr Michalowski for ceding his prior rights to publication (cf. *NABU* 1991, 32 No. 48).

- (2) šà-lá-sù lú-zi-dè ki-aga₂ inim¹
-šùd a-ra-za giš-tuku
Merciful one, enamored of the up-
right man, hearing words of prayer
and supplication,
My king, speak!
This is what Etel-pi-Damu your ser-
vant says.
- (3) lugal-mu-ù-ra ù-na-du₁₁
(4) ['] *E-te-el-pi₄-^dDa-mu* ìr-zu nu-
ub-bé-a
My name by which I am called,
'Proceeding-in-righteousness (or:
straightforwardly)', (is) the name
which one had pronounced (on me)
there,
(With) 'Let-him-have-food (of life?
is) your name' I was summoned by
you here,
(With) 'Let-him-have-water (of life?
is) your name' I was summoned by
you here.
- (5) mu-mu ba-sa₄-a si-sá-aš dib-bé
mu bí-in-du₁₁-ga
My accumulated treasures have not
been withheld from you.
- (6) ú hé-tuku mu-zu ba-e-ni-pà
(7) a hé-tuku mu-zu ba-e-ni-pà
Your luxuriant temple I am estab-
lishing for you here, I have deposit-
ed the regular offerings for you.
- (8) níg-ša₆-ga-tuku-mu la-ba-e-ši-
kéš
(9) é-la-la-zu e-ra-ni-gá-gá šu-a-gi-
na e-ra-gál
(Over) your sancta I stood guard
there, your name no one (else) took
care of there
- (10) níg-gig-ga-zu en-nu- 'un' bí-ag
mu-zu sag li-bí-in-sì
When I turned around before you,
no one surpassed it in beauty there.
- (11) 'igi'-zu nigin₂ ¹ -na-mu-dè hi ¹
-li-a BI li-bí-ib-dib
(12) 'lugal' [?] mu-zu nu-mu-ni-in-pà
ne-gim e-ra-nigin₂ ¹ -me-en
'King' (?) (is) your name—no one
(else) invoked it here, (but) I am the
one who turns around to you like
this.
- (13) [u₄-n] u-du₁₀-ga[?] u₄-mu ár-ni
ŠU.BA.ZI mi-ni-in-TAR
An unfavorable day (??) (is) my
day,
- (14) [x y z] kúr-ra-ta kar-mu-da[?] ì-
nigin₂ nam-mu-en
When I escape from a hostile...he
turns around—what is it to me?
- (15) e [?] -ne [?] dingir-mu-da [?] šà-ne-
ša ₄-mu šà-kù-zu hé-tùm
With 'This is my god' may your
holy heart proffer my plea!
- (16) [DI]Š.ŠI da-rí ka ¹ -tar-zu hé-si-
il-e me ¹ -téš hé-i-i
For enduring ages (?) may I recite
your praises, in unison may I bless
you!

Although they belong to two distinct linguistic and literary traditions, the two letter-prayers have much in common besides only their divine addressee. In particular they share an essentially similar structure or

Obv.

5

10

Rev. 15

Rest of reverse uninscribed

70 x 57 mm

YBC 5641

rhetorical strategy.⁷⁸ Both begin with a short salutation, continue with a brief self-introduction of the letter-writer, and proceed to the body of the letter, divided each time into five sub-sections as follows:

1. rehearsal of past benefactions by the addressee on behalf of the letter-writer;
2. rehearsal of past services rendered or devotions shown by the letter-writer to the addressee;
3. specification of the letter-writer's present plight;
4. petition for redress of grievances;
5. vow to demonstrate gratitude in the future if the petition is granted.

The body of the letter thus moves logically through time, from past to present to future. The Akkadian example adds to the end of the body an additional request which is largely unintelligible, and concludes with a formal closing that may be described as instructions to the human (or divine?) mailman. The suggested structure of the body of the two letters can be represented graphically as follows:

	BM 97298	YBC 5641
(1)	ll. 5-6	ll. 5-7
(2)	ll. 7-9	ll. 8-12
(3)	ll. 10-12	ll. 13-14
(4)	ll. 13-14	l. 15
(5)	ll. 15-17	l. 16
additional request	ll. 18-19	

All these structural or rhetorical features can be paralleled, singly or collectively, in other examples of the genre, most conspicuously so in other examples of the subgenre of letter-prayers from private individuals. The letter-prayer to Enki by Sin-shamuh the scribe, for example, has all four of the major subdivisions and all five of the subsections identified above.⁷⁹ By contrast, the royal letter-prayers of the 'Royal Correspondence of Larsa' tend to elaborate greatly on the salutation and the description of the present plight, while dealing lightly or not at all

78. Foster, 'Letters and Literature', p. 98, uses the latter term; for a fuller study of rhetorical features in cuneiform literature, see Hallo, *Origins*, pp. 169-87.

79. Hallo, 'Individual Prayer', pp. 85-87; see pp. 75-80 for the structural analysis of the genre as a whole. New translation in 'Lamentations' (above, n. 26), p. 1876. Cf. also B. Böck, '"Wenn du zu Nintinugga gesprochen hast...": Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Inhalt, Sitz-im-Leben und Funktion sumerischer Gottesbriefe', *Altorientalische Forschungen* 23 (1992), pp. 3-23.

with the subsections devoted to past deserts⁸⁰ and the vow, and with the closing formula.⁸¹

It must be left for another occasion to compare and contrast all the respective elements of the letter-prayers thus identified from examples in both languages. Here I will confine myself to just one of them, as an indication of where such investigations may lead. I refer to what may be called the 'mailing instructions' of the letter-prayers. These form the conclusion of the Akkadian letter-prayer to Amurru, which I would re-translate as follows: 'May whoever sees me forward (my message) to your well-disposed godliness'.⁸² In the Sumerian letter-prayer they constitute, in its entirety, the petition: 'With "This is my god" may your holy heart proffer my plea'!⁸³ The implication here seems to be that Amurru, acting as the petitioner's personal deity, will forward his plea to an even higher authority, presumably one of the great gods of the Sumerian pantheon.

Such 'mailing instructions' are implicit in votive inscriptions beginning with the most expensive kind as represented by statues, and for which letter-prayers are simply a cheaper substitute. Sometimes, indeed, they are explicit, as when Gudea instructs his statue to speak to (the statue of?) Ningirsu, using precisely an epistolary form of salutation: 'Gudea said to (or: placed a word into the mouth of) the statue (saying): Statue! Speak (to) my king',⁸⁴ or when Sin-iddinam of Larsa 'commissioned a statue of his father Nur-Adad and two letters which that statue was asked to convey to the sun-god Utu, patron-deity of Larsa'.⁸⁵ They are justified by the philological evidence to the effect that prayers were placed in the mouth of statues⁸⁶ and the archae-

80. Cf. *ANET*, p. 399 for comparable emphasis in a Hittite royal prayer.

81. See above, nn. 68-69 and 72-73.

82. *amirūia ana ilūtika banītim ušaqrib.*

83. Above, line 15.

84. *gù-dé-a alan-e gù im-ma-sì-mu alan lugal-mu ù-na-du₁₁* = Gudea Statue B vii 21-25 as transliterated by J. van Dijk, 'Une insurrection générale au pays de Larša avant l'avènement de Nur-Adad', *JCS* 19 (1965), p. 12; cf. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš I: Einleitung* (AnOr, 30; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), p. 177 and n. 5. Cf. Wilcke, 'Formale Gesichtspunkte', p. 252.

85. W.W.Hallo, 'The Expansion of Cuneiform Literature', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 46-47 (1979-80), pp. 307-22, esp. 318, based on van Dijk, 'Une insurrection générale', pp. 1-25. Cf. Wilcke, 'Formale Gesichtspunkte', p. 252.

86. Van Dijk, 'Une insurrection générale', p. 12; W.W. Hallo, 'The Cultic

ological evidence that letters were placed at their feet,⁸⁷ and that hymns,⁸⁸ laments⁸⁹ and even royal inscriptions⁹⁰ occasionally show physical signs of means for attachment to what may have been statuary.

The Akkadian and bilingual corpus has so far not produced further examples of 'mailing instructions'. But there are at least two other ones from the conclusions of Sumerian letter-prayers. The penultimate line of the letter of Sin-shamuh to Enki, already mentioned, reads, in one version:⁹¹ 'Have mercy on the letter which I have deposited before you!'⁹² Another version expands this to two lines which, as far as preserved, read: 'Hearken to the letter which I have written to you / to my...may you(?) place(?) it.'⁹³ The letter of Nanna-mansi to an unknown addressee⁹⁴ has a self-reference near its end as follows: 'The letter which I have deposited for you—may it make the heart of my king glad / may I cause someone to recite my...to him'.⁹⁵

To bring these ruminations to a conclusion, then, we can say that, in literary terms, the two letter-prayers to Amurru which we have considered are thoroughly assimilated to Sumero-Akkadian norms of Old Babylonian times, while yet displaying certain common distinctive features of their own. That may be a serviceable characterization as well for the people and land with whom the deity shared his name.

Setting of Sumerian Poetry', in A. Finet (ed.), *Actes de la XVIIe RAI* (Ham-sur-Heure: Comité Belge de Recherches en Mésopotamie, 1970), pp. 116-34, esp. 119 and n. 5, 122 and n. 3.

87. Hallo, 'Individual Prayer', p. 79 and n. 74.

88. Hallo, 'The Cultic Setting of Sumerian Poetry', p. 122 n. 3, with reference to the stone tablet published by F. Thureau-Dangin, 'La déesse Nisaba', *RA* 7 (1910), p. 107.

89. Hallo, 'The Cultic Setting of Sumerian Poetry', p. 134, addendum to p. 122 n. 3, with reference to 'The Fall of Lagash'; differently H.E. Hirsch, 'Die "Sünde" Lugalzagesis', in G. Wiessner (ed.), *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), pp. 99-106, esp. 102 n. 36.

90. BE I 15 (Shulgi 41) = Shulgi 66 in D.R. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods, 3/2; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 170-71.

91. Hallo, 'Individual Prayer', pp. 82-87.

92. ù-na-a-du₁₁ mu-ra-gub-ba-mu arhuš tuk-ma-r [a].

93. ù-na-a-du₁₁ im-ma-ra-sar giš tuk-ma-ta / [...] -mu-ra (or: -ke 4) hu-mu-un(or:-e-bar-x)-gál [...].

94. Rim-Sin of Larsa according to Piotr Michalowski (orally).

95. ù-na-a-du₁₁ mu-ra-ab-gub-ba šà lugal-mu húl ma-ak-e / [...] šà-x-dim-ma-mu ga-mu-na-ab-du₁₁-du₁₁.

MARI AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN*

Avraham Malamat

Professor Cyrus H. Gordon spent much of his academic life investigating the relations between the Mediterranean Region and the Levant. This study is most apt to be dedicated in his honour.

Mari of the Old Babylonian period is to be dated within the eighteenth century BCE; according to the so-called Middle Chronology, the first part of this century and according to the Low Chronology, its second part and slightly beyond. In either case, it falls within the Middle Bronze Age.

I shall deal with Mari's contacts with the Mediterranean on two distinct planes. Starting with the religious-mythological plane, we shall pass on to more earthly issues: the exchange of goods between Mari and the Mediterranean or, more specifically, the Aegean. I thus investigate, albeit on a narrow scale, import and export between East and West in the eighteenth century BCE or the Middle Bronze Age.

As for the first theme, with which I have dealt on previous occasions,¹ we now have from Mari two overt witnesses attesting to the conceptualization of the Mediterranean as a religious-mythological entity, one item known already long ago, the other published only recently.

Over 40 years ago, in 1955, the Mari epigrapher George Dossin published a royal inscription of King Yahdun-Lim,² the first true ruler of Mari in the Old Babylonian period. The inscription, written on the

* This study was assisted by a grant from the Basic Research Foundation administered by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

1. Cf. A. Malamat, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (The Schweich Lectures 1984; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992 [1989]), pp. 107-12; *idem*, 'Das heilige Meer', in I. Kottsieper *et al.* (eds.), 'Wer ist wie du, Herr, unter den Göttern?' (Festschrift O. Kaiser; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), pp. 65-74.

2. G. Dossin, 'L'inscription de fondation de lah-dun-Lim, roi de Mari', *Syria* 32 (1955), pp. 1-28.

foundation bricks of the temple of Shamash at Mari, is known as the Great Yahdun-Lim Inscription. In poetic style, Yahdun-Lim describes his bold campaign to the Mediterranean shore and the subjugation of its inhabitants. I shall cite here a few relevant lines of this inscription, describing the dramatic encounter of King Yahdun-Lim and his army with the Mediterranean, a high point of Yahdun-Lim feats.³

Since days of old, when god built Mari, no king
residing at Mari had reached the sea (*tāmtam*). . .
(But) Yahdun-Lim, the son of Yaggid-Lim, the mighty
king, a wild ox among kings, marched to the shore of
the sea (*tāmtam*) in irresistible strength. To the
Ocean (*ayabba*, 'vast sea') he offered his great royal
sacrifices and his troops cleansed themselves with
water in the Ocean (*ayabba*). . . He subjugated that
land on the shore of the Ocean (*ayabba*).

Two distinct terms refer here to the Mediterranean: The ordinary Akkadian word for sea, *tiamtum*, *tāmtum*, used in a secular aspect, and the rarer and more solemn term *ayabba*. The latter is derived from the Sumerogram A.AB.BA., which remains obscure, but has a religious, mythological overtone and is reminiscent of the Greek concept of *okeanos*. The attitude of reverence towards the Mediterranean on the part of the king of Mari, most likely shared by other Amorite rulers, is evidenced both by the offerings sacrificed to the sea and by the bathing of his troops in its waters. The latter was surely a cultic ritual—a form of baptism (similar to the Jewish ritual bath, the *miqweh*, the waters of the Mediterranean serving, so to speak, as a 'macro-*miqweh*').

The other, recent evidence from Mari, touching on the mythological character of the Mediterranean, is to be found in a letter sent to King Zimri-Lim at Mari (the son of the afore-mentioned Yahdun-Lim and last king of Old Babylonian Mari) by his ambassador to Aleppo in the days of its King Yarim-Lim.⁴ The ambassador informs the king of Mari of a prophecy proclaimed by a prophet of the god Addu (alias Hadad), the Great god of Aleppo. Relevant here is only a short passage of the

3. Malamat, *Mari*, pp. 107-108.

4. Published by J.-M. Durand, 'Le mythe du combat entre le dieu de l'orage et la mer en Mésopotamie', *MARI* 7 (1993), pp. 41-61 and see A. Malamat, 'A New Prophetic Message from Aleppo and its Biblical Counterparts', in A.G. Auld (ed.), *Understanding Poets and Prophets* (Festschrift G.W. Anderson; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1993), pp. 236-41.

prophecy relating to a battle between the god Addu and the god of the sea (obviously hinting at the Mediterranean). The weapons with which Addu defeated his opponent are said to have been handed over to Zimri-Lim, when he made pilgrimage to Aleppo. The myth of the battle between the two deities, which no doubt originally reflected the furious character of the raging waters of the Mediterranean, is mentioned as far as I know for the first time in the Mari period. Centuries later it is prominent above all in the myths and epics of Ugarit.⁵

The term A.AB.BA or *ayabba* also occurs in the El Amarna tablets, especially in those from Byblos, designating at least a part of the Mediterranean, but in documents from other sites as well. Variations of the myth are extant in several Egyptian tales from the New Kingdom. Further echoes of this myth ring in the Bible and Talmudic literature, while on the other edge the divinity of the Mediterranean is attested in Greek literature, such as Herodotus and as late as Procopius in Byzantine times.

I now pass over to the other plane—to Mari documents referring to deliveries of goods from the Mediterranean to Mari and vice versa. We have only a few references so far about Alashia, the ancient name of Cyprus or of a specific city on this island. From there were delivered to Mari consignments of considerable quantities of copper (up to 20 kg and more).⁶ Above all, there are Mari references to Kaptara, biblical Caphtor, the erstwhile name of the island of Crete or of the Aegean region as a whole.

The most illustrative and significant Mari document in this context is A.1270, published by G. Dossin in 1970 and analysed by me soon after its publication.⁷ The relevant passage in this commercial text for us is

5. See the recent treatment by P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, 'Le combat de Ba'lu avec Yammu d'après les textes Ougaritiques', *MARI* 7 (1993), pp. 63-70.

6. On the trade relations between Mari (and Babylon) and Cyprus, as well as Crete, see M. Heltzer, 'The Trade of Crete and Cyprus with the East', *Minos* 24 (1989), pp. 7-15, and for a new occurrence of Alashia in Mari texts, see D. Charpin, 'Une mention d'Alasya dans une lettre de Mari', *RA* 84 (1990), pp. 125-27. For the extensive commercial activities of Mari in the West as far as the Mediterranean coast, see most recently A. Altman, 'Reconsideration of the Trade Relations between Mesopotamia and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age', *Michmanim* 9 (1996), pp. 39-56.

7. Dossin, 'La route de l'étain en Mésopotamie au temps de Zimri-Lim', *RA* 64 (1970), pp. 97-106 and A. Malamat, 'Syro-Palestinian Destinations in a Mari Tin Inventory', *IEJ* 21 (1971), pp. 31-38; cf. Heltzer, 'Trade of Crete', pp. 10-12.

that concerning the tin (*annakum*) consignments, so vital for the manufacture of bronze, dispatched from Mari to the West. Tin came to Mari from the East, perhaps from Baluchistan and Afghanistan, and was shipped in the West to destinations such as Aleppo, Qatna and as far south as Hazor. To the latter were sent three separate consignments of tin, totalling some 35 kg (which meant the manufacture of 7 to 10 times as much bronze). I cite the final part of this document which concerns Crete, on the basis of a new collation of the tablet by P. Villard (*ARMT* XXIII 556.28-31).⁸

1+ x/3 minas of tin for the Caphtorite (*Kap-ta-ra-i-im*)

1/3 mina tin for the dragoman (*targamannum*) (of the) Chief [merch]ant
of the Caphtorite(s) at Ugarit

This passage testifies to the commercial activities between Mari and Crete carried out at Ugarit, the most significant trade emporium on the Syrian coast. Three persons are mentioned in the passage: one is called simply the Caphtorite, the second is an interpreter, most likely of Cretan origin as is evident from the context. His presence implies a more than casual contact between Crete and the Levant.⁹ The third is the Chief (*ugula*) of the Caphtorite merchants (*tamkaru*), perhaps the head of the commercial delegation. The interpreter (a word mentioned in Akkadian only rarely) was a vital functionary in the transaction, since the Mari emissaries spoke an Amorite dialect, whereas the king of Cretans of this period—Middle Minoan II—utilized a language, called in scholarly parlance, 'Linear A'. Durand even assumes that on this occasion at Ugarit the king of Mari (that is, Zimri-Lim) and the

8. See P. Villard, 'Textes sur les métaux', in *ARMT* XXIII (Paris: Editions Recherche Civilisations, 1984) 556: 28-31. The restoration [*dam-ga*]r k[*a*]p-ta-ra-a, 'Caphtorite merchant' was suggested by Durand instead of the reading of Dossin, ka-ra-i-[i]m, 'Carian(?)'.

9. See most recently E.H. Cline, 'Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Sailor: Minoans and Myceneans Abroad', *Aegaeum* 12 (1995), esp. pp. 267, 273; and cf. M.H. Wiener, 'Trade and Rule in Palatial Crete', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Function of the Minoan Palace* (Symposium; Stockholm: Paul Aström Förlag, 1987), pp. 262-64. For a deciphering of Linear A as a Northwest Semitic language (i.e. a language similar to the Mari idiom), see the treatments of C.H. Gordon, *Evidence for the Minoan Language* (Ventnor, NJ: Ventnor Publishers, 1966); *idem*, *Ugarit and Minoan Crete* (New York: Norton & Co., 1966), pp. 29-39. If his conclusions are feasible, there remains the query why in the above transaction an interpreter was needed at all.

king of Crete met personally,¹⁰ an assumption which must remain doubtful since the word 'Caphtorite' is not preceded by the determinative LÚ, which in Mari may indicate a person as well as a ruler.

Crete of the Middle Minoan II period was flourishing and *inter alia* trading goods, not only among various cities within the island itself, but exporting them also to Egypt and the Levant.¹¹ The trade relations seem to have taken place on the level of the palaces and their ruling circles, which had the means to maintain long-distance trade routes. The commerce most likely brought cultural influences in its wake. First and foremost come to mind the palace frescoes of Mari and those of Knossos and other site in Crete.¹² There is an ongoing debate among scholars about the issue of who influenced whom. In the early stages of research it was assumed that Knossos influenced Mari. But this is not likely from a chronological point of view. Thus, the opposite opinion has been put forward subsequently. If one may consider a mutual influence at all, which remains uncertain, it would be rather Mari (and perhaps later Atchana VII, early seventeenth century BCE), which influ-

10. See 'La cité-état d'Imâr', *MARI* 6 (1990), p. 40 n. 3.

11. See E. Schachermeyr, *Ägäis und Orient* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1967), pp. 30-68; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979), pp. 106-107; A.B. Knapp, 'Bronze Age Mediterranean Island Cultures and the Ancient Near East', *BA* 55 (1992), pp. 52-72. From the Aegean perspective see, for example, M.H. Wiener, 'The Nature and Control of Minoan Foreign Trade', in N.H. Gale (ed.), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean* (Jonsered: Paul Aströms Förlag, 1991), pp. 325-50; and for a general statement concerning the Levant most recently O. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 244-45.

12. For more recent comparative remarks between these wall-paintings see B. Pierre (-Müller), 'Décor peint de Mari et au Proche-Orient', *MARI* 3 (1984), pp. 223-54, esp. 226, 232; *MARI* 5 (1987), pp. 551-76 (and the comparative chronological table on p. 573); *MARI* 6 (1990), pp. 463-558 (for example, p. 498). On the relationship between the frescoes, dating to a somewhat later period, from Tel Kabri and Alalakh VII, as well as those from Crete and Thera, see the remarks of W.D. Niemeier, 'Minoan Artisans Travelling Overseas: The Alalakh Frescoes and the Painted Plaster Floor at Tel Kabri', *Aegaeum* 7 (1991), pp. 189-200 and 12 (1995), p. 284. For the latter sites, as well as the frescoes at Tell el-Dab'a, see now the remarks on the Symposium on 'Trade, Power and Cultural Exchange: Hyksos Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean World 1800-1500 BC', The Metropolitan Museum of Art, published in *Ägypten und Levante* 5 (1995).

enced Knossos or the Cretan frescoes at large.¹³ In this connection a letter sent to Mari may be of interest, indicating the wish of the ruler of Ugarit to dispatch his son or his emissary to visit and inspect (*amārum*) the Mari palace (in order to imitate its splendor?).¹⁴

The tin text from Mari, mentioned above, refers to export from this kingdom to Crete, while all the subsequent references in the inventories from Mari indicate objects brought to the Mari palace or distributed by it. There was a notable exchange of commodities between Mari and Mediterranean coastal cities, foremost among these, Ugarit and Byblos.¹⁵ The Cretan objects mentioned in these inventories seem, in particular, to have been mostly luxury items sent to Mari. It is, however, possible that the gentilic or adjective *kaptarum*, *kaptaritum*, 'Caphtorite, Cretan',¹⁶ does not refer to Crete as such, but designates only Cretan craftsmanship or technique rather than a distinct country. In other words, it may refer to objects made 'after the technique of the land of Crete'. But even so, there was direct contact between Mari and Crete (or Cretan artisans). Compare, for example, the robes of Aleppo (*yamhādu*) or Byblos (*gublāyu*), which refer to a specific style of dress common in the West rather than to the cities in the West themselves.

I start with the so-called Cretan weapons,¹⁷ especially with one described in document A.675, an excerpt of which was published by G. Dossin in 1939 (now fully edited in *ARMT XXV* 610.10-13), and dealt with by Mrs K.R. Maxwell Hyslop.¹⁸ The text reads 'a weapon of Caphtor with pommel and base overlaid with gold and pommel inlaid

13. For example, R.W. Hutchinson, *Prehistoric Crete* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), pp. 178-79.

14. For the document published by Dossin, see C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica I* (Paris: Geuthner, 1939), p. 16.

15. Cf. H. Limet, 'Les relations entre Mari et la côte Méditerranéenne sous la règne de Zimri-Lim', in E. Gubel and E. Lipiński (eds.), *Phoenicia and its Neighbours: Studia Phoenicia*, III (Leuven: Peeters, 1985), pp. 13-20.

16. Cf. W. von Soden, Recension of H. Limet, *ARMT XXV* (Paris, 1986) *Or* 58 (1989), p. 428 on *ARMT XXV* 39:10 and p. 430 on 499:8'.

17. On Minoan metalwork and weapons, see, for example, J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* (New York: Norton, 1965), pp. 118-20; H. Buchholz und V. Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkypros* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1971), pp. 51-59. and Pls. on pp. 263-67 and the listing of weapons by Wiener, 'Minoan Foreign Trade', pp. 337-38.

18. K.R. Maxwell Hyslop, 'An Illustration to a Mari Inventory?', *Iraq* 32 (1970), pp. 165-66 and Pl. XXXII.

with lapis lazuli'. The nature of the weapon (perhaps dedicated to a deity) is not indicated, but it seems to have been a ceremonial dagger, since it was gilded and inlaid with lapis. The question remains if it was an export from Crete, or made on Syrian soil in the mode of Cretan craftsmanship. Other gilded weapons inlaid with lapis are designated as Cretan in *ARMT XXI* 231.1-4. The text mentions later on (ll. 15-16) a gilded lance (*imittum*) and other weapons. A Cretan weapon is also mentioned in *ARMT XXIII* 104.30' and perhaps in *ARMT XXIV* 98.10' (its top incrustated with lapis). In *ARMT XXV* 601.10-13 a Caphthorian weapon is recorded, its top and base covered with gold and, furthermore, the top incrustated with lapis. In a fragmentary text of various metal weapons, 'Capthor' has to be restored, *ARMT XXV* 39.10 (see above n.16).

Likewise prominent in the economic texts from Mari are Cretan ceramics, especially luxury ware, well known among the pottery from Middle Minoan Crete. A place of pride is held by the so-called Kamares ware,¹⁹ found also at Ugarit, at Byblos, at Qatna and at the lower city of Hazor.²⁰ Pottery vases and vases of precious metal from Crete are mentioned in the following Mari inventories: *ARMT XXV* 8.3; 10.6; 45.2, 4 (an engraved jar); 499.21 (4 vases); 511.8; 515.8 (a vase made of gold); 523.12; 526.4 (4 vases); 530.2. There is also an occurrence of a goblet or cup (*sappum*).

In addition to ceramics from Crete, textiles are mentioned in Mari texts (*ARMT XXII* 324, col. II.8-9) as well as a pair of shoes (*ARMT XXI* 342.5-6), which was forwarded by the king of Mari to King Hammurabi of Babylon.²¹ About other prestige products from Crete we

19. For MM II pottery in general see Buchholz and Karageorghis, *Altägäis*, Pls. on pp. 298ff.; for the Kamares ware see in particular P.P. Betancourt, *The History of Minoan Pottery* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 95-96, and cf. more recently G. Walberg, 'Political and Provincial Workshops in the Middle Minoan Period', in Hägg and Marinatos (eds.), *Minoan Palace*, pp. 281-85.

20. For Ugarit see Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* I, pp. 22, 53-69, and *Ugaritica* II (Paris: Geuthner, 1949), pp. 51, 256; Fig. 109 A and Pl. 38; for Byblos see C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 66 and Fig. 72; for Qatna see p. 117 and Fig. 102; Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna* (Paris: De Boccard, 1935), p. 55, Fig. 15-16. For Hazor see T. Dothan in Y. Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor I* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1960), p. 91 and Pl. CXV, nos. 12-13 (area C). I thank Professor Trude Dothan for illuminating discussions on the Kamares ware in the Levant.

21. Cf. E.H. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the*

have no certain knowledge since the Akkadian term designating the object eludes us. See *ARMT* XXIII 104.30' (one leather box for a weapon?); XXV 393.13 (*bur-zi*);²² 507.3 (*gis kur-sa-lu*, cf. *ARMT* VII 237.3); 610.8 (*marhašu* UD.KA.BAR), a bronze object.

I end by citing a small administrative document, published recently,²³ which mentions the manufacture at Mari of a 'Cretan' barque (*giš má tur kaptaritum ki*). It is most likely that, again, a small ship made in the Cretan style is intended. M. Guichard, who published the text, compares in this context the depictions of ships hundreds of years later on the sarcophagus at Haghia Triada and on the frescoes excavated at Thera.

In conclusion, it is clear that there were extensive contacts between the eastern Mediterranean and Mari in the early second millennium BCE. In the commercial activities of the Middle Bronze Age, tin was the major commodity sent from Mari to Crete (for bronze manufacture), while the Aegean region exported mainly Minoan luxury goods to the palace of Mari. As is known, in later times Cretan exports to Syria increased, but Mari was no longer on the scene.

Late Bronze Age Aegean (BAR International Series 591; Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1994), p. 127 and pp. 126-28, for a listing of the various Mari references on Crete, Cretan.

22. Perhaps to be read in Akkadian *pursitum*, as suggested by M. Anbar, review of H. Limet, *ARMT* XXV (Paris: 1986), *MARI* 6 (1990), p. 656, referring to a cultic vessel.

23. See Villard, 'Un roi de Mari', p. 402 n. 107, who referred to the tablet; it was published in full by M. Guichard, 'Flotte cretoise sur l'Euphrate?', *NABU* 2 (1993), pp. 44-45; cf. E. Porada, 'Trade, Power and Cultural Exchange', *Ägypten and Levante* 5 (1995), pp. 126-27.

Part VII

SAMARITAN STUDIES

QUMRAN, SAMARITAN *HALAKHA* AND THEOLOGY AND PRE-TANNAITIC JUDAISM

Alan D. Crown, AM

In his interesting study, *The Christian Effect on Jewish Life*, Michael Hilton¹ draws attention to one of the fundamental problems in assessing the relationship between early Christianity and Judaism, namely that there is a tendency to invoke the Judaism which we see in Mishna as a source for Christian practices, whereas the earliest Christian texts are rather older than the fixed form of the Mishna. The tendency has been to assume that the Mishna has roots which reach down to Sinai, validating the assumption that Christianity is the junior religion in every respect. Currently, it is possible to reassess the arguments because we have available the documents from Qumran, and these can be compared with the literatures of other sects, in particular with the literature of the oldest Jewish sect,² the Samaritans. A large proportion of recent Samaritan studies involves the Qumran scrolls, or to put it another way round, a large portion of textual studies on Qumran Pentateuchal documents include a comparison with the Samaritan texts.³ When we begin to consider documents beyond the Pentateuch, that is those which give us insights into the *halakha* at Qumran, we begin to see a rather strange picture. The Samaritan *halakha*, like that of the other biblicist sects, has a distinct proximity to that at Qumran, and we are forced to consider the probability that pre-Mishnaic Judaism had a latitudinarian form.

1. M. Hilton, *The Christian Effect on Jewish Life* (London: SCM Press, 1994). See chapter 10, especially pp. 200-207.

2. Drawing on the subtitle of James Alan Montgomery's *The Samaritans, The Bohlen Lectures for 1906* (Philadelphia, 1907).

3. Virtually every current major study of the Pentateuch in Qumran includes substantial reference to the Samaritan Pentateuch. Among the more recent of these studies we may quote Esther Eshell, '4QLev^d: A Possible Source for the Temple Scroll and *Miqsat Ma'ase Hatorah*', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2.1 (1995), pp. 1-13.

The details of this picture may begin with the examination of the relationship between 4QMMT and the Samaritans, but it is of course to be extended to the true Pentateuch texts.

4QMMT, the long talked about⁴ document recently published in the formal series, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*⁵ and which is known in six manuscripts, gives us a view of the early history of some of the people associated with the Qumran manuscript collection in about 130 lines. The surviving text, which is about two thirds of the original, is allegedly a letter, but possibly an apocryphal text from the leaders (the Righteous Teacher?) of whoever the Qumranians were, to the Jerusalem establishment, probably the priestly establishment, including the High Priest.⁶ Originally in four sections, the first of which is now lost,⁷ it sets out 24 laws relating to sacrificial law, priestly gifts and ritual purity over which there is disagreement with the Jerusalem authorities.

From these laws we see that the writers were espousing a *halakha* that is represented in *m. Yad.* 4.6-7 as being Sadducean in origin. The writers thus drew for their *halakha* on the text of the Bible and not on any of the rabbinic/Pharisaic interpretations which later came to be identified as the Oral Torah, the *Torah shebe'al pe*. Strangely, the addressees, although priests, apparently, are accused of holding to views that are identified in *m. Yad.* 4.6-7 as Pharisaic. Indeed we see that MMT alludes to the biblical source of most of its *halakhot* and excludes any esoteric or other texts which some of the ancient Jews held

4. It has been the subject of speculation since 1959, and many attempts were made to publish summaries of content before the final publication of a text which is clearly a compromise. A good example of the pre-publication discussion is that of L. Schiffman, 'The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect', *BA* 53. 2 (June 1990), pp. 64-73, and *idem*, 'Miqsat Ma'aseh Ha-Torah and the Temple Scroll', *RQ* 14.3 (55) (1990), pp. 435-57. See also, Otto Betz, 'The Qumran Halakhah Text *Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (4QMMT) and Sadducean, Essene and Early Pharisaic Tradition', in D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara, *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in the Historic Context* (JSOTSup, 166; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), pp. 176-202. For translations see F.G. Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 77-85.

5. See E. Qimron and John Strugnell *et al.*, *Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah DJD X, Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

6. This description is based partly on the official publication and partly on the brief discussions by Schiffman, 'New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT)'.

7. See the description in the introduction to Qimron and Strugnell *et al.*, *DJD X*.

to supplement the Mosaic Law.⁸ So far as I can estimate, there is no doctrine of the Oral Law to be found among the Qumran documents. The same view of the sanctity of the Torah, and its role as the sole Torah, seems to have pertained both at Qumran and among the Samaritans.

It is evident that the foundations of the *halakha* at Qumran were old Palestinian interpretations of the Law, exactly the sort of interpretations used by the Samaritans, of whom the Rabbis said that where they drew their practices from the Law they were acceptable because this was the normative law in Judaism.⁹ Where the Rabbinic teachings were developed beyond their source in the Torah they differed from the Samaritan teachings on the same topic. An immediate difference from any of the Samaritan sects should be noted, however, in that the writers of MMT could derive their *halakha* from Prophetic texts, whereas the Samaritans had only the Pentateuch as their literary source. It must also be noted that, in contrast with what is said in *Massekhet Kuttim*, according to *b. Kid.* 75b-76a and *b. Git.* 10a-b, the Samaritan priesthood was regarded as a legitimate priesthood. The evidence of 4QMMT is that there must have been a substantial similarity between Samaritan ritual practices and those at Qumran, if the latter indeed represent an antique form of Jewish ritual. Indeed one of the seminal phrases of paragraph 5.12 'The Halakha' in the publication of 4QMMT states, 'It is to be hoped that experts in the field will continue to clarify the Qumran *halakha* on the basis of the new material: it must be compared with Rabbinic *halakha*, the Apocrypha, the Karaite's *halakha* and the *halakha* of the Samaritans and Falashas'.

Unfortunately, we are not in a position to discuss all of this *halakhic* material, for it relates to differences between the writers and their opponents on matters of ritual purity as related to the temple and the sacrificial cult:¹⁰ the evidence of the older Samaritan attitudes to these is not ample, but some evidence can be deduced from *Massekhet Kuttim*.¹¹

This is by no means the first paper and will not be the last to argue

8. Qimron and Strugnell *et al.*, *DJD* X, p. 132 and §5.2.4.

9. *b. Ber.* 47b, *b. Kid.* 75b.

10. Qimron and Strugnell *et al.*, *DJD* X, p. 131.

11. For example, *Massekhet Kuttim* denies the acceptability of Samaritan purity offerings but if one accepts the view of *m. Šeq.* 4.1 and the Rambam, the vow and freewill offerings of the Samaritans were acceptable.

for Samaritan sources providing an illumination of the texts from Qumran and vice versa.¹² We must remember, with Schiffman, that when the Zadokite Document was first discovered in the Cairo *Geniza*, a document that is now indicated as part of the literary inventory of Qumran,¹³ Solomon Schechter was convinced that here was a text produced by the Samaritan Dosithean sect.¹⁴ When Buchler argued for a Karaite identity in the same fragment he could have noted that the Karaites and Samaritans had a dialogue which influenced Karaite *halakhic* and exegetical writing.¹⁵ When Massingberd-Ford wrote her study of Samaritan influence at Qumran she suggested that the Community Rule looks for all the world as though it could have been written for a group of 'Samaritan-Jews'.¹⁶

This is not to argue for any sort of close identification between the writers of the Qumran scrolls and the Samaritans. What is being suggested here is that before the Qumran = Essene identification became Divine Law, *Torah min hashamayim*, there were arguments that these scrolls came from Pharisees or Zadokites or Zealots or even from Christian baptizers. The range of affinities in the days of early, open-minded, Qumran scholarship should give rise to a reconsideration of the possibility that the collection which has come from Qumran may include some Essene documents, but certainly includes a range of other documents which represent a religious ideology that is common within all the sects and philosophies spoken of by both classical commentators and our contemporary scholars. To extend this argument a little further,

12. L. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), p. 17 argues that such a comparison is mandatory. For a valuable introduction to the problem see Ferdinand Dexinger, 'Samaritan Origins and the Qumran Texts', in N. Golb, J.J. Collins, D.G. Pardee and M.O. Wise (eds.), *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), pp. 231-49.

13. The parallel fragments called 4QD^a-g(h) make it clear that the Zadokite Document was well-represented at Qumran.

14. See Solomon Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910). There is a discussion of Schechter's views in Qimron and Strugnell *et al.*, *DJD X*, p. 181.

15. See Ayalah Loewenstamm, 'A Karaite Commentary on Genesis in a Pseudo-Samaritan Metamorphosis' (Hebrew), *Sefunot* 8 (1963), pp. 18-20, 167-204.

16. J. Massingberd-Ford, 'Can we Exclude Samaritan Influence from Qumran?', *RevQ* 21. 6 (1967), pp. 109-30. The words quoted are on p. 121.

one should note that even if one were a true believer that the Qumranians were Essenes, one could not argue that all the literature found at Qumran is Essene.¹⁷ In the collection from Qumran there are apocryphal and pseudepigraphic and biblical texts which had been known to us in other connections, but not as Essene literature, real or suspected. This previously known literature should make scholars wary of the claim for an Essene origin or connection that seems to be attached to the new, and hitherto unknown, texts which have come from the Qumran caves.

P.R. Davies¹⁸ has argued that 1QM and 1QS existed in a fairly developed form and not just as source material before the formation of the so-called Qumran community. In this case we cannot assume that the formation of this community, if it existed at all, is a precondition for the formation of these documents; that is, the Qumran community inherited and did not write the War Scroll and the Community Rule. Likewise, I have argued, with others, that the site Qumran was not the home of the Essenes.¹⁹ The point being made is that, in talk of the Qumran literature and its contents, one does not have to account for an Essene Samaritan relationship. Davies adds, 'The fact of apparently obsolete texts being present in the Qumran corpus creates severe difficulties when such texts are being used to reconstruct the structure, practice and belief of a community'. In fact there is a considerable overlapping in descriptions of the Jewish sects in Patristic writings. Ebionites, Essenes, Samaritans are treated as related groups in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius²⁰ and the works of Hippolytus and Pseudo-Tertullian, so that one should expect substantial intermeshing or near identity of many of their practices. The same name, *Saddukim*, appears for one of the Samaritan subsects.²¹ The inability of the Fathers of the Church to distinguish clearly between the sects is testimony to their close relationship.

17. See A.I. Baumgarten, 'The Rule of the Martians Applied to Qumran', *Israel Oriental Studies* 14 (1944), pp. 121-42; and *idem*, 'Rabbinic Literature as a Source for the History of Jewish Sectarianism in the Second Temple Period', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2.1 (1995), pp. 14-57.

18. 'Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls', in P.R. Davies (ed.), *The Scriptures and the Scrolls* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 152-63.

19. See A.D. Crown and L. Cansdale, 'Qumran: Was it an Essene Settlement?', *BAR* 20. 5 (1995), pp. 24-35, 73-79.

20. A useful edition is that of D.R. Amidon, *The Panarion of St Epiphanius Bishop of Salamis, Selected Passages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

21. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 14.2.1.

Further support for this argument is that at Qumran there were many Pentateuch texts, in use or preserved, some in palaeo-Hebrew and others in square character, which were neither the Masoretic text nor the Samaritan but somewhere between them. These texts have been researched recently by Kyung Rae Kim,²² who shows that some of these are of the genre, pre-texts he calls them, which grew into the Samaritan texts. According to Kim, Sanderson,²³ Kuenen,²⁴ Macuch²⁵ and others, the Samaritan Pentateuch is a late development of the Masoretic Pentateuch in which the greater part of the differences between the Masoretic text and the Samaritan text rose through the influence of later currents of thought.²⁶ We present arguments *en passant* for a different view of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The pre-texts which were preserved at Qumran are significant in that they demonstrate that both the Samaritans and whoever used those texts were interested in the older Palestinian traditions in the Pentateuch, which depended on, or were represented by, textual differences from the MT.²⁷ The Qumran pre-Samaritan or proto-Samaritan texts are at times as expansionist as the Samaritan and may almost exactly coincide with it.²⁸ The preservation of these old Palestinian texts is an added plus for the view which sees preserved in the Qumran material a form of old Palestinian *halakhic* tradition that was espoused by various

22. Kyung Rae Kim, 'Studies in the Relationship between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint' (PhD thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1994). Unfortunately Kim did not deal with the similarities between the pre-Qumran and Samaritan texts which might reflect older *halakhic* traditions.

23. J. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QPalaeoExod^m and the Samaritan Tradition* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986).

24. A. Kuenen, *Libri Exodi et Levitici Secundam Arabicam Pentateuchi Samaritani versionem ab Abu Saido conscriptam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1854).

25. R. Macuch, 'The Importance of Samaritan Tradition for the Hermeneutics of the Pentateuch', in A. Tal and M. Florentin, *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d'Etudes Samaritaines* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1991), pp. 13-22.

26. See R. Macuch, 'Hermeneutical Divergences between the Samaritan and Jewish Versions of the Blessings of the Patriarchs (Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33)', in A.D. Crown and L. Davy (eds.), *Essays in Honour of G.D. Sixdenier* (New Samaritan Studies of the Société d'Etudes Samaritaines; Sydney: Mandelbaum Publishing, 1995), pp. 365-80.

27. It is not clear whether the text is the deposit of or the source of the variations in tradition and practice.

28. On this point see Kim, 'Studies', §3.1.

groups of the period, among whom were the Samaritans, and others of smaller number who could not at that time have been regarded as sectarian, but only as groups identified by Josephus as holding differing philosophies of Judaism. This pre-Tannaitic *halakha* was almost certainly latitudinarian and allowed a variety of rituals and beliefs to coexist peacefully. It was only after the unifying of Jewish tradition under the Tannaim that one could regard the differing philosophies as sectarian. This view virtually returns us to supporting the speculations of Geiger and others of his generation about the old Sadducean *halakha*.²⁹ This argument is surely supported by the controversy between the Qumranians and those whom they described as the 'builders of the walls and the plasterers of nothingness'.³⁰

The source of the controversy which is evident in 4QMMT is that the Qumranians derived their rules of conduct, their *halakha*, from the Pentateuch and other biblical sources, and apparently from long-standing tradition, whereas their opponents, who have been identified as Pharisees, seem to have employed other sources or methods of producing teaching/talmud to give more fluid and innovative interpretations of the text in which tradition may have been modified or even set aside. The Qumranians strove to observe the commandments in accordance with the literal sense of Scripture, and condemned any tendency to adapt the commandments to the needs of the times. In this matter one can show that the Samaritans were close to the Qumranians, relying on the best early texts they could obtain for their interpretations. For example, the Samaritan text of Gen. 17.14 has words not in the MT of that verse, namely 'on the eighth day', in the matter of circumcision, because on that day they circumcised the child and did not postpone for any reason. It is not that the Samaritans have simply harmonized the text to draw it into line with MT Gen. 17.12. As is clear from the parallel reading in the LXX, they have preserved an extant version which was the warrant for their point of view.³¹ It may well prove to be the case when the matter is considered further that the expansions in the

29. See Qimron and Strugnell *et al.*, *DJD* X, p. 181.

30. L. Schiffman, 'New Light on the Pharisees', *Bible Review* 8.3 (1992), pp. 30-33, 54, examines the texts relating to the builders of the walls whom he identifies as Pharisees and *dorshe halaqot*, clearly punning on *halakhot*.

31. Lord Jakobovits argues that the Catholic view on abortion is influenced by a Samaritan reading of Exod. 21.22-23 and that the Samaritan ideas on abortion in the first century CE may have been reflected by their text (personal communication).

pre-Samaritan texts at Qumran will be seen to have nothing to do at all with matters of textual harmonization but reflect and preserve the views which supported the legal traditions of those Jews who did not accept the new-fangled Oral Law. In other words, so-called harmonizations were the textual deposit of shared laws agreed by Jews in their common past. Thus, contrary to the views of others cited above, the pre-Samaritan texts would have priority over the MT.

Neither the Samaritans nor the authors of the works preserved at Qumran accepted a plurality of *Torot* (oral and written) and used the Law, primarily but not exclusively, in its plain sense, that is as *peshat* and not *derash*. A straightforward example is to be seen in the matter of the interpretation of Deut. 21.22. The text refers to hanging but came to be interpreted in Tannaitic tradition, as expressed in the Mishna, as speaking of strangulation. The Temple Scroll makes it clear that the Qumranians took the text to mean, literally, hanging and not strangulation.³² On the basis of general principle it may be suggested that the Samaritan interpretation was the same as that of the Qumranians.

To conclude these opening comments, attention should be drawn to the existence at Qumran and perhaps at Massada of literature specifically hostile to the Samaritans. These are the fragments identified as the *Prayer of Joseph* (4Q372)³³ and what is probably an anti-Samaritan papyrus from Massada.³⁴ The occasion for these pieces appearing at Qumran is not clear. Anti-Samaritan tracts of this nature would at least bespeak a knowledge of the Samaritans and very probably some relationship with either the mainstream of Samaritanism or some contact with the sects. Hostility is never the result of indifference; it tends to flow from contact, or at very least, knowledge.³⁵

A comparison between the matter in 4QMMT and associated texts is

32. See J. Heinemann, 'Early Halakhah in the Palestinian Targumim', in B.S. Jackson, *Studies in Jewish Legal History in Honour of David Daube* (London: Jewish Chronicle Publication, 1974), pp. 114-22.

33. See E. Schuller, '4Q372:1; A Text about Joseph', *RevQ* 14.3 (55) (1990), pp. 349-76.

34. See H. Eshel, 'The Prayer of Joseph from Qumran; a Papyrus from Massada and the Samaritan Sanctuary on Mt Gerizim', *Zion* 56 (1991), pp. 125-36.

35. It could be of course that the nature of the opposition in these pieces relates to the idea expressed in the Temple Scroll that there was no place other than Jerusalem in the Holy Land that could claim the same sanctity. In this case the idea of Eshel that 4Q372 was used on the 'Day of Gerizim' in commemoration of the destruction of the Samaritan sanctuary on Gerizim might well be correct.

limited by uncertainty. The simple fact is that very little was actually recorded of the early Samaritan beliefs and practices and what we have today was set down at comparatively late dates.³⁶ This means that there is the constant risk of contamination with late Samaritan practices so scholars are reluctant to draw conclusions about similarities between Samaritans and Qumran for fear of anachronisms. There should be less hesitation in drawing comparisons with information about Samaritan sub-sectaries.³⁷ Most of these were short-lived and were extant at the time of Qumran, and we have preserved information which is subject to a mine of interpretation in the way that the Qumran material is subject to interpretation. It seems reasonable to make those comparisons. It is true that records about the Samaritan sects are mostly from the text of Abu'l Fath, the thirteenth-century historian, but there are matching or supporting cross-references in earlier sources, including the Patristic writings of the Church (Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Eulogius, *apud* Photius, *Bibliotheca*) and in some of the writings of Karaite and Arabic historians and theologians. From these that it can be seen that there is a picture of the Samaritan sectaries which is reasonably consistent with what we learn from *Massekhet Kuttim* and, therefore, useable in the sort of comparison being made here. By the same token, one has to be very cautious in making use of the classical evidence about *halakhic* practices, for, as several scholars have indicated,³⁸ sources such as Philo may have drawn on pre-Rabbinic *halakha* or even Alexandrian practices which were unknown in Palestine. It is especially fortunate to have the opportunity to compare the wording of the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Qumran texts. These textual comparisons result in the verification of some of the Samaritan interpretations and, hence, rituals. In quite a number of cases it can be seen that the Samaritan reading is echoed in Karaite exegesis of the texts. From this it is possible to

36. See also on this Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*. What he says of the Samaritans on p. 17 needs modifying. It is clear that *Massekhet Kuttim* records the situation pertaining before the breach between Samaritans and Jews became final, which implies that we can rely on *Kuttim* for data before the third century CE. Unfortunately the text is in need of restoration, thus we must rely on reconstructions that are by no means definitive.

37. These are described in detail in Jarl Fossum, 'Sects and Movements', in A.D. Crown, *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989), pp. 293-389. In addition there is supplementary information in A.D. Crown, R. Pummer and A. Tal (eds.), *A Companion to Samaritan Studies* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1993).

38. See Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*.

establish a clear picture of some aspects of early Samaritan ritual and interpretation.

1. *Baptismal Rites. Purification Rituals*

One of the first examples to be considered of the reflection of the Samaritan Pentateuch in Qumran sources which can illuminate *halak-hic* relationships is the matter of ritual purity, particularly the case of *tevul yom*.³⁹ Baumgarten⁴⁰ and Schiffman⁴¹ have presented the matter of the *tevul yom* in considerable detail, but the whole matter has been extended and illuminated by 4QMMT.⁴² The matter at issue is whether one who has immersed ritually is pure and fit to perform ritual tasks immediately after the immersion, or whether the unclean person must wait until nightfall on the last day of impurity before being declared ritually pure. The Rabbis argued that immersion without waiting until nightfall gave the immersed some of the rights of one who had completed all the purification rites while retaining some restrictions, whereas the Sadducees argued that one should wait until nightfall for all restrictions to be removed.

Waiting until nightfall is also the picture given in MMT. One of the key texts in this debate is that of Deut. 23.12 and we see in the variations of this text in the sources how different sects ruled. The MT reads:

11 כִּי־יִהְיֶה בְךָ אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָהִי טָהוֹר מִקֶּרֶה־לֵּילָה
וַיֵּצֵא אֶל־מִתּוֹחַ לַמַּחֲנֶה לֹא יָבֹא אֶל־תּוֹךְ הַמַּחֲנֶה: וְהָיָה לַפְּנוֹת
עָרֵב יִרְחֹץ בַּמַּיִם וּכְבֹּא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יָבֹא אֶל־תּוֹךְ הַמַּחֲנֶה:

The Karaites, relying on the received text, took a contrary view to the Rabbis and argued that the words לַפְּנוֹת־עָרֵב designated the time immediately preceding sunset. The Samaritan version of this passage reads

39. The term itself does not appear in 4QMMT.

40. J.M. Baumgarten 'The Purification rituals in *DJD?*', in D. Dimant and U. Rappaport, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Yad I ben Zvi, 1992), pp. 200-209.

41. L. Schiffman, 'Pharisaic and Sadducean Halakhah in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1.3 (1994), pp. 285-99.

42. See Schiffman's analysis '*Miqsat Ma'aseh Ha-Torah and the Temple Scroll*', pp. 438-42.

וַיֵּצֵא אֶל מַחֲוֶיךָ לַמַּחֲנֶה לֹא יָבוֹא אֶל תּוֹךְ הַמַּחֲנֶה
כִּי אִם רַחֵץ בַּשֶּׁרָה בַּמַּיִם וּבֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְאַחֲרָי כֵּן יָבוֹא אֶל תּוֹךְ הַמַּחֲנֶה :

indicating very clearly that, like the writers of 4QMMT, they understood that sunset immediately followed washing and immersion. This text is surely adequate to indicate the early Samaritan thinking on the matter of *tevul yom*.⁴³ The same construction, וּבֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ is found in 11QT^a 45.9-10 and the variation וּבֹאֵה הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ in 11QT^a 51.5 testifying to the fact that this is an old pre-Rabbinic *halakha* and that the Samaritan text does not need to be seen as a response to developing Samaritan theology, as is usually argued, but rather that it preserved an existing theology.

Baumgarten⁴⁴ draws attention to the timing of the blessing, the *Berakhah*, in the purification ritual. It seems to have been recited after immersion while the person cleansed was standing in the water. This is best illustrated by Col. X fr.11, which describes the purification of a *Zav*, one who has suffered bodily effusions.

Baumgarten reads עֹמְדוֹ וּבְמִילֵאת וְרַחֵץ אֶת בָּשָׂרוֹ וְכֹסֶה אֶת בְּגָדָיו וּבֵרַךְ עָלָיו as meaning that the blessing shall be said while standing in the water and contrasts this⁴⁵ with Rabbinic *halakha* where a *baraita* (*b. Ber.* 51a and *Pes.* 7b) says that he comes out of the water. 'When he has immersed himself and has come up, he says, after coming up, "Blessed be he who has sanctified us with his commandments and commanded us concerning immersion".' The Rabbinic idea was that getting out of water completed the ritual of cleansing or conversion, and only when the ritual is complete can one say the *berakha*. The Qumran texts indicate that the ritual had to be completed before the *berakha* was said, but that the ritual was regarded as complete while the immersed was still in the water. In these texts, modesty dictated that the person remained covered up even during lustration. Hence a loin cloth (men) or dress (women).

At least one Samaritan group, the sect of the Dositheans, is reported as having said all its prayers while immersed in water.⁴⁶ The Dosi-

43. Kim, 'Studies', p. 288-89, seems to have missed the point of the variation in the Samaritan version. The support of the LXX in the matter of the *tevul yom* washing his flesh indicates that this was an ancient ritual.

44. Baumgarten, 'Purification Rituals', p. 202.

45. Baumgarten, 'Purification Rituals', p. 202.

46. Fossum, 'Sects', p. 330.

theans had an initiatory immersion, and they practised ritual bathing.⁴⁷ The Chronicles say that the Dositheans used to cover themselves before entering water, but this was not, apparently, for modesty, as in Qumran, but is described as being out of reverence for the water.⁴⁸ There is some evidence to suggest that the Samaritans not only immersed themselves regularly but did so fully clothed. This conclusion may be reached from the comparisons of Ebionites and Samaritans in Patristic sources. Of the Ebionites it is written in *Ps. Clem. Hom.* 40.28 and Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.2.5, 'If someone meets somebody upon coming up from immersion in water and washing, one returns to wash oneself in the same way again, several times and fully clothed'. Epiphanius adds elsewhere about the Ebionites, 'They often baptize themselves in water, summer and winter, for sanctification like the Samaritans' (Epiphanius, *Anaceph* 2.30.4). Thus not only does this state that the Samaritans immersed themselves regularly but also implies that they did so fully clothed.⁴⁹ Fossum⁵⁰ argues, with some justice, that the Samaritan name *sebbuae*, probably the name of mainstream Samaritanism, derives from צבט 'to dip, immerse or soak'.⁵¹ This would also be testimony to the frequency of their immersion.

Sakta, another Samaritan sectary, and his followers seem to have ritually bathed in 'living water', that is either water from a perennial stream or from a spring.⁵² All his followers were able to bathe and be cleansed by the end of the day, and no priest was needed to partake in the ritual. It is interesting to note that Baumgarten takes the words *luhot olam* to be *lihot olam* meaning permanent streams,⁵³ a reading which is verified from 4QMMT.⁵⁴ The blessing used in lustration according to the Qumran texts seems to have avoided the tetragrammaton and

47. Fossum, 'Sects', p. 330.

48. Fossum, 'Sects', p. 331.

49. This does not necessarily mean only Dositheans as Fossum argues ('Sects', p. 331).

50. In Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 348-351.

51. N. Sokolow, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2nd edn, 1992), is more restrictive in his attributions for this term leaving open the possibility that the name, when applied to the Samaritans, is slang.

52. Fossum, 'Sects', pp. 348-51.

53. Baumgarten, 'Purification Rituals', p. 207.

54. Baumgarten, 'Purification Rituals', p. 207.

instead the formula *Barukh atah el Yisrael* is to be noted.⁵⁵ Again there are echoes here of Samaritan practice. There seems to have been a division between Samaritans and various Samaritan sectaries on the issue of blessings (not clearly associated with lustrations). The Dositheans, like the Rabbanites, said their *berakhot* with the inclusion of the tetragrammaton,⁵⁶ the dominant branch of the Samaritans tended to have used the euphemism *Shema* and the form *Elohim/Eluwem* as their principle name for God in the blessing formula. This seems to coincide with the blessing formula at Qumran.

2. Treatment of Women

According to Schiffman,⁵⁷ the Temple Scroll indicated that women were prohibited from entering the middle court of the Temple. In Rabbinic tradition (and as is learned from Josephus) the Court of the Women was the second court of the Temple on the outer side, that is the outermost court of the Temple. Schiffman demonstrates that the outermost court in the Temple Scroll is the third court, an additional court having been added. Thus women have been moved further away from the Temple. These, of course were ritually pure women, for the ritually impure were not allowed on the Temple mount at all and were physically banished into an area set aside for them away from the Temple *temenos*. It is probable that there was an ancient Palestinian practice segregating impure women into separate houses, for stringent practices regarding the segregation of women were adopted by Samaritans, Falashas and Karaites, whereas Rabbinic Judaism either never adopted such stringent conditions or abandoned them. There is some indication that early Samaritan *halakhic* practice in regard to the impurity of women was much more severe than it is now.

One of the Samaritan heresiarchs, Sakta, of the second or third century CE, tried to alleviate the laws of impurity⁵⁸ applying to women by allowing contact with a woman in her state of 'impurity'. This probably refers to the menstrual period but might refer to the period immediately after the cessation of the menses. *m. Nid.* 4.1 may be taken to mean that

55. Baumgarten, 'Purification Rituals', p. 201.

56. J Fossum, 'Dustan and the Dosithean Sects', in Crown *et al.*, *Companion*.

57. L. Schiffman, 'Laws Pertaining to Women in the Temple Scroll', pp. 211-12.

58. See Fossum, 'Sakta', in Crown *et al.*, *Companion*.

the Samaritans, agreeing with the rabbis of the Amoraic period, enjoined the practice of counting seven clean days after the end of the bleeding. But this was not the practice at Abu I-Fath's time. Samaritan *halakhic* treatises argue that the blood of the menstruant woman after the first day of separation contaminates only for that day of the week and not for seven days, as in the case of the blood of the first day.⁵⁹ Was this the *halakha* which Sakta alleviated? The strictness found in regard to women in the *halakha* of the Temple Scroll seems to have been similar to the strictness of the Samaritans.

Apart from 4QMMT there are other texts which deal with the status of women, especially in the Temple Scroll (11QT). In this document there is a prohibition of the marriage of a man to his niece (11QT 56.15-17) despite the fact that this was permitted in Tannaitic teaching. Yet, as Schiffman⁶⁰ demonstrates, the Samaritans, Falashas and Karaites also forbade such a marriage. Again the evidence would suggest that there was a shared Jewish law, in pre-Tannaitic times, which survived beyond the Tannaitic period into the first millennium and beyond, under sectarian protection.

3. *The Sabbath Day*

One issue which concerned all varieties of Jews was how to behave on the Sabbath day. There are numerous similarities between the customs of all varieties of Judaism with what appears to have been the *halakha* at Qumran so that it is dangerous to draw overly defined conclusions. However, we can see some points of contact and some points of difference which would again suggest that we are looking at practices in Qumran which may not have arisen within the theology of a specific sect but from an older, longstanding tradition.

According to Joseph Baumgarten, each Sabbath at Qumran had its own specific character and liturgy. In the Samaritan tradition there were 14 special Sabbaths⁶¹ but because some of these had multiple date

59. On the ritual cleanness of women at stages in the menstrual cycle see I.R.M. Bóid, 'The Samaritan Halachah', in Crown, *Samaritans*, pp. 624-49.

60. Schiffman, 'Laws', p. 227 and n. 82.

61. 'Sabbath of the Beginning' = the first Sabbath of the year. 'Sabbath of the Priest' = the Sabbath after the Passover. 'Sabbath of the Passover festival' = the Sabbath during Passover. 'Sabbath of the second Passover festival' = fourth Sabbath after Passover. 'Sabbath of Amalek's Wars' = the Sabbath during Passover.

identifications the list comes close to 24 special Sabbaths. Of these it is no longer possible to identify the source or purpose of the special names indicating the antiquity of the tradition, although the Sabbaths of the *Simmuth* are redolent of Falasha tradition, suggesting a common source. This number of special Sabbaths is rather more than is found in Rabbinic tradition and might suggest that the Qumranis had preserved an old tradition that was modified inside Rabbinic Judaism.⁶²

If one can judge from CD 10.14-17, the Qumran legislation on the *tosephet melakha*, the cessation of work on Friday, indicates that there was a formal stopping of work in the middle of Friday afternoon. This is the same practice as is to be noted among the Falashas. Because of the extreme strictness of their Sabbatarianism it must be suggested that all sections of the Samaritans, both mainstream and sectarian, must have ceased work long before the Sabbath began so that they could prepare for the Sabbath. It is unlikely that they could have worked up to the beginning of the Sabbath, particularly if they were members of the Dosithean group who may have refused to move from their places at all wherever the beginning of the Sabbath found them. The Qumran *tosephet melakha* is one of the few *halakhot* expressly derived from a scriptural statement. Doubtless it was the custom of *tosephet melakha* which caused the variant in the Samaritan version of Gen. 2.2 with its reading אשר עשה ביום הששי מכל מלאכתו *Vayishbot beyom Hashishi mikol melakhto asher 'asa* rather than any of the other reasons attributed by and to them for the change.

There seems to be an interesting relationship between the way the Qumran sectaries interpreted Exod. 16.29, 'Remain every man where he is; let no man go from his place on the Sabbath day', and what we are told about the Essenes, and what is known of the Samaritans.

'Sabbath of the Commandments' = the Sabbath before Pentecost. *Shabbât aqqat hammasvbot* (meaning unclear) = the Sabbath before *simmot Sukkot*. 'Sabbath of *Simmot* of the Tabernacles' = the Sabbath of the month of Ab. 'Sabbath of the Ten Days of Penitence' = the Sabbath of the month of Ab. Sabbath of the Collection' = the Sabbath between the day of Atonement and the Feast of the Tabernacles. 'Sabbath of the Feast of the Tabernacles' = the Sabbath during the Feast of the Tabernacles. The Sabbath before Simmot of Passover. 'Sabbath of Simmot of Passover' = third Sabbath of the month of Shevat. 'Sabbath of the Miracles' = the Sabbaths of the eleventh, twelfth, and the first two of the first month (ten Sabbaths as reference to the ten plagues).

62. See 2 Kgs 4.23 where there is an obvious implication that on New Moons and Sabbaths there were special ceremonials.

According to CD 10.21 the Qumranians set themselves a 1000 cubit limit to Sabbath perambulation beyond the confines of the city; that limit could be extended if one was pasturing an animal and was probably extended in the case of need to use the latrines which were put at a limit of 2000 cubits from the domiciles (if indeed the 2000 cubit limit was not an idealized figure). The Dositheans refused to perambulate at all on the Sabbath, and they seem to have taken Exod. 16.29 at its face value.⁶³ Tractate *Kuttim* and several Mishnaic references⁶⁴ testify to the fact that the Samaritans were also fairly strict in their interpretation of perambulatory limits since they did not observe the *Erub*,⁶⁵ although we have no early Samaritan sources on this subject. By the early middle ages we see the Karaites interpreting Exod. 33.7, which permitted visits to the 'Ohel Mo'ed, as meaning that one could visit the synagogue on the Sabbath. Benjamin al-Nahawendi, the Karaite theologian, was influenced by the Samaritans in this interpretation. Thus, it appears that the Samaritans were rather stricter than the Qumranis in their Sabbath laws in the matter of perambulation, but not more so than is said of the Essenes who, it is alleged in classical sources, were supposed to have been stricter than any of the other Jews in their handling of the matter of work on the Sabbath day (Josephus, *War* 2.147). The similarity between Rabbanite and Qumran practices and the strictness of Samaritans and Essenes and their similarity in this matter must add to increasing doubts about the Qumran = Essene equation, and strengthen the hypothesis that parallels between the Samaritan and Qumran traditions reflect pre-Rabbinic practices and theology.

4. *Muqtsa*

The Dosithean sectaries of the Samaritans had some practices similar to those noted at Qumran in the matter of *Muqtsa* on the Sabbath, that is items which were forbidden to be handled because they could lead to a violation of the Sabbath laws. CDC 11.10 forbade the Qumranis handling rock or earth in a dwelling house, that is in the private domain. One can only assume that the reason for this prohibition was to prevent the violation of the Sabbath as there seems to be no other reason for it. While at first sight the connection may be remote, the Dustan sectaries,

63. Fossum, 'Sects', p. 331

64. See *m. Ned.* 3:10 and *Kuttim* 10.

65. This factor is also discussed by Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 187.

or Dositheans if they are the same people, forbade the use of glass and copper vessels on the Sabbath. Some Jewish sources suggest that glass and copper vessels are more easily defiled than earthenware.⁶⁶ This prohibition seems to be unrelated to matters of purity: rather it seems to be related to the possibility that there might be a temptation to purify these vessels after eating. Hence only vessels that could not be purified were used for food on the Sabbath. In this ruling we have a type of *muqtsa* law relating to specific items as at Qumran. Both specific practices are very different from the strictness of the Essene regulations. According to Josephus (*War* 2.8.9) they did not handle any vessels or tools on the Sabbath. It may well be that the incomplete *halakha* from 4QMMT, which dealt with cooking in copper vessels and is currently regarded as inexplicable, should be explored in the light of the Samaritan tradition.⁶⁷

All varieties of Judaism were faced with the question of what to do with livestock on the Sabbath day. Did one feed them or not? Here there seems to be a breach between the Qumranian *halakha* and the Samaritan *halakha*. The Rabbanites seem to have prepared food for animals before the Sabbath day and fed them with it on the Sabbath day itself.⁶⁸ Qumranis seem to have permitted animals to be turned out to pasture on the Sabbath day, at least as far as the permitted walking distance of 2000 cubits,⁶⁹ (CDC 10.14-22) whereas the Dosithean sect of the Samaritans placed food and water before their livestock on Friday and refused to feed or water them on the Sabbath itself. In this they were rather stricter than the Qumranis.

5. Calendar

At least one Samaritan sect, the Dositheans, or the Dustaniya if they are different from the Dositheans, rejected the normative Samaritan calendar and adopted a calendar that had 30 days per month. It is clear that this sort of calendar needs to have intercalary days between the months to try and keep the agricultural festivals roughly in line with the seasons, and there is no evidence that the Dustan sect had anything other

66. *Kelim* 1.1; *b. Šab.* 14b.

67. In 4QMMT there is an incomplete *halakha* about copper vessels. See Qimron and Strugnell *et al.*, *DJD* X, p. 149.

68. *Šab.* 24.2.

69. Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, p. 92.

than the seasonal offerings. We must assume, then, that the Dustaniya had a calendar in parallel with that of *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* in which every month had 30 days, but that there were seasonal intercalary additions which kept the year of 364-day length, or 52 weeks precisely.⁷⁰ This is the calendar described by Qirqisani as in use by the Bnai Saddok, whoever they may have been.⁷¹ This is precisely the calendar found in use at Qumran, so that we have one of the Samaritan sects observing the Qumran type of calendar. I do not argue from this anything other than that the solar calendar had an old Palestinian origin and some of the Jewish groups preserved some traditions and preferred novelty in place of traditions in other matters.

In the matter of novelty we should note that, having adopted a calendar which looks for all the world like the Qumran calendar, the Dustan sect began to count the *Omer* from the day after the festival, that is taking the word Sabbath to mean festival as did Rabbinic Judaism. The Samaritan mainstream appears to have preserved an old Palestinian tradition like that of the Boethusians who took the Sabbath to mean the Sabbath day falling inside Passover, unlike the Qumranians, who appear to have counted the *Omer* from the day after the Sabbath day following the end of Passover, that is 26th Nissan.⁷²

6. *The Slaughter of Pregnant Animals*

Halakha 8 of 4QMMT deals with the slaughter of pregnant animals and the slaughter of a foetus found alive in the womb of the mother. The writers of 4QMMT refused to accept that a foetus found alive in the womb of the mother could be eaten unless it was ritually slaughtered. Pharisaic tradition (*m. Hul.* 4.1, 4.5, 5.1) permitted the foetus in this situation to be edible. Samaritan tradition, like the Karaite and that of 4QMMT, forbade the foetus to be eaten unless it was ritually slaughtered.⁷³ The direct Samaritan evidence is relatively late (twelfth century)

70. Fossum, 'Sects', p. 310 and G. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 4th edn, 1994), p. 47.

71. *Book of Lights and Watch Towers* 1.6.

72. Fossum, 'Sects', p. 312. Baumgarten, 'The Pharisaic Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts', *JJS* 31. 2 (1980), p. 157-70.

73. S. Halkin, 'Controversies in the Samaritan *Masa'il al Khilaf*', *Jubilee Volume of the American Academy of Jewish Research* 1 (1928-1929; repr. 1978-1979), pp. 300-301.

from the *Masai'l al Hilaf* by Munajja ibn Sadaqa and, in this instance, does not depend upon an alternative text of the Torah but rather on the exegesis of the text. Since Munajja was concerned to demonstrate the differences between Rabbinic and Samaritan textual exegesis and ritual differences⁷⁴ and states in this case that he is drawing on Samaritan tradition, it may well be that we see here a preserved old interpretation of pre-Rabbinic exegesis. However, there is evidence from a non-Samaritan source which validates this conclusion. *Kuttim* 15 states that a foetus which is ritually clean for an Israelite might not be sold to a Samaritan for it would be ritually unclean for a Samaritan and might mislead. In this case the external Jewish evidence verifies that the Samaritan practice is ancient.

7. Tithes

Halakhot 13 and 14 of 4QMMT deal with the tithing of fruit of the fourth year and the tithes of cattle. 'And concerning the fruits of trees with edible fruit planted in the Land of Israel: the fruit produced by such trees in their fourth year is to be dealt with like first fruit belonging to the priests.'⁷⁵

Rabbinic *halakha* rules that during the fourth year after their planting the fruits of a tree or a vine are to be treated like a second tithe; that is, they or their monetary value are to be brought to Jerusalem and consumed there. There was an ancient contrary opinion voiced in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* that the fruits belonged to the priests⁷⁶ and were to be brought to the Temple for that purpose and could not be redeemed by the owner. The Samaritans and the Karaites take the latter opinion, clearly, like the Qumranians, adopting the ancient position. Comment in *Massekhet Kuttim* 16 would support this conclusion. Geiger,⁷⁷ in the last century, had argued that the ancient *halakha* was based on the Samaritan variant of the text of Lev. 19.24 reading חלולים ליהוה instead of ליהוה חלולים. Even if it is not true that such a variant was a

74. See I.R.M. Bóid, 'Samaritan Halachah', in Crown, *Samaritans*.

75. Qimron and Strugnell *et al.*, *DJD* X, p. 164.

76. See J.M. Baumgarten, 'The Laws of 'Orlah and First Fruits in the Light of Jubilees, the Qumran Writings and Targum Ps. Jonathan', *JJS* 38 (1987), pp. 195-202.

77. See Schiffman, '4QMMT and the Temple Scroll', p. 445. He suggests that Geiger was in error.

source of *halakha* shared with others but was a source of debate between Jewish sects, the matter supports the argument that the palaeo-Hebrew texts would have been needed at Qumran for close study by the Qumranians.

The fourteenth *halakha* in 4QMMT states, 'And likewise the tithe of the herd and the flock, whatsoever passes under the rod, the tenth shall be holy to the Lord'.

Rabbinic *halakha* rules that the blood of the tithe of the herd is to be sprinkled and the fat offered on the altar, whereas the flesh belongs to its owner, and is to be consumed in Jerusalem. The priests have no part in this tithe. In contrast, *Jubilees*, Tobit and the Karaites indicate that this tithe is given to the priests. While we have no direct knowledge of Samaritan practice in ancient times, in this respect, there are a number of internal and external sources from which we can deduce that, like the Qumranians, the Samaritan priests benefited from the tithes and that once again we are looking at an ancient and pre-Rabbinic *halakhic* teaching. The comprehensive theological text, the *Kitab at-Tabbakh*, written by the outstanding Samaritan scholar, Abu I-Hasan as-Suri, in the eleventh century,⁷⁸ deals in part with the obligation for temple offerings to the priests, and his wry comment that 'It is not proper for the wise to make an annual levy of the tithe obligatory as well as to impose the use of a specially designated place if the place does not exist',⁷⁹ obviously relates to attempts of the Samaritan priesthood in his day to continue to impose tithes upon the people. Abu'l Fath's account of the Dustan sectaries indicates that they abrogated all the tithes to the priesthood as a whole serving only their own sectarian priesthood. An external source, *Massekhet Kuttim* 22, indicates without much doubt that the Samaritan priests received tithe offerings in a very substantial measure.

Perhaps related to this *halakha* is the discussion in 4QMMT and 4QLev^{d80} of the slaughtering of sacrificial animals, a prohibition of the

78. The gap in transmission between the time of compilation and the oldest preserved manuscripts of the work (seventeenth century) leaves many questions unanswered even concerning the correct reading of the title and the original form of the book.

79. Quoted from G. Wedel, 'The Kitab at-Tabbah of Abu'l Hassan as-Suri', in Crown, *Samaritans*, p. 480.

80. See Eshell, '4QLev^d: A Possible Source' for a discussion.

sacrifice of burnt offerings outside the meeting tent, and laws concerning the meat of animals which died. We see from a comparison of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX and 4QLev^d that all of them differ from the MT; the basis of the difference appears to be whether the ban on *hullin*, eating meat without it being sacrificed, was to be limited only to the desert period or whether it was to exist in perpetuity.

The Tannaitic view, as expressed by Akiba, is that there was never a ban on *hullin* and that the passage deals with *qodashin*.

It appears fairly clear that the Samaritan view supports a pre-Tannaitic view that one should not eat meat unless it had first been sacrificed at an altar. Perhaps this is the source of the later Samaritan view (which is regularly found expressed in relation to animal hides which were intended for writing scrolls of the law) that the animal was a sacrifice. One may infer from this, at least in the case of the Samaritans, that slaughter did not necessarily involve any formal sacrifice but was done ritually on behalf of the people by a priest. Perhaps this was the situation with the Sadducees and any other groups which were strict in their treatment of the animal to be killed.

The last *halakha* in the series in 4QMMT is not complete and appears to deal with a ban on marriage between Israelites and priests. Its importance for us is what it implies about the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch. While the *halakha* at first sight seems to have no basis in the Pentateuch, it appears to be an extension of Lev. 21.15, which deals specifically with the High Priest and states that he must take for his wife only a virgin from his own family, that is, *מֵעַמּוֹ* which is interpreted traditionally to mean 'from his own people' that is among the Israelites. In mediaeval times, we know from sources such as Benjamin of Tudela, that the Samaritan priests married only the daughters of other priests. However, it is very likely that this was a longstanding practice, parallel with that at Qumran, for the Samaritan Pentateuch reads the singular *מֵעַמּוֹ* instead of the plural, interpreting this as 'from his own household'.⁸¹

It appears on the basis of the new evidence from 4QMMT that before the Tannaim created a second Torah, the Oral Torah, the *torah shebe'al peh*, there was a common Jewish tradition that was shared by most Jews. After the creation of the second Torah there were two main groups of Jews: on the one hand there were the Tannaitic or Rabbanite

81. See Qimron and Strugnell *et al.*, *DJD* X, p. 172 n. 182.

Jews and on the other Christians, Samaritans, Essenes, Therapeuts and a host of other smaller groups which clung to one Torah and rejected the second. Ironically, it is likely that anti-Rabbanism created a search for the oldest texts that could be found by the 'one-Torah' adherents and led to a variation in the textual basis of their rituals. The old, palaeo-Hebrew texts at Qumran, and the old square character variant texts, were preserved in support of a 'one-Torah' campaign. It is likely that the MT is a consolidated text which reflects the base for the second, that is, Oral Torah, whereas the many textual variants in the Qumran and Samaritan Pentateuchs are not late, harmonizing, secondary additions but are both the textual deposit of their views and the basis on which the various non-Rabbanite groups argued for the one Torah against the second. Similar anti-Rabbinism among the Karaites in later centuries led to contrary results: it too led to a search for the best texts to support the one-Torah base of Karaite faith. It led directly to the work of the Ben Asher scribes and a decrease in the variants in the Massoretic text.

Whatever the case, we must look very closely at every variant in the Samaritan Pentateuch to see its theological bias, not in terms of later theological development, but to see if what is represented is part of the common traditional law of the early Second Temple period.

ZION OR GERIZIM? THE ASSOCIATION OF ABRAHAM AND THE AQEDA WITH ZION / GERIZIM IN JEWISH AND SAMARITAN SOURCES

Isaac Kalimi

A Tribute to Professor Cyrus H. Gordon
עוד ינובון בשׁיבה השנים ורעננים יהיו (Ps. 92.15)

In Jn 4.20 it is related that the woman of Samaria said to Jesus: 'Our fathers worshipped on this mountain; but you say, that in Jerusalem is the place where people ought to worship.' Indeed, there was a bitter dispute between the followers of the Jerusalem Temple and those of the Samaritan's holy site on Mount Gerizim. Each side claimed the superiority and the sanctity of its shrine and attempted to strengthen its argument by relating its different legends and biblical verses, sometimes changing their versions and their authentic meanings.

Since the exact location of אֶרֶץ הַמֹּרְיָה 'the land of Moriah' (Gen. 22.2), on one of whose mountains Isaac was bound by his father, is shrouded in a thick fog,¹ it was used to argue the holiness of both the Jerusalem temple and Mount Gerizim: Jews associated Abraham and, particularly, the site where he bound his promised and beloved son with the site of the altar on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem; the Samaritans argued that the binding of Isaac was on their holy place, Mount Gerizim. This sharp polemic is revealed through various Jewish and Samaritan sources from different eras, as I attempt to show in this article.

1. *The Jewish Sources*

a. *Biblical and Pseudepigraphical Sources*

In order to emphasize the sanctity and the great antiquity of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, as the chosen place for sacrifices from the earliest

1. See I. Kalimi, 'The Land of Moriah, Mount Moriah, and the Site of Solomon's Temple in Biblical Historiography', *HTR* 83 (1990), pp. 347-49.

times, the Mount was connected (apparently during the First Temple era or even already in the time of David and Solomon) with the mountain upon which Abraham bound his son Isaac (Gen. 22.14).² Later, in the Persian period, the Chronicler (c. 400–375 BCE)³ attached the name הר המוריה 'Mount Moriah' to the Temple Mount, and identified more clearly the site of the Temple with the site of the binding of Isaac (2 Chron. 3.1, an addition to the earlier text in 1 Kgs 6.1).⁴ It seems that the Chronicler's identification of the site of the Temple with that of the *Aqeda*, may conceal—among other purposes⁵—a hidden polemic against the rival site holy to the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim.

The connection that had been made between the Temple Mount and the Mount of the *Aqeda* in Gen. 22.14 'Abraham named that place "the Lord will see", as it is said to this day "on the mount of the Lord it shall be seen"', was no longer sufficient for the author of the book of *Jubilees* (which was probably written between 170–140 BCE).⁶ In order not to leave any room for doubt that the 'on the mount of the Lord it shall be seen' is nothing else but the *Jewish* Temple Mount, he added to the text from Genesis the words: 'that is Mount Zion' (*Jub.* 18.13b).

This author is also known from his anti-Bethel polemic (*Jub.* 32.22). Bethel was perhaps an alternative cultic site in the second century BCE, and endangered the Jerusalem YHWH cultic monopoly. However, in the case under discussion, the lack of information does not allow us to assume—with any degree of certainty—whether *Jub.* 32.22 concerns a Samaritan group or not.⁷

In *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIII* three fragments that have a narrative like that of the Abraham of the book of *Jubilees* (4Q225, 4Q226 and 4Q227) were published, and named by the editors 'Pseudo-

2. For further discussion on this issue, see Kalimi, 'Land of Moriah', pp. 345–50.

3. See I. Kalimi, 'Die Abfassungszeit der Chronik—Forschungsstand und Perspektiven', *ZAW* 105 (1993), pp. 223–33; *idem*, 'Könnte die aramäische Grabschrift aus Ägypten als Indikation für die Datierung der Chronikbücher fungieren?', *ZAW* 110 (1998), pp. 79–81.

4. See in detail, Kalimi, 'Land of Moriah', pp. 357–62.

5. See Kalimi, 'Land of Moriah', pp. 358–62.

6. For the time of the book, see J.C. VanderKam, 'Jubilees, Book of', *ABD*, III, p. 1030.

7. Cf. J.C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS, 18; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), pp. 167–68 n. 18.

Jubilees'.⁸ In 4Q225 ('Pseudo-Jubilees'^a), paleographically dated c. 30 BCE–20 CE) col. I, line 13 they read:

...ויק[ום וי]ל[ך] מן הבארות אל ה[ר מוריה]

And he ro[se up and we]n[t] from the wells⁹ to Mo[unt Moriah].¹⁰

In the light of 2 Chron. 3.1 the reconstruction 'to Mo[unt Moriah]' seems reasonable. The identification of 'on one of the mountains that I will point out to you' (Gen. 22.2) by the author of 4Q225 directly with 'Mount Moriah', sounds like a continuity of the interpretational line of the Chronicler's thought as well as that of the author of *Jub.* 18.13b.

b. *Genesis Apocryphon and Pseudo-Eupolemus*

In Gen. 14.17–18 it is related that the king of Sodom met Abram at the Valley of Shaveh, that is the King's Valley, and Melchizedek, king of Salem, welcomed him with bread and wine and blessed him. In the Aramaic scroll which was uncovered in cave 1 at Qumran and designated as *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QGenAp),¹¹ we read that Abram came to 'Salem, that is Jerusalem' (col. XXII, v. 13), and there he was welcomed by Melchizedek, king of Salem:

ואתה לשלם הוא ירושלם...ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק מאכל
ומשחה לאברם ולכול אנשא די עמה והוא הוא כהן לאל עליין
וברך לאברם ואמר בריך אברם לאל עליין מרה שמיא וארעה
ובריך אל עליין די סגד שנאיך בידך

And he came to Salem, that is Jerusalem... And Melchizedek, the king of Salem, brought out food and drink for Abram and for all the men who were with him; he was a priest of the Most High God and he blessed Abram and said: 'Blessed be Abram by the Most High God, the Lord of heaven and earth. Blessed be the Most High God who delivered your

8. See J. VanderKam and J.T. Milik, in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIII* (Qumran Cave 4, VIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 141–55 esp. 146–47.

9. 'The wells', that is, Beer-Sheba, that according to Gen. 21.33, 22.19 are where Abraham was then residing. Probably, the author interprets 'Beer Sheba' as 'seven wells'. Compare VanderKam and Milik, in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIII*, p. 149; G. Vermes, 'New Light on the Sacrifice of Isaac', *JJS* 47 (1996), p. 142 n. 8.

10. For a detailed discussion on this fragment, see also Vermes, 'New Light on the Sacrifice of Isaac', pp. 140–46.

11. The scroll has been dated paleographically and linguistically to the last century BCE or the first century CE. Therefore it may have been composed some-time earlier, cf. R.T. White, '*Genesis Apocryphon*', *ABD*, II, p. 932.

enemies into your hand' (col. XXII, vv. 13-17).¹²

The identification 'Salem, that is Jerusalem' in *Genesis Apocryphon* could be done according to Ps. 76.3 which drew a parallel between 'Salem' and 'Zion': וְיֵהוּ בְּשָׁלֵם סָכֵן / וּמִעוֹתָו בְּצִיּוֹן 'In Salem is his abode / his dwelling is in Zion.'¹³ 'Zion' appears in the Hebrew Bible as synonymous with 'Jerusalem' (see, for example, Isa. 2.3; 4.3; 62.1; 64.9; Jer. 26.18; Ps. 147.12). But also, 'Mount Zion' is synonymous with the 'Temple Mount' (for example, Isa. 10.32; 18.7; 24.23; Joel 4.17; Ps. 2.6; 74.2). It is worthwhile to note that we do not have any evidence that 'Salem' was used as an earlier name for Jerusalem.¹⁴ However, this identification is common in other Jewish sources, after the destruction of the Second Temple, for example, in Josephus (*Ant.* 1.180; 7.67), *Targumim* and *Midrashim*.¹⁵

Some scholars, like Paul Winter and Matthew Black,¹⁶ concluded

12. The citation and the translation are according to J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I—A Commentary* (Biblia et Orientalia, 18; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2nd edn, 1971), pp. 72-73; cf. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon—A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press of the Hebrew University and Heikhal Ha-Sefer, 1956), pp. 47 [ב].

13. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, pp. 12-13.

14. In the Egyptian documents of nineteenth-eighteenth century BCE the name of the city—or the land—is *Urušalimum*; in Tel el-Amarna letters (the first half of the fourteenth century BCE) it appears as *Urusalim*. For discussion on these names, see B. Mazar, 'Jerusalem in Biblical Period', in *Cities and Districts in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Israel Exploration Society, 1975), pp. 11-12 (Hebrew).

15. See *Targum Onkelos* (A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. I. The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959], p. 20) and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (M. Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan [Thargum Jonathan ben Uziel zum Pentateuch nach der Londoner Handschrift]* [Berlin: S. Calvary, 1903], p. 24) on Gen. 14.18. These *Targumim* were written directly וּמַלְכֵי צֶדֶק מְלִכָּא דִּירֻשָׁלַיִם (without mentioning שָׁלֵם at all); and in *Gen. R.* 43.6; 56.10 (see J. Theodor and C. Albeck, *Bereschit Rabba* [Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books, 1965], pp. 420, 607-608; ET H. Freedman, *Midrash Rabbah—Genesis, I* [London: The Soncino Press, 1939], pp. 356, 500).

It is worth noting that in the epistle to the Hebrews *Salem* is interpreted as שָׁלֵם (peace), see Heb. 7.2.

16. P. Winter, 'Note on Salem—Jerusalem', *NovT* 2 (1958), pp. 151-52; M. Black, 'The Recovery of the Language of Jesus', *NTS* 3 (1956-57), p. 312; *idem*, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Toronto and New York: Thomas Nelson, 1961), p. 196.

that the identification of Salem with Jerusalem in *Genesis Apocryphon* has an anti-Samaritan purpose. Winter explained this point, as follows:

At the time when the *Genesis Apocryphon* was written the region around Shekhem was inhabited by the Samaritans. To concede that Melkizedek, priest of the Most High God, had worshipped God in a place in Samaritan territory, would have been tantamount to admitting doubts on the exclusive claim of Jerusalem.¹⁷

Joseph A. Fitzmyer does not accept this conclusion unless 'it could be shown that the Salem–Jerusalem identification does not antedate the Samaritan schism'.¹⁸

Obviously, the author of *Genesis Apocryphon* did not write for Greeks or other foreigners but for Jews. If the identification of Salem with Jerusalem was well known among the Jews, as proved from Ps. 76.3 (as well as from later sources), why did he bother at all identifying Salem as Jerusalem? If, in spite of this, the author under discussion did so, it is possible that he had an anti-Samaritan polemic purpose. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the story in Gen. 14.18, as reflected in *Genesis Apocryphon*, stands in opposition to that which was composed by an anonymous author, probably a Samaritan, in the first half of the second century BCE, and usually designated as Pseudo-Eupolemus (Fragment 1, 15-18):¹⁹

Ξενισθῆναι τε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πόλεως ἱερὸν Ἀργαριζίν, ὃ εἶναι
μεθερμηνευόμενον ὄρος ὑψίστου. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ
ἱερέως ὄντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ βασιλεύοντος λαβεῖν δῶρα

He [that is, Abram] was treated as a guest by the city at the temple of Argarizin;²⁰ which means 'the mountain of the Most High'. He received

17. Winter, 'Salem—Jerusalem', p. 151.

18. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, p. 173.

19. For the dating of the fragment, see N. Walter, 'Fragmente jüdisch-hellenistischer Historiker', in W.G. Kümmel (ed.), *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1976), pp. 139-40; C.R. Holladay, 'Eupolemus, Pseudo', *ABD*, II, p. 672.

20. The contraction of 𐤇𐤊 with 𐤌𐤕𐤁 as one word appears also in the Samaritan Pentateuch (see, for example, Deut. 27.4, 12), in the Samaritan *Targum*, in the Samaritan Greek version (from which only a few fragments remained), as well as in other Samaritan sources—in *Tibât Mârqe*, *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, and in liturgical texts. It also appears in the papayrus from Masada 𐤇𐤌𐤕𐤁𐤇𐤊 and on the two Greek inscriptions which are found on the island of Delos, and refer to 'the Israelites from Delos who donated contributions to Hargerizim'. Pummer showed that the name

gifts from Melchizedek, who was a King and Priest of God.²¹

The author of this text explained the name 'Salem' found in Gen. 14.18 as referring to Shechem,²² where the Mount Gerizim temple had been standing since the days of antiquity, when Abram had been a welcome guest of Melchizedek.²³ This is a testimony to the connection between Abra(ha)m and the Mount Gerizim temple, and to the Samaritans' dispute with the Jews over the sanctity of the Jerusalem Temple, as we will see below. Therefore, the story of Pseudo-Eupolemus strengthens the assumption that the identification of Salem with

'Mount Gerizim' as one word appears also in some non-Samaritan sources (for instance, *Vetus Latina* on 2 Macc. 5.23; 6.2). Moreover, there are some Samaritan Pentateuch manuscripts and a Samaritan inscription in which the words הָר and גִּרְזִיִּם are separated. On the other hand, Pummer exemplified a few contractions of the word הָר with other typonyms following it in Septuagint (for example, הָר שֹׁפָר in Num. 33.23, 24; הָר שְׁעִיר in Josh. 15.10). Thus, the spelling הָר גִּרְזִיִּם or its Greek form (or variants of it) can not be used as a definite indication for recognizing the Samaritan source, writer or tradition, cf. R. Pummer, 'APTAPIZIN: A Criterion for Samaritan Provenance?', *JSJ* 18 (1987), pp. 18-25; contra H.G. Kippenberg, *Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 30; Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1971), pp. 54-55 n. 121; S. Talmon, 'Fragments of Scrolls from Masada', *Eretz Israel* 20 (1989), pp. 283-85 (Hebrew).

21. For this source see Y. Gutman, *The Beginning of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1963), II, pp. 95-108 (discussion), p. 159 (text, Hebrew); B.Z. Wacholder, 'Pseudo-Eupolemus, Two Greek Fragments on the Life of Abraham', *HUCA* 34 (1963), pp. 106-107; R. Doran, 'Pseudo-Eupolemus', in *OTP*, II, pp. 873-79 (discussion), p. 880 (text); C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic-Jewish Authors. I. Historians* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), pp. 157-65, 172-73 (text).

22. Apparently on the basis of Gen. 33.18: יַעֲקֹב שָׁלֵם עִיר שָׁכֵם 'And Jacob came safely to Shechem'. It is interesting that in the Samaritan Torah this verse reads 'And Jacob came to Shechem', exactly like the interpretation of the word in classical Jewish exegesis.

23. J. Heinemann, *Aggadah and its Development: Studies in the Transmission of Traditions* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974), pp. 99-102 (Hebrew), is of the opinion that it was possibly for this reason that Rabbi Ishmael said concerning Melchizedek 'He was a priest, but his descendants were not priests' (*b. Ned.* 32b). According to Heinemann, some Sages went 'much farther than Rabbi Ishmael in their fervour of the anti-Samaritan polemic, and would not rest until they had slandered Melchizedek and painted him as a son of a whore', as told in a legend that reached us through Christian sources.

Jerusalem in *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the story of the meeting between Abram and Melchizedek—which is specifically placed in Jerusalem—has an anti-Samaritan merit.

c. *The Jewish Antiquities*

In *Ant.* 13.74-79, Josephus Flavius related the open dispute between the Jews and Samaritans in Alexandria, which in all likelihood took place in the age of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BCE).²⁴ The Jews claimed that the temple in Jerusalem is the real temple, and offered ‘proofs from the Torah’. The Samaritans, ‘who bow down in the temple that is on [Mount] Gerizim’, of course made their claim for the superiority and holiness of Mount Gerizim. Although Josephus did not specify the nature of the ‘proofs from the Torah’ that Alexandria’s Jews offered, the texts of Gen. 14.18-20; 22.14 and Gen. 22.2, in the light of 2 Chron. 3.1, were most probably not lacking among them.

d. *Rabbinic Literature*

In rabbinic literature there have been very obvious connections drawn between the site of the *Aqeda* and the Temple Mount and Jerusalem. This feature could be found in different Aramaic translations (*Targumim*) of several biblical books, in rabbinic exegesis (*midrashim*) and in the medieval Jewish commentaries:

Targumim. The name מוריה is derived from the root ר"א"ה in the story of the *Aqeda* (Gen. 22.2, 4, 8, 13, 14) and in 2 Chron. 3.1.²⁵ But *Targum Onkelos*, which is generally based on the verbal translation of the Hebrew Text, translated ארץ המריה in Gen. 2.2 as ארע פלחנא that is,

24. For the date of this source in Josephus, see A. Momigliano, ‘Flavius Josephus and Alexander’s Visit to Jerusalem’, *Athenaeum* 57 (1979), pp. 442-48 esp. 445-48 (= *idem*, *Settimo Contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* [Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 161; Rome, 1984], pp. 319-29 esp. 324-25). On the relationship between this story and the story in *Ant.* 12.10—that is, that both stories are about the same debate—see also U. Rappaport, ‘The Samaritans in the Hellenistic Period’, *Zion* 55 (1990), p. 378 n. 19 (Hebrew). M. Mor argues that the two stories are related on two different debates (‘Samaritans and Jews in the Ptolemaic and Beginning of Seleucid Periods’, in *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel* 5 [Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1980], p. 71 [Hebrew]).

25. See Kalimi, ‘Land of Moriah’, p. 349; *idem*, ‘Paronomasia in the Book of Chronicles’, *JSOT* 67 (1995), pp. 27-41 esp. 38-39.

'land of worship', which can be none other than Jerusalem.²⁶ One can find the same translation in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Gen. 22.2;²⁷ and also in a *midrashic* addition of the Targum to 2 Chron. 3.1:

בטור מוריה באתר דפלה וצלי אברהם תמן
בשמה דיהוה הוא אתר ארע פלחנא

On the mount Moriah, on the spot where Abraham had worshipped and prayed in the Name of the Lord, that place is the land of worship.²⁸

A very clear association between the Temple Mount and the site of the *Aqeda* has been made in the *Targum* to the Song of Songs. In Cant. 3.6: 'Who is this coming up from the wilderness, like a column of smoke, from the burning of myrrh and frankincense', the *Targumist* furnished the biblical text with *haggadic* material. He wrote:

מא היא דא אומא
בחירא דסלקא מן מדברא מתנמרא מן קמורת בוסמין וסעידא בזכותא
דאברהם דפלה וצלי קדם יי' בטור מוריה ומתמרקא משח רכותא
בצדקיה דיצחק דאתערך באתר בית מקדשא דאתקרי טור דלבונתא

What chosen people is this coming up from the wilderness, perfumed with sweet-smelling incense, supported by the merit of Abraham, who worshipped and prayed before the Lord on Mount Moriah; anointed with the oil used by exalted personages, namely, with the righteousness of Isaac, bound as he was in the place of the Holy Temple that was called the Mountain of Frankincense.²⁹

Midrashim and Medieval Exegeses. In Gen. R. 55.7 we read: 'And get you into the Land of Moriah'—Rabbi Hiyya the Elder and Rabbi Jannai discussed this. One said: 'To the place whence instruction [הוריי] went forth to the world'.³⁰ While the other explained it: 'To the place whence

26. The *Targum* version according to Sperber, *Pentateuch*, I, p. 31.

27. The *Pseudo-Jonathan* version is according to Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, p. 36.

28. The Aramaic version is according to A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*. IV A. *The Hagiographa* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), p. 34. For the English translation, cf. J.S. McIvor, *The Targum of Chronicles* (The Aramaic Bible, 19; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994), p. 146.

29. The *Targum* version is according to Sperber, *Hagiographa*, p. 132. For the English translation cf. H. Gollancz, 'The Targum to the Song of Songs', in B. Grossfeld (ed.), *The Targum to the Five Megilloth* (New York: Hermon Press, 1973), p. 206.

30. 'It was the spot where in later times the Chamber of Hewn Stones in the Temple stood and the Great Sanhedrin sat and sent forth religious teaching to all Israel', see Freedman, *Genesis Rabbah*, I, p. 487 n. 3.

religious awe [יִרְאָה] went forth to the world.³¹ Other opinions stated there: 'Rabbi Simeon Bar Yochai said: To the place that corresponds [רִאיוֹן] to the Heavenly Temple... The Rabbis said: To the place where incense would be offered, as you read 'I will get me to the mountain of myrrh [מוֹרָה] (Cant. 4.6).³²

All these explanations are plays on the word מוֹרִיָּה and the words which sound phonetically close to it (folk etymologies): מוֹר, רִאיוֹן, יִרְאָה, הוֹרִיָּה. All of them make a clear connection between the site of the *Aqeda* and the Temple Mount.³³

This connection was followed later in Jewish exegeses in the Middle Ages, for example in the commentaries of Rabbi Sholom Yitzchaki (Rashi, 1040–1105), Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) and Rabbi Moshe Ben Nachman (Nachmanides/Ramban, 1194–1274) on Gen. 22.2. It is worthwhile to mention that it was adopted also by some Church Fathers, for instance Saphronius Eusebius Hieronymus (St Jerome, c. 340–420).³⁴

2. The Samaritan Sources

a. Samaritan Pentateuch

As mentioned above, the sanctity of Mount Gerizim was (and is) one of the main principles of the Samaritan belief.³⁵ It is also a central point in

31. The Hebrew edition according to Theodor and Albeck, *Bereschit Rabba*, pp. 591–92. For the English translation, cf. Freedman, *Genesis Rabbah*, I, pp. 487–88.

32. Cf. above the *Targum* on Cant. 3.6; and on 4.6 (For the Aramaic version, see Sperber, *Hagiographa*, p. 134; the English translation is according to Gollancz, *Targum*, p. 213).

33. See also *Gen. R.* 56.10 (Theodor and Albeck, *Bereschit Rabba*, pp. 607–608; for English translation, see Freedman, *Genesis Rabbah*, I, pp. 500–501); *b. Ber.* 62b; *m. Tanḥ.*, *Wayyera*, end of 22.

34. See M. Rahmer, *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus*, I (Breslau: H. Skutsch, 1861), pp. 34–35 (Die 'Quaestiones in Genesin').

35. See I. Ben-Zvi, *The Book of the Samaritans* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, rev. edn, 1970), pp. 140–41 (Hebrew). The commandment to have Mount Gerizim as a holy place is planted among the most important commandments of the Torah, namely the Ten Commandments in the book of Exodus (following Exod. 20.17) and in the book of Deuteronomy (following Deut. 5.18). In other words, the Samaritans raised this to the level of an important commandment. For other places where the Samaritans altered the Torah, see, for example, Deut. 12.5 בַּחַר אֲשֶׁר 'in the place which he chose', instead of יִבְחַר אֲשֶׁר 'the place which he will

their dispute with the Jews. The Samaritans expended a great deal of literary effort to form a connection between their holy site on Mount Gerizim by Shechem³⁶ and the site of the *Aqeda*. A hint of this argument can be seen in the Samaritan Torah (probably from the Hasmonean time).³⁷ In Gen. 22.2 they wrote: *לך אל ארץ המורא והעלהו* 'go to the land of Mora'a and offer him there as a burnt offering on one of the mountains which I will point out to you'.³⁸ The alteration from the MT 'Moriah' to 'Mora'a' makes this verse analogous with the Samaritan version of Deut. 11.29-30: *ונחת אל הברכה על הרגרזים...אצל אלוני מורא מול שכם* 'and you shall put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim...by the oaks of Mora'a in front of Shechem' (this is instead of the MT *אצל אלוני מרה* 'by the oaks of Moreh').³⁹ Furthermore, in order not to leave any space for doubt about the meaning of this analogy, the Samaritans added the words *מול שכם* 'in front of Shechem' to Deut. 11.30.⁴⁰ Therefore, the

choose' (and thus too in the remaining mentions of the choice of the sacred place in Deuteronomy); Deut. 27.4 *בהר עיב* 'on Mount Gerizim' instead of *בהר עיב* 'on Mount Ebal'. Cf. M. Gaster, *The Samaritans: Their History, Doctrines and Literature* (The Schweich Lectures, 1923; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 23-24; S. Isser, *The Dositheans: A Samaritan Sect in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), pp. 9-10, 19, 54.

36. The site on Mount Gerizim was sanctified by the Samaritan community, apparently in the fifth century BCE, see S. Talmon, 'Biblical Traditions on the Early History of the Samaritans', in J. Anisam (ed.), *Eretz Shomron: The Thirtieth Archaeological Convention, September 1972* (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1973), pp. 19-33, esp. 23, 32-33 (Hebrew). On the issue of the temple on Mount Gerizim, see below, §4, appendix.

37. On the dating of the Samaritan Torah to Hasmonean times, see J.D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (HSM, 2; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 16-87.

38. The Samaritan version of the Torah cited in this article is according to A.F. von Gall (ed.), *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1918).

39. Compare this to the Samaritan version of Gen. 12.6 *עד מקום שכם עד אלון מורא* 'unto the place of Shechem, unto the oak of Mora', as opposed to the Masoretic *עד מקום שכם עד אלון מרה* 'unto the place of Shechem, unto the oak of Moreh'.

40. Therefore, Rabbi Elazar son of Rabbi Shimon was incorrect in maintaining that the Samaritans were not helping their case in any way by this addition to their Torah: 'Rabbi Elazar son of Rabbi Shimon said: I was debating with the scholars of the Kuthites (i.e. Samaritans): "You have falsified your Torah and not helped

analogy and the addition cause the reader to identify the Mount Gerizim by Shechem with the Mount of the *Aqeda*.

b. Samaritan 'Midrashim'

A clear identification of the site of the *Aqeda* on Mount Gerizim is to be found much later in the Samaritan 'midrashim'. In *Tibât Mârqe* (= *Memar Marqah*)⁴¹ the exegete asks:

He said to Abraham 'In the land which I shall show you' [Gen. 12.1]. And what could he have shown him if not the Good Mountain? Again he stated to him, at the time of his testing, when He demanded Isaac from him and revealed His holiness. He said 'in the Land of Vision' (ארעא חזויה) [Gen. 22.2],⁴² the good and the blessed. Abraham knew it and ran to it immediately. Now, hear a question on the theme of what was said to Abraham. What was His point when He demanded from him the sacrifice of Isaac 'upon one of the mountains of which I shall tell you' [Gen. 22.2], when he [Abraham] knew it from the beginning of His [God] speech? Let your mind be at ease, O questioner, and hear now an answer, for which you need no special knowledge: While he [Abraham] maintained righteousness and truth, he sought the place that God showed him from afar, turned to it and prayed, and when he finished praying—'he lifted his eyes' [Gen. 22.4]. And indeed, when he lifted his eyes, he was prostrate, for it was morning, and so he stood and prayed. And in what direction was his prayer if not towards Mount Gerizim? When he prayed wholeheartedly, he saw clearly.⁴³

yourself at all, in writing in your Torah "by the terebinths of Mamre [facing] Shechem" . . . ' (y. *Sot.* 7, 3; 30b). As mentioned above, the addition 'facing Shechem' creates an analogy with other passages in the Samaritan Torah and directs the reader to a certain religiously motivated perspective which the Samaritans were attempting to achieve.

41. On *Tibât Mârqe* see A. Tal, 'Samaritan Literature', in A.D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1989), pp. 462-65; *idem.*, 'Tibât Mârqe', in A.D. Crown, R. Pummer and A. Tal (eds.), *A Companion to Samaritan Studies* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1993), pp. 235-36.

42. Cf. the Samaritan *Targum* (Manuscript J and Manuscript A) on Gen. 22.2 ארעא חזויה 'the Land of Vision'. For Samaritan *Targum* editions, see A. Tal, *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition. I. Genesis and Exodus* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1980), pp. 74, 76 (Manuscript J); 75, 77 (Manuscript A).

43. The translation based on Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Tibât Mârqe: A Collection of Samaritan Midrashim* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy for Science, 1988), pp. 143-44, 145 (Hebrew).

In another Samaritan work, *Sefer ha'Otot laMârqe*, the exegete says: 'Mount Gerizim is the chosen place, since the day the Lord created it as his everlasting holy place, until the Day of Revenge. It has thirteen names in the Torah. Each one of these names states its honor'.⁴⁴ This exegete recounts the last two names in connection with the scriptural story of the *Aqeda*:

השני עשר אחד ההרים באחד השבטים...
השלישי עשר מקרתה אברהם שם המקום ההוא יהיה יראה
הודיע הן כל מדרש דידרש עליו לא מסחנה ריק

The twelfth name: 'One of the mountains' [Gen. 22.2], in the territory of one of the tribes... and the thirteenth: The naming by Abraham of the name of that place 'YHWH will see' [Gen. 22.14]. He informed that any request which is made upon it will not go unfulfilled.⁴⁵

c. Other Samaritan Sources

In the final third of the fourth century CE, the Pilgrim of Bordeaux conveyed some information, which presumably he had heard from the Samaritans: 'There [that is, by the city Neapolis, present day Nablus] is the mount Agazaren. There—say the Samaritans—Abraham offered the sacrifice'.⁴⁶

In fact, as of today the flat rock on Mount Gerizim which the Samaritans indicated and called *השתיה* אבן 'the Foundation Stone',⁴⁷ bears precisely the same name of the rock on Mount Moriah in Jerusalem, on which the Jews and later on also Muslims came to believe that Abraham bound his son Isaac.

Over the span of time, the Samaritans connected many diverse legends to Mount Gerizim,⁴⁸ but the association with the story of the

44. See Ben-Hayyim, *Tibât Mârqe*, pp. 148, 149.

45. See Ben-Hayyim, *Tibât Mârqe*, pp. 150, 151.

46. See *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* 175 (1965), p. 13.

47. J.A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect* (Philadelphia, 1907; repr.; New York: Ktav, 1968), p. 237; Z. Vilnay, 'Gerizim', *Ariel—The Encyclopedia of the Land of Israel* (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat ha-Sadeh, 1974), pp. 1432, 1433-34 (Hebrew). Y. Magen, 'Mount Gerizim: A Temple-City', *Qadmoniot* 23 (1990), p. 70 (Hebrew), mentions an existence of *מזבח עקדת יצחק* ('altar to which Isaac was bound') on Mount Gerizim. However, see on this already R. Pummer, *The Samaritans* (Iconography of Religions, 5; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), pp. 24, 45 and Plate XLVIa and b.

48. For example, the hiding of the tabernacle and everything in and pertaining to it in Mount Gerezim, see I. Kalimi and J.D. Purvis, 'The Hiding of the Temple

Aqeda remained among the most important for them.⁴⁹

3. Perpetuation of the Dispute

It appears that the Zion community was frightened by the existence of the rival sanctity of Gerizim. Its bitterness is revealed in several sources. For instance, at the beginning of the second century BCE, Ben-Sira considered the Samaritans not only as non-Israelites, but even as no nation at all! He called them 'mean people who dwell in Shechem' (Ben-Sira 50.25-26). Indeed, the Hasmonean king and high priest of Judea, John Hyrcanus I, who conquered Samaria and annexed it to his kingdom, destroyed the Samaritans' temple.⁵⁰ Moreover, in the Talmudic tradition it is related that the Sages made the day of the destruction of the Samaritan temple a feast day, and decided that 'the twenty-fifth of the month [Tevet] is the day of Mount Gerizim, when mourning is forbidden' (*b. Yoma* 69a).⁵¹

If we turn our attention once again to the story in the fourth Gospel, we will see the depth of the hostility which existed between Jews and Samaritans (or at least between groups of them), as shown by the Samaritan woman's words to Jesus: 'How is it that you, a Jew, are asking for a drink from me, a Samaritan woman? For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans' (Jn 4.9). This story says that in the first century CE⁵² generally it was impossible to imagine that either of these people could even request water from each other!⁵³

Vessels in Jewish and Samaritan Literature', *CBQ* 56 (1994), pp. 679-85 esp. 682-85.

49. See Ben-Hayyim, *Tibât Mârqe*; Isser, *The Dositheans*, pp. 9-10, 19, 54; J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (New Testament Library; London: SCM Press, 1964), pp. 16-21, 139 nn. 1 and 2, 281, 339.

50. For the destruction of the Samaritan temple, see below, §4, appendix.

51. *Megillat Ta'anit*, line 24, has another month than the Talmud: 'On the twenty-first of the month [Kislev] is the day of Mount Gerizim when mourning is forbidden' (the citation is according to H. Lichtenstein, 'Die Fastenrolle—Eine Untersuchung zur jüdisch-hellenistischen Geschichte', *HUCA* 8-9 [1931-32], p. 320, see also the discussion on p. 288).

52. For the date of the final written form of John, see R.E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* (AB, 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), pp. lxxx-lxxxvi.

53. 'There was nothing strange in asking a woman for water, as it was women who generally drew it from the wells, cf. Gen. 24.17', see J.H. Bernard, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St John*, I (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), p. 137.

Here it is worthwhile to stress that the last part of the verse from the Gospel of John (v. 9b) is missing in some manuscripts, and there are scholars who considered it as a late gloss.⁵⁴ It seems more accurate to say that this comment is not of the Samaritan woman but of the Evangelist,⁵⁵ who attempted to explain the story.

The animosity between Jews and Samaritans may also be evident in Jn 8.48 when the Jews accuse Jesus: 'Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?' Here, a 'Samaritan' is mentioned in the same breath with 'demon'. It has, probably, also a connotation of heterodoxy,⁵⁶ and shows the intolerance which existed between these peoples.⁵⁷ Indeed, at the end of the second chapter of the extra-canonical *Tractate Kuttim* (that is, Samaritans),⁵⁸ we read that the Samaritans are not welcome into the Israelite community unless 'they recant [their belief in] Mount Gerizim and accept [the holiness of] Jerusalem⁵⁹ and the resurrection of the dead'.

4. Appendix: *The Temple on Mount Gerizim*

In *Ant.* 11.302-11, 321-25, 340-46, Josephus tells about the circumstances which led to the founding of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim by Sanballat II, the

54. See, for example, R. Pummer, 'New Testament and the Samaritans', in Crown *et al.*, *Companion*, p. 170; see also Brown, *John*, p. 170. Daube assumed that the background to the text is the impure rituals of the Samaritans, and proposed the translation: 'Jews and Samaritans do not use vessels in common', see D. Daube, 'Jesus and the Samaritan Woman: The Meaning of *sygchraomai*', *JBL* 69 (1950), pp. 137-47 (reprinted as 'Samaritan Women', in *idem*, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* [London: The Athlone Press, 1956], pp. 373-82). This assumption is not acceptable, see Pummer, 'New Testament', p. 170; G.R. Beasley-Murray, *John* (WBC, 36; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), p. 58.

55. See Bernard, *St John*, p. 138.

56. Cf. R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 16th edn, 1959), p. 225.

57. See also Lk. 9.52-53; Mt. 10.5; but cf. Acts 8.25.

58. This Talmudic minor book is located, along with other extra-canonical tractates, after the tractates of '*Seder* *Nezikin*' in the Babylonian Talmud.

59. It is worthwhile to mention that the Samaritans recognized the Tabernacle as the only legitimate sanctuary in the history of Israel, see Kalimi and Purvis, 'The Hiding of the Temple Vessels', p. 682; and recently R. Pummer, 'Samaritan Tabernacle Drawings', *Numen—International Review for the History of Religions* 45 (1998), pp. 30-68 esp. 30-31.

last Persian governor of Samaria, in the fourth century BCE. According to Josephus, Alexander the Great authorized the erection of the temple, after his invasion of Palestine (332 BCE).

Some scholars, like F.M. Cross and E.J. Bickerman,⁶⁰ accepted the credibility of Josephus's story. Others, like L.L. Grabbe and M. Mor, do not give credence to the story in general, but, as Grabbe put it: 'the only aspect of it now demonstrated to be correct is the origin of the Samaritan temple in the late fourth century'.⁶¹ Contrary to these scholars, there are historians who discredit the historical reliability of the whole story in Josephus.⁶²

As of today, there is no archaeological evidence for the story of Josephus about the erection of the Samaritan temple.⁶³ Y. Magen assumed that the Samaritan temple was located at the place where the Byzantine church stood. According to him, the Samaritan temple was erected at the time of the construction of the Hellenistic city, which began at the beginning of the second century BCE, in the days of Antiochus III, after the land was conquered from the Ptolemies.⁶⁴ Magen claimed also that he found the remains of the Samaritan *temnus*—the gates and the walls—in his excavations on Mount Gerizim.⁶⁵

Recently, H. Eshel argues for two Samaritan temples in two different sites at two different periods: the first was at Samaria in the middle of the fourth century BCE; the second at Mount Gerizim in the beginning of the second century BCE (compare Magen, above).⁶⁶

A sharp opposition to this assumption was expressed by M. Mor.⁶⁷ Without taking sides between Mor and Eshel, I would like to note that from the methodological viewpoint, some of Eshel's arguments seem weak as they are founded on

60. See F.M. Cross, 'A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration', *JBL* 94 (1975), pp. 5-6; E.J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 10-11.

61. See L.L. Grabbe, 'Josephus and the Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration', *JBL* 106 (1987), pp. 231-46, esp. 244; and the articles of M. Mor mentioned below.

62. See, for example, B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle against the Seleucids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 131 n. 3; D.R. Schwartz, 'On Some Papyri and Josephus' Sources and Chronology for the Persian Period', *JSJ* 21 (1990), pp. 175-99.

63. See Y. Magen, 'A Fortified Town of the Hellenistic Period on Mount Gerizim', *Qadmoniot* 19 (1986), p. 101 (Hebrew); *idem*, 'The Samaritans in Shechem and the Blessed Mount Gerizim', in Z.C. Ehrlich (ed.), *Shomron and Benyamin: A Collection of Studies in Historical Geography* (Ophra [Israel]: HaChevra Le Haganat Ha Teva and Ophra's Sadea School, 1987), pp. 207, 208 (Hebrew); *idem*, 'Temple-City', p. 83.

64. See Magen, 'Hellenistic City', p. 101; *idem*, 'Temple-City', p. 83.

65. See Magen, 'Temple City', pp. 70-78.

66. See H. Eshel, 'The Prayer of Joseph: A Papyrus from Masada and the Samaritan Temple on אִפְּגָאִיזִין', *Zion* 56 (1991), pp. 125-36, esp. 131-32 (Hebrew).

67. See M. Mor, 'The Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim', *Beit Mikra* 38 (1993), pp. 313-27 (Hebrew); but also Eshel's reply: 'The Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim and the Historical Research', *Beit Mikra* 39 (1994), pp. 141-155 (Hebrew); and Mor's reaction: 'The Samaritan Temple Once Again: Josephus Flavius and the Archaeological Find', *Beit Mikra* 40 (1994), pp. 43-64 (Hebrew).

several hypotheses which are far from certain.⁶⁸ It is apparent that the whole issue requires further investigation.

Nevertheless, there is an agreement among the scholars about the time of the destruction of the Samaritan temple as related by Josephus (*Ant.* 13.254-56 and *War* 1.2, 6 [section 63]). The destruction was carried out by John Hyrcanus I, the Hasmonean king and high priest of Judea, who conquered and annexed Samaria to his realm.⁶⁹ The 23 coins of this king which were found in the archaeological excavations on Mount Gerizim support Josephus's account.

Generally, the destruction of the Samaritan temple is dated at 128 BCE.⁷⁰ Since some of the coins date from the years 115-114 and 112-111, presumably the destruction was not before 112-111 BCE.⁷¹

68. See, for example, Eshel, 'Prayer of Joseph', pp. 146-47, 151-52, 155.

69. See above, §3.

70. See, for example, Bickerman, *Jews in the Greek Age*, p. 12.

71. Cf. Magen, 'Temple-City', pp. 87, 90, 96.

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Part VIII

INDO-EUROPEAN

THE HOME OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS

Giuliano Bonfante

I am happy to greet my old friend Cyrus Gordon and to contribute to this volume on the occasion of his next birthday.

There has been a good deal written recently about the Indo-European languages.¹ I would like to examine critically a chapter in R.S.P. Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*,² which the author calls 'The Origin of the Indo-Europeans' (pp. 47-52).

First of all, the title: 'Origin' sounds as if the Indo-Europeans came from Africa or America or Polynesia. In fact their *origin* is not known to us. What the chapter does offer is a study concerning the *Home of the Indo-Europeans*, that is, the place from which the Indo-Europeans radiated. Though we know for certain that it is not Spain, Italy, Greece, Iran or India, this still leaves a vast territory from which we must choose.

For the sake of clarity, let us divide the problem into sections.

(1) The argument of the *beech*. It is well known that this tree is not found east of a line that runs from Königsberg to the Crimea. Beekes criticizes the argument on the grounds that the words for the tree (Lat. *fāgus*, English *beech*, German *Buche*) 'may get another meaning, and could, in this case, be used to refer to some other tree. Greek φηγός also [false] means *oak*', It is in fact quite natural that the Greeks, entering (around 2000 BCE) into a new country, should use their own familiar name for another tree; but this does not shake the *beech* argument in the least. As for Russian *buziná*, which 'also [false] means "holder"', it presents some insurmountable phonologic problems that prevent us

1. For criticism of views on the Indo-European languages see my review of A. Giacomoni Ramat and P. Ramat (eds.), *Le lingue indoeuropee* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993, 1994), in *Linguistica* 35.2 (1995), pp. 303-11.

2. R.S.P. Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1984).

from making use of it in this connection; but it has, in my opinion, nothing to do with *Buche*. Thus the argument with which Beekes attempts to eliminate a precious testimony of the Indo-European homeland is in fact irrelevant.

(2) The name of the *sea*,³ German *meer*, Old Church Slavonic *more* (not *morje*!), Lithuanian *mārės*, Old Irish *muir*, is that of peoples that live on the Baltic Sea. Other languages have different words. Why should we deny these facts? Why look for another sea? It is perfectly natural that the other peoples who migrated away from the original Baltic home should lose the word (so for example Greek θάλασσα, and so on).

(3) The word *salmon* is English *lox*, German *Lachs*, Lithuanian *lāšis*, Russian *losós*.⁴ All these languages are, once more, on the Baltic Sea. I may add that salmon is not found in any sea but the Baltic and the North Sea. A very important fact is that the word *lox* shows up suddenly in Tocharian, very far from the Baltic Sea. We have here exactly the same fact that we found in Greece, where *beech* took the sense of *oak* (δρῦς ἄγρία). In Tocharian B *laks* (obviously connected with *lox*) has taken the general meaning of *fish* (a fact that Beekes neglects). This is natural, since they had the word, but had no salmon: the direction of the change of meaning is, as usual, from the particular to the general. What Beekes says about the argument *e silentio* makes no sense. How does Beekes conceive the (indisputable) connection of Tocharian B *laks* with English *lox*, and so on? Did the Tocharians migrate to Germany? Did the Germanic, Baltic and Slavic peoples move all together to the Tocharian area? Beekes avoids the simple explanation, that the Tocharians came from the common Indo-European home of Northern Europe.

(4) 'It seems not improbable that Indo-European is related to the Finno-Ugric group, which means that the two language families must have originated in fairly close proximity to each other.' I do not believe that Beekes will find any scholar to support such a view. In the same text, immediately following, Beekes states that Indo-European is connected with Caucasian; therefore, the original Indo-European home should be in southern Russia—rather far from the Finno-Ugric area. A

3. Lat. *māre* has an irregular vowel, obviously from Germanic. They did not, in any case, live far from the Baltic Sea.

4. The southern Slavs do not have the word *lox*, for this fish does not live in the Mediterranean Sea.

home in the Baltic area, on the contrary, easily allows us to admit connections (although not genetic) with the Finno-Ugrians. The Finno-Ugrians even now touch the Baltic Sea, and border with Lettish and Russian.

(5) 'It is argued, for example, that the Indo-Europeans had the custom of sacrificing horses, that their society was organized along patrilinear lines, and that they believed in a heavenly god, precisely as did the Altaic people' (p. 48). With such platitudes any area will fit the Indo-Europeans; Africa, or Asia, or America.

(6) Beekes then examines (p. 49) the works of Ivanov-Gamkrelidze and of Renfrew. I have recently written reviews of these books criticizing their methods and conclusions, and shall not re-examine them here.⁵

(7) 'An essential clue is the word for *horse*, since it gives us concrete evidence to work with' (p. 50). The *horse* would put Near East, Turkey and the Balkans out of the picture. But all Indo-European languages have a word for *horse*, so that it does not help to discover the home of the Indo-Europeans. Certainly in the Baltic area—Germany and Poland—horses grow well, as in other countries. The root **dem-*, which he mentions (Lat. *domō*, and so on) was used mainly for the bull.

(8) What I read on p. 49 astonishes me: 'The names of trees are notoriously unreliable as evidence [for the home of the Indo-Europeans].' I open the fundamental book of Otto Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*,⁶ and find that he mentions 36 names of trees that grow in Germany and Poland; their etymologies cannot be challenged.

(9) Finally, after many contradictions and vacillations, Beekes decides that the 'home' of the Indo-Europeans was in southern Russia (p. 30), a place which is in fact less fit than northern Russia to explain the prehistoric relations with the Indo-Europeans. This theory, repeatedly defended by Mrs Gimbutas, is the Kurgan theory of the Indo-

5. T.V. Gamkrelidze and V.V. Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans: A Reconstruction and a Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and a Proto-Culture* (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, 80; ET: Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1995), reviewed by G. Bonfante in *Aevum* 65 (1991), p. 41; C. Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994 [1987]), reviewed by G. Bonfante in *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 76 (1989), p. 110.

6. O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* (Jena: H. Costenoble, 3rd edn, 1907), II, pp. 173-76.

European homeland. Now there is not the slightest proof in favor of such a theory, and much evidence to the contrary. The Kurgans are in the steppes, where we find no trees, and we have seen (above) that in the Indo-European homeland there were at least 36 kinds of trees. The Kurgans have hillock-tombs, with no inscriptions. Such hillock-tombs may be built by any people; there is not the slightest proof that they were built by Indo-Europeans.

(10) The author writes that the Indo-Europeans 'seem to have been nomads' (p. 51). In fact the word for *plough*, an essential instrument of agriculture, proves that the Indo-Europeans were certainly *not* nomads. The word for *plough* (Lat. *aratrum*) exists not only in all the Indo-European languages of Europe (including Germanic, Old Icelandic *aratr*), but even in Armenian and in far-off Tocharian. It is missing only in Indo-Iranian, because these people migrated very far and forgot agriculture on the way.

In conclusion, I remain, with other distinguished scholars (for example, Thieme) of the opinion that the home of the Indo-Europeans was on the Baltic Sea, where even now the Germanic, the Baltic and the Slavic peoples are located; some territory in the continent, for example, Bohemia, must be added.⁷

7. I have presented my opinion on the subject at the Polish Academy in Rome: 'La protopatria degli Slavi', *Accademia Polacca delle Scienze in Roma, Conferenze*, (Warsaw, 1984) (reprinted in *Scritti scelti di Giuliano Bonfante*, I [Alessandria della Paglia: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1986], pp. 301-15) (not cited by Beekes).

CONSONANTAL APOPHONY IN INDO-EUROPEAN ANIMAL NAMES

Roger Williams Wescott

Despite Cyrus Gordon's prowess as a Semitist, Indo-European studies in his honor seem to me to be wholly appropriate. For, as the founder and head of the Brandeis University Program in Mediterranean Studies, he was as much involved in Hellenic as in Hebraic research. Moreover, as a veteran Near Eastern archaeologist, he was a student of both the history and the prehistory of such Asiatic Indo-Europeans as the Phrygians, the Hittites, the Iranians and the Armenians.

Apophony and Affixation

The word 'apophony' is a Hellenic calque on the German linguistic term *Ablaut*, whose literal meaning is 'off-sound'. Apophony, or *Ablaut*, is phoneme gradation of a type that is most familiar among internal vowels in grammatical paradigms like English *sit/sat*, *dig/dug* or *drink/drank/drunken*. However, apophony can also occur in non-grammatical paradigms, such as *snip/snap*, *sniff/snuff* or *clink/clank/clunk*.

Furthermore, apophonic gradation may involve consonants as well as vowels. In contemporary English, such apophony is most frequently encountered in pairs like *safe/save*, *breath/breathe* or *use/use*, where, in each case, the voiced fricative which terminates the second word has the grammatical function of converting the preceding nominal (that is, noun or adjective) into a verb. But there are also non-grammatical paradigms like *hack/hash*, *crack/crash* and *smack/smash*, in which the sound-shift involved is not one of voice but of manner, the dorsal stop which terminates the first word being converted, in the second, to a dorsal fricative. Here the semantic shift seems to be from a punctive sense (of momentary verbal action) to a resultative sense (of completed verbal outcome).

Pairs or series of apophonically linked words may also be said to exhibit replacive affixation. An example is the English singular versus plural pair *man/men*, in which pluralization is signaled by the replacement of nuclear *a* by *e*. (A more productive type of pluralization is exemplified by the pair *mat/mats*, in which affixation is additive rather than replacive.)

In terms of typological evolution, the most archaic type of additive affixation is probably infixation of an asyllabic type. In both attested and reconstructed languages, asyllabic infixes most commonly consist of non-obstruent consonants known as sonorants—that is, nasals, linguals or glides. These sonorants may either precede or follow the monophthongal vocalic nucleus of a base or word. In the former case, the sonorant may be termed prenuclear; in the latter case, postnuclear. Of the contemporary infixes listed in Table 1, below, none is either grammatical or productive: all may be regarded as fossilized.

<i>phoneme</i>	<i>prenuclear</i>	<i>postnuclear</i>
y	mew / moo	creak / cricket
w	whack / hack	zoom / zuwm, zum/
l	bleep / beep	dolt / dote
r	scrimp / skimp	purp / pup
m		tamp / tap
n		crunch / crush ¹
ŋ		clink / click

Table 1. *Sonorant Infixes in English*

To judge by the etymological dictionaries of Indo-European,² such sonorant infixes were considerably commoner in Proto-Indo-European (hereafter PIE) than in modern English, though their semantic nuances are harder to specify. Examples follow in Table 2, below:

1. *Crunch* may be regarded as an epenthetic variant of an unattested form **crunsh*, having the same relation to it that *Welch* has to the older form *Welsh*.

2. G. Décsy, *The Indo-European Protolanguage* (Bloomington: Eurolingua, 1991); S.E. Mann, *An Indo-European Comparative Dictionary* (Hamburg: Buske, 1984–87); J. Pokorny, *Ein Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (2 vols.; Munich: Francke); C. Watkins, *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, rev. edn, 1985).

<i>phoneme</i>	<i>prenuclear</i>	<i>postnuclear</i>
y	g(y)ew-, 'chew'	de(y)k-, 'show'
w	s(w)eks-, 'six'	re(w)p-, 'snatch'
l	k(l)ew-, 'hear'	ke(l)p-, 'grasp'
r	gh(r)ebh- ³ , 'exchange'	a(r)k-, 'angled'
n	m(n)egh-, 'copious'	ghe(n)d-, 'get'
m		ghe(m)bh-, 'jaw'

Table 2. *Sonorant Infixes in PIE*

Apophonic Directions

If, in an apophonic sequence, consonants take on either voice or continuance, we may call that sequence vertical. But if, in such a sequence, the consonants change manner (moving from either an advanced to a retracted position or vice versa), we may call that sequence horizontal.

An example of voicing in English is provided by the verb *jeer*, in contrast to *cheer*, where the voicing has a negative semantic force, converting plaudition to derogation. (The same force is carried by the voiced obstruents in *dinky*, as against *tiny*, or *groan*, as against *croon*.)

An example of continuance in English is provided by the sequence *drip/dribble/drivel/drool* (Medieval *drivel-*), in which the first form clearly connotes punctuated, though reiterated, occurrence, while the last as clearly connotes continuous occurrence.

Voicing and continuance can and do co-occur, as in the English pairs *skip/skim* and *pa/ma*. The occlusive coda in the first verb suggests discontinuity of motion, while the nasal coda in the second suggests continuity. In the nominal pair with parental reference, occlusive discontinuity implies intermittency of fatherliness, while nasal continuity suggests constancy of motherliness.

Horizontal apophony, as noted, involves articulatory advancement or retraction. In English occlusive sequences like *bash/dash/gash*, no

3. The three digraphs *bh*, *dh* and *gh* ought, in terms of phonological purism, to be written with a superscript *h*, indicating voiced or murmured aspiration. (Otherwise the *h* could erroneously be taken to be a separate phoneme, and the digraphs could be mistaken to represent diphonemic clusters.) But I here conform to the graphemic consensus of Indo-Europeanists.

correlation between articulatory position and meaning is obvious. In sequences of English nasals and glides, however, phonosemic correlations seem clearer. Among nasals, for example, labial *m*, as in *mammy*, suggests the primal intimacy of maternity, while apical *n*, as in *nanny*, suggests the surrogate motherhood of a nurse, aunt, or grandmother. Among PIE pronouns, **me(s)* referred specifically to the singular 'I' or 'me', while **ne(s)* referred more generally to 'we' or 'us', whether inclusive or exclusive of the interlocutor.

Among glides, the palatal *y* usually has a diminutive force, while the labio-velar *w* has an augmentative force. Insofar as these glides have secondary connotations, those of the palatal glide are bright and high, whereas those of the labio-velar glide are dark and low. English examples (where <ee> and <ea> represent /iy/ and <oo> represents /uw/) are:

pee (urine)	vs	poo (feces)
gleam	vs	gloom
tweet (of a bird)	vs	toot (of a steam-whistle)

PIE examples (where *i* = syllabic *y* and *u* = syllabic *w*) are:

bhey-, 'shrink'	vs	bhew- 'grow'
pik-, 'spruce-resin'	vs	puk-, 'spruce-tree'
sey-, 'drip'	vs	sew-, 'drink'
mey-, 'urine'	vs	mew-, 'muck'
leyp-, 'adhere'	vs	lewp-, 'peel away'

Undoubtedly the commonest of all iconic consonantal oppositions is that between the two lingual sonorants, vibrant *r* and lateral *l*. Ironically, however, the *r/l* pairing is difficult to classify in terms of horizontal and vertical types of apophony. The reason for this typological anomaly is that either lingual may be articulated at any position between the dental and the uvular and that either one may be lenited to the point of semi-vocalization. But in most Indo-European (hereafter IE) languages, both linguals have a generally apical articulation, and the vibrant *r* is tapped, trilled or rolled in such a way as to make its articulation more vigorous and more audible than that of the lateral *l*.

In most cases in which *r* and *l* are in phonosemic contrast, the form with *r* is augmentative in force and the form with *l* is diminutive. English examples follow:

<i>augmentative</i>	<i>diminutive</i>
rump	lump
brag	blab

augmentative

braz
crush
crash
creak
cramp

diminutive

blaze
clutch
clash
click
clamp

This lingual opposition may be described even among frequentative suffixes, as in the two obsolescent verbs *tidder*, 'procreate', and *tiddle*, 'fondle'.

Analogous oppositions may be found in most other IE languages, one of the more familiar ones being Latin, as below:

augmentative

marcus, 'sledge-hammer'
puer, 'boy'
gurgēs, 'whirl-pool'

diminutive

malleus, 'hammer'
pullus, 'cockereel'
gula, 'throat'

The same is true of PIE itself, in which we find such comparable oppositions as these:

augmentative

ker-, 'hot'
wer-, 'water'
rey-, 'flow'

diminutive

kel-, 'warm'
wel-g-, 'wet'
(s)ley-, 'slime'⁴

Sometimes binary oppositions between forms with augmentative *r* and diminutive *l* are expanded to form sonorant triads, in which the two lingual antitheses are mediated by the non-lingual sonorant *n*. Although the semantic import of this apical nasal in such cases is less clear, it apparently signals neutralization of the contrast between augmentation and diminution.⁵ Apparent examples of this three-way phonosemic contrast in English, Latin and PIE follow:

4. The optional initial sibilant here, referred to by Indo-Europeanists as 's-movable', persists in modern IE languages. A representative example is the English pair *mash* / *smash*.

5. It is possible that, in pre-IE, this neutralizing sonorant was not an apical nasal, apophony with *m*, but a sometimes nasalized retroflex lateral of the type that occurs in Bini and other West African languages. (In Bini, it is sometimes transcribed by the digraph *rl* and nicknamed 'the 'ellish *r*'.)

	<i>augmentative</i>	<i>intermediate</i>	<i>diminutive</i>
English	bore	bane	bale(ful) ⁶
Latin	carmen, 'song'	cano, 'I chant'	calo, 'I call' ⁷
PIE	mer-, 'kill'	men-, 'chew'	mel-, 'grind' ⁸

Predictably, some of these triads seem to have lost a member during the passage from PIE to the attested daughter IE languages. This loss reduced apophonic triads to dyads, or pairs—not only the polar *r/l* pair illustrated above, but also the less clearly contrastive pairs *n/r* and *n/l*. The semantic probability is that, in cases where an *r*- form was lost, the *n*- form functioned, by default, as the augmentative, whereas, where an *l*- form was lost, the *n*- form functioned, compensatorily, as a diminutive. Apparent examples of these truncated sonorant oppositions follow:

	<i>augmentative</i>	<i>diminutive</i>
English	wart	wen
Latin	per, 'through'	penitus, 'within'
PIE	mer-, 'delay'	men-, 'remain'
English	sun	sultry
Latin	cunnus, 'vulva'	cūlus, 'anus'
PIE	snew-, 'snooze'	slew-, 'sleepy'

Among most of the IE word-groups whose members are linked by consonantal apophony, the linkage is supplied by a single consonantal series, such as the vertical labial series exemplified by Greek *lípos*, 'grease', *leíbō*, 'I pour' and *aleíphō*, 'I anoint'. A substantial number of such word groups, however, are linked by two series of consonants, one of which constitutes the onset of the root syllable of each member word and the other of which constitutes the coda of that root syllable. Four such pairs of words are listed in Table 3, below.

6. This English triad is directly derived from PIE *bher*-, 'cut'; *bhen*-, 'harm', and *bhel*-, 'misfortune'.

7. This Latin triad is analogously derived from PIE *kar*-, 'extol'; *kan*-, 'sing' and *kal*-, 'cry'.

8. Direct English derivatives of these PIE reconstructions are *murder*, *mouth* and *mill*, respectively.

language	pair of forms	onset	coda ⁹
English	tap dab	d/dh	b/bh
Latin	rēte, 'net' nōdus, 'knot'	r/n	t/d
Doric Greek	pedá, 'among'	p/m	t/d
Attic Greek	metá, 'among'		
PIE	kar-, 'praise' gal-, 'praise'	k/g	r/l

Table 3. Doubly Apophonic Cognates in IE

Synonymy and Antonymy

Semantic variability among the pairs and triads listed above, both in tables and in text, inevitably raises the thorny question of the degree of synonymy necessary to establish phonically similar but distinct forms as cognates. Until semantics becomes as rigorous a discipline as phonology is, of course, no firm and final answer to this question can be given. Paradoxically, perhaps, antonyms are probably the most plausible cognates, since their polarity reflects the phonemic contrasts exhibited by the apophony of their divergent consonantisms. Representative antonyms are English *better* versus *bad* and Latin *super*, 'above', versus *sub*, 'below'.

Second only to antonyms in cognitive plausibility are word pairs that exhibit clear differentiation of meaning without sharp semantic antithesis. Representative examples are Latin *pluit*, 'it rains', vis-à-vis *fluit*, 'it flows',¹⁰ and Greek *oktō*, 'eight', vis-à-vis *ógdoos*, 'eighth'.

When sequences exhibiting consonantal apophony exhibit no corresponding semantic differentiation, it is probable that former semantic distinctions have been lost. A dyadic example of such semantic merger is provided by Greek *brémei* and Latin *fremit*, both meaning 'it roars'. Here we may infer that the form with the b-onset once meant 'roars like a man', while the form with the f-onset (a bh-onset in PIE) once meant 'roars like a storm'. A triadic example of such semantic merger is provided by Old Lithuanian *eš*, Latin *ego*, and Sanskrit *ahám* (from PIE

9. Onset and coda consonantisms are here presented in their PIE, rather than their Germanic, form, to which the consonant shifts specified by Grimm's Law must be applied.

10. Latin *f* is the historical reflex of PIE *bh*. (As an intermediate stage between these two labial obstruents, one may assume a prehistoric Greco-Italic *ph*.)

ek-, *eg-* and *egh-*) all meaning 'I'. Here we may infer that the form with the voiceless stop could have meant 'I (your equal)', the form with the voiced stop 'I (your inferior)', and the form with the aspirated stop 'I (your superior)'.¹¹

When sequences exhibiting apparent consonantal apophony also exhibit some similarity of meaning, uncertainty must be acknowledged. For example, a pair of English words whose apparent horizontal apophony may be due to chance is *summer/sun*. And a pair of PIE forms whose ultimate cognation is only slightly more probable is *ked-*, 'go', vis-à-vis *ad* (<*xed*), 'toward'.¹²

Marked and Unmarked Phonemes

In every language there are speech-sounds that occur more frequently than others, presumably because they are easier to articulate or to combine with adjacent speech-sounds. And in this regard there is considerable congruity between languages, some sounds (such as voiceless explosive stops) being common and others (such as voiced implosive stops) being rare.

In PIE, the vowel *e*, as in *ed-*, 'eat', was so much commoner than *a* or *o* that some Indo-Europeanists have seriously considered the theory of primal PIE 'vocal monotony', in accordance with which the earliest

11. An alternative phonologization of this obstruent triad is *ek-*, *ek'-* and *eg-*, where the voiceless stop is phonetically unchanged but *k'* represents a glottalized voiceless stop and *g* an unaspirated voiced stop. (See P.G. Hopper, 'Glottalized and Murmured Occlusives in Indo-European', *Glossa* 7 [1973], pp. 141-66; and T.V. Gamkrelidze, *Sonantensystem und Ablaut in der Kartwelsprachen* [Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1982].) Not only do the glottalization and aspiration of PIE stops remain in doubt, but so does their numerical patterning. There may have been three stops in each articulatory position, as most twentieth-century Indo-Europeanists believe; four such stops, as most nineteenth-century Indo-Europeanists believed; or more than four—especially if other articulatory features, such as lenition or fortition, are postulated.

12. I follow E.H. Sturtevant (*The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* [Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1942]) in maintaining that, during the penultimate stage of PIE, which may be nomenclaturally distinguished as Proto-Indo-Hittite, there was at least one voiceless fricative besides the sibilant phoneme *s*. I write this phoneme as *x* and describe it as a velar fricative, equivalent to the contemporary German 'ach-laut', and regard it as having been elided only after it had lowered and retracted a following *e* to *a*.

stage of PIE had had no vowel except *e* (which could consequently be regarded not a contrastive vowel phoneme but as a syllabifier).¹³

Among consonant types, one could not convincingly claim that PIE obstruents were commoner, and therefore less marked, than PIE sonorants or vice versa. Among obstruents, however, one could say that voiceless stops were commoner, and therefore less marked, than voiced, aspirated or glottalized stops, which were therefore marked phonemes.¹⁴

Because of phonological disputes over the number and nature of marked stops in PIE, we cannot generalize with precision about the semantic import of each marking. But it does seem clear that marked stops are more likely than unmarked stops to incline the words in which they occur toward intensification, augmentation or derogation. Examples of each trend are: English *whet* versus *cut* (from PIE *kwed-* and *gud-*),¹⁵ English *thorn* versus *tree* (from PIE *tr-n-* and *dr-ew-*), and Greek *téndō* 'I nibble', versus *tenthēía*, 'gluttony' (from PIE *tend-* and *tendh-*).¹⁶

The Iconicity of Speech-Sounds

All speech-sounds have some inherent articulatory and acoustic qualities, many of which are reminiscent, and hence suggestive, of auditory or other sensory characteristics of the non-linguistic environment.¹⁷ Generally speaking, all vowels and voiced consonants have sonority and, in this respect, contrast with voiceless consonants, which, having intrinsically higher pitch, sound 'thinner'. Among vowels, those whose tongue position is high have less sonority than those whose tongue position is low, while those whose tongue position is advanced, emanating from a smaller oral cavity, sound more diminutive. Among

13. See W.P. Lehmann, *Proto-Indo European Phonology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955), esp. pp. 112-14.

14. It remains in dispute whether the PIE aspirated stops (if they existed at all) were voiced, voiceless, or both.

15. Most Indo-Europeanists, while distinguishing graphemically between syllabic *i* and *u* and asyllabic *y* and *w*, treat the two palatal voicoids as allophones of a single palatal phoneme and the two labio-velar vocoids as allophones of a single labio-velar phoneme.

16. Cf. R.W. Wescott, 'Linguistic Iconism', *Language* 47.2 (1971).

17. Cf. R.W. Wescott, 'Derogatory Use of the Marginal Phoneme /b/ in Proto-Indo-European', *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 16.3/4 (1988), pp. 365-69.

voiced consonants, nasals, lacking occlusion, sound both 'softer' and more enduring than stops. Among consonants in general, labials, being literally 'lippy', connote what is primal, infantile and inarticulate (as in English *baby-pap*, *mumble*, *piffle*, and the like). Apicals, involving the teeth and tongue in rather precise co-articulations, are commonly found in words for these organs (including the English terms *tooth* and *tongue* themselves, as well as deictics like *this* and *that*). And dorsals, being posterior to most other speech sounds, suggest whatever is throaty or related to the rear of the body (as in English *gag* or *cack*) as well as vocalizations typical of non-human species (such as *cluck* or *croak*).

Secondary or Contextual Phonosemy

Apparent exceptions to these phonosemic generalizations can often be explained by context. In most cases in which a phoneme or phonetic feature connotes diminutive status, the diminution involved is plauditory or affectionate in tone, explicable, presumably, in terms of the indulgent attitude of parents toward their children or of pet owners toward their pets. But where efficacy of action is concerned, diminutive phonosemy can become belittling and hence disparaging. A good example is the sphere of human handedness, where the vibrant lingual *r*, which usually connotes what is harsh or overpowering, now connotes effectiveness, while the lateral lingual *l*, which usually connotes what is winsomely appealing, now connotes what is ineffectual and hence subject to rejection. A bipolar example of this contextual reversal is found in the word for 'left(-handed)', English *left* (as against *right*), German *link* (as against *recht*), and Latin *laevus* (as against *dexter*). A tripartite example of it is constituted by Greek *márē*, '(right) hand', Latin *manus*, 'hand', and Latin *malus*, 'bad' (whose earlier meaning was presumably 'left-handed').

Apophonic Frequencies

Of the various IE consonantal series within which apophony often occurs, the two commonest ones are the clearly vertical velar sequence *k*, *g*, *gh*, *x* and the arguably horizontal series *r*, *l*. The frequency of velar apophony is readily explained by the fact that PIE velars outnumbered labials and apicals combined. But the frequency of lingual apophony cannot be so explained, since PIE linguals did not outnumber other

types of sonorants, such as nasals and glides. Perhaps the reason for the frequency of IE *r/l* alternation is the fact that, both in IE and in non-IE languages, *r* and *l* often merge as a single phoneme (as in Proto-Indo-Iranian or modern Korean).

An example of the PIE *k/g/gh/x* apophonic series in English is the sequence *have/keep/give/off*, whose root meaning was probably 'to change ownership'. An example in Latin is *cerēs*, 'grain'/ *grānum*, 'seed'/ *herba*, 'plant'/ *arbor*, 'tree', whose root meaning may have been 'to harvest'.

IE Animal Names

Wherever the last common 'homeland' of the Indo-European speakers was, it must have been temperate in climate, since their zoonymic vocabulary included words for the better known animals of non-tropical Eurasia.

Among these terms for animals, there was an exceptionally high proportion of cognates exhibiting consonantal apophony. Within this category, the largest subcategory consists of forms exemplifying vertical velar apophony, as in Table 4, below:

Table 4. *Zoonyms Exhibiting Velar Apophony*

<i>PIE k</i>	<i>PIE g</i>	<i>PIE gh</i>	<i>PIE Ø < x</i>
hound	cur	girl ¹⁸	Hittite <i>huelpi-</i> , 'whelp'
horse	colt kid	goat	Greek <i>afks</i> , 'goat'
Latin <i>caper</i> , 'he-goat'		Old Irish <i>gabor</i> , 'buck'	Latin <i>aper</i> , 'wild boar'
Latin <i>cervus</i> , 'stag'			Latin <i>ariēs</i> , 'ram'
Sanskrit <i>kapi</i> , 'ape'			ape ¹⁹

18. The assumption made here is that the word *girl* once meant 'puppy', just as the colloquial term *kid*, now meaning 'child', once meant 'young goat' only.

19. Although the hominoid apes of tropical Africa and southeast Asia were presumably unknown to the PIE-speakers, the cercopithecoid apes of Eurasia and north Africa may not have been. Even today, macaque monkeys are encountered in the wild from the Mediterranean region to Japan.

hen	Latin gallus, 'cock'	gander	Latin anas, 'duck' ²⁰
<i>PIE k</i>	<i>PIE g</i>	<i>PIE gh</i>	<i>PIE Ø<x</i>
rook (Old English hrōc)	crow	grouse	arn (obsolescent for 'eagle')
Sanskrit kṛmis, 'worm'		Old Prussian girmis, 'worm'	worm

The next largest subcategory of such animal names contains cognates exhibiting lingual/nasal apophony, as in Table 5, below:

<i>PIE r</i>	<i>PIE n</i>	<i>PIE l</i>
ram		lamb
Latin vervex, 'wether'	Latin canis, 'dog'	wool(-bearer)
horse	hen	Lithuanian kale, 'bitch'
hart	hind	colt ²¹
stork		Latin gallus, 'cock' ²²
frog		stilt (the bird)
	snake	flea ²³
		Dutch slang, 'snake'

Table 5. *IE Zoonyms Exhibiting Lingual/Nasal Apophony*

IE Names for Body Parts

Because most IE terms for body parts can apply to animals as well as to human beings, consonantal apophony exhibited by such terms may be considered part of the zoonymic pattern presented above. Most of the apophony exemplified by the IE lexicon of bodily organs occurs among velar obstruents, as indicated in Table 6, below:

20. All four of these bird names may be derived from the PIE base *kan-* 'vocalize', or one of its apophonic variants.

21. The words *horse* and *colt* are repeated from Table 4 because they exhibit biserial apophony—that is, consonant alternation not only in the root onset but also in the root coda.

22. The reason for repeating *hen* and *gallus* from Table 4 is just as in n. 21, above.

23. A frog is here interpreted as having meant 'big jumper', in contradistinction to a flea as 'little jumper'.

<i>PIE k</i>	<i>PIE g</i>	<i>PIE gh</i>	<i>PIE Ø<x</i>
Latin caput ‘head’	Greek gabalá, ‘brain’	Old High German gibilla, ‘skull’	
Latin caesariēs, ‘hair’		Greek khaítē, ‘mane’	
heart		Sanskrit hrd, ‘heart’	
Latin corpus ‘body’	Old Norse kroppr, ‘body’		
	Greek génus, ‘chin’	Greek khelūnē, ‘jaw-bone’	
Latin costa ‘rib’			Latin os, ‘bone’
hear			ear
Latin cutis, ‘skin’			Latin uterus ‘womb’

Table 6. *IE Body Part Terms Exhibiting Velar Apophony*

There are, of course, non-velar sequences illustrating consonantal apophony among IE words for body parts. One of the most protracted of these is a PIE form denoting an external part or extension of the body: pet-, ‘wing’; pett-, ‘feather’; ped-, ‘foot’; pes-, ‘penis’; pen-, ‘fin’; per-, ‘feather’; pel-, ‘skin’.

Animal Names and Animal Symbolism

We noted earlier that the generation of new vocabulary by apophonic modification of existent roots is apparently an older process than such generation by means of affixation. So it may be no coincidence that consonantal apophony is so common among animal names, in view of the fact that human animal-symbolism, both verbal and visual, is archaic.

Bear skulls arranged in circles have been found in Middle Paleolithic caves. Paintings of horses and other animals adorn the walls of Upper Paleolithic caves. Most preliterate peoples make totemic associations between animal species and human kin-groups. All zodiacal systems associate asterisms with a variety of animals. All peoples have traditional folktales, such as Aesop’s Fables, which describe talking animals assuming human-like roles. Many peoples, such as the ancient Egyptians and the contemporary Hindus, have venerated zoomorphic deities. Pre-alphabetic scripts contained glyphs depicting birds and other

animals. Both families and nations have taken as their emblems impressive predators like lions and eagles. And many individuals have, as surnames, the designations of herbivores such as English Bull or Doe.

Epilog

My conclusion is that, if linguists interested in long-range comparison were to show more interest in consonantal apophony, they would find an increasing amount of it the further back in time they took their reconstructions. The apparent absence of such apophony in most reconstructed languages is due, I think, far less to the nature of the lexical material involved than to the orientation of its investigators.

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Part IX

THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

LIVY AND THE MONUMENTS

Larissa Bonfante

*Ipsē locus causas vati facit.*¹

The place itself provides the subject matter for the poet.
(Ovid, *Fasti* 4.807).

For Cyrus, whose sense of place inspired us all.

Rather than examining my own view of the archaeological and historical evidence for early Rome, I would like to show how a Roman author, Livy, saw Rome in a moment of great change. I once thought it would be useful to have an archaeological commentary to Livy's early books; but it is, I think, important first to note the special meaning that the archaeological monuments of early Rome had for the Romans of that time. In that fateful moment, Livy and his contemporaries saw Rome as a historical monument where everything reminded them of their past. Starting in the city and on the soil of Rome, Livy makes conscious use of explicit references to monuments of early times. Yet Livy was not an antiquarian. He did not collect ancient sources and customs for their own sake: there is always a connection with the present, and he takes great pains to link past and present.

In his early books, Livy evokes a Roman consciousness of the physical reality and visual experience of the city as a physical embodiment and visual record of its traditions, both present and past.² He leaves to others—to Vergil—the prehistoric times of Greek myth, appropriate for epic. History, he proudly states, depends on trustworthy historical evidence, *incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis* (*Praef.* 6); and indeed he shows us Romulus himself dedicating a temple in order to indicate to posterity the 'present help', *praesens ops* of Jupiter (1.12.6): 'to be a

1. Frazer translation: 'The subject of itself furnishes a theme for the poet'. I read *locus* in its physical, topographical sense of 'place'.

2. I thank Christopher Ratté for this wording.

reminder for our descendants', *quod monumentum sit posteris*. Like images in Greek art, the monuments function as 'vehicles that enable us to see what is no longer visible, as *mnemata* or memorials for what once was'.³

The architecture of Livy's history is also a monument, as he himself calls it,⁴ reflecting in some way that of the city whose story—and monuments—he reconstructs.

Livy's first five books were planned and published together.⁵ Both the subject—early Rome—and the epic, archaic style of many sections set them apart. The poetic style of these early books frequently contrasts with the more classical style of the later books, in keeping with the archaic subject matter.⁶ As in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, they 'engaged the reader's attention by blending the archaic and the modern', suggesting the atmosphere of the past by using a special language to evoke its epic quality.⁷ Livy also makes us see scenes and characters in their imagined original settings, vividly and immediately.⁸ But this visual aspect of his work is much more than a purely artistic, rhetorical device. It is a conscious attitude to the visible monuments of Rome's ancient past, occurring in passages describing key moments of Rome's history, particularly in Book 1 on early Rome, and in the speech of Camillus after the Gallic raid, at the end of Book 5.

The theme of the first book is *monumentum*. The word (which occurs

3. Lissarague, forthcoming; and Lissarague 1991: 874-77; cited by Connelly 1996: 53-80.

4. *Praef.* 20.

5. They were written between 27 and 25 BCE. Ogilvie 1965: 30, with previous bibliography on many of the topics touched upon in this contribution.

6. Bayet 1965-66: xix, lxx-lxx (with previous bibliography), on poetic elements in the early books as against the later more 'classical' style. Discussion has been particularly lively following Gries 1947, and Gries 1949. See Ogilvie 1965: 20, who states, 'It is wrong to speak generally about an "archaic and poetical coloring" in the early books'. But he agrees that an appropriately archaic character is given the speech of some of the early figures: 'Livy confines his unclassical usages to the spoken remarks of his heroes who thereby acquire character and substance.' See discussion in Moreschini 1963, 1994: 155-60.

7. Ogilvie 1965: 19, 21.

8. Commentators have remarked in passing on the visual aspect of Livy's style and intention: Walsh 1961: 187, 'pictorial effect', 'illustrates vividly'; Ogilvie 1965: 144, 'visual details'. Cf. Benardete 1969: 39, on 'the invisible made visible' in Herodotus.

here eight times, more often than in any other book)⁹ has two carefully distinguished, but related, meanings: (1) Livy's history of Rome; and (2) the physical memorials which document it. At the end of Book 5, when the 'urban plan' of the early Roman *Urbs* is discussed, it is once more the word *monumentum* that takes us there: twice, in key positions in Camillus's speeches, with growing emotion, Livy summarizes the Roman notions of *monumentum* elaborated in Book 1.¹⁰

After its two occurrences in the *Preface* the word *monumentum* is used six more times in Book 1.¹¹

1.12.6. *Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua praesenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.* I vow a temple here to you, Jupiter, Stayer of Flight, as a reminder to those who come after us that Rome in her trouble was saved by your help.

1.13.5. *Monumentum eius pugnae... Curtium lacum appellarunt.* 'In memory of the battle... [it] was called Curtius's Lake.

1.36.5 *Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit; cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros miraculi eius monumentum.*¹² A statue of Navius, with his toga covering his head, once stood on the place where this occurred—on the steps of the Senate House, to the left. The whetstone too is supposed to have been kept there, as a reminder of the miracle for generations to come.

1.45.4 *Bos in Sabinis nata... fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo.* There was a cow in the Sabine country... its horns were hung for many generations in the vestibule of the temple of Diana, as a reminder of its wonder.

1.48.7 *foedum inde traditur scelus, monumentoque loco est. Sceleratum vicum vocant...* There followed an act of bestial inhumanity—history preserves the memory of it in the name of the street, the Street of Crime.¹³

9. Packard 1968, s.v. *monumentum*: the word occurs twice in Book 2; never in Book 3—for the Decemvirate, the Twelve Tables are *monumentum* enough; four times in Book 4; twice in Book 5.

10. Ogilvie 1965: 742-43, on the speech of Camillus (5.51-54): 'It is Livy's own work, designed to form a tail-piece to the first five books... an appeal for peace, for the defence of civilization as he knew it with its tradition and ceremony, its custom and grandeur, for concord and, above all, for the preservation of Rome'.

11. *Praef.* 6.10: see text. The translations are mine, adapted from deSelincourt's.

12. *Fuit, fuisse*: no longer visible in Livy's time. See discussion in Andr n 1960: 98.

13. de Selincourt translation.

1.55.1 . . . *ut Iovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinius reges ambos, patrum vovisse, filium perfecisse*. . . the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, which he hoped to leave as a memorial of the royal house of the Tarquins—of the father who had made the vow, and of the son who had fulfilled it.¹⁴

Two temples, one in the Forum, another on the Capitol. Two topographical references, a street (today San Pietro in Vincoli), and a hole in the Forum. A statue in front of the Curia, and some relics—giant cow's horns—in the temple of Diana on the Aventine. All within the city of Rome. Livy had actually seen most of these *monumenta*, and considered them to be historical. The temples of Jupiter and Diana witnessed to events which we today consider historical, the reign of an Etruscan king, battles in the Forum, the unification of Latium. They did happen, at some time, even if not exactly in the manner or at the time given by Livy and tradition. In Rome, their memory survived in these physical signs of the past. Livy reconstructed Rome, building by building, street by street, with the religious halo of its mythology, which was, as always, historical.

In Book 5, the Gauls have destroyed Rome, and it must be rebuilt. There is, however, an alternative solution. The Romans have conquered the sophisticated, luxurious Etruscan city of Veii, after a ten-year siege paralleling the legendary siege of Troy, and they have won the right to move there. But Camillus will not let them enjoy their well-deserved reward and glory. He is there to rebuke them, to warn them that the very idea that they could abandon their city and move to Veii is *nefas*. All Rome is a *monumentum*, reminding the Romans who they are:

ne aliter descenderent in Forum, cum dies ferendae legis venisset, quam ut qui meminissent sibi pro aris focusque et deum templis ac solo in quonatis essent dimicandum fore.

Camillus . . . continued to press the Senate to make a stand against the proposed migration to Veii. When it comes to a vote . . . I beg you to enter the Forum in the spirit of men who know they will be fighting for their hearths and altars, for their native soil and the temples of their gods.

Yet Camillus knows that other city which he has conquered, Veii, could have been a monument to his own personal glory.

Nam quoad ad se privatim attineat, si suae gloriae . . . meminisse sit fas . . . cottidie se frui monumento gloriae suae et ante oculos habere urbem latam in triumpho suo.

14. de Selincourt translation.

As for myself—if I may without offence remember my own reputation when Rome's life is at stake—it would be an honor to see a town I captured thronged with people, to have a constant reminder of what I once achieved, to feast my eyes from hour to hour upon the city which adorned my triumph, to have all men following in the footsteps of my fame; nevertheless religion forbids that a town which God has abandoned should be inhabited by men; it is a sin to think that our people should ever live on captive soil or exchange victorious Rome for vanquished Veii.¹⁵

He would always see Veii before his eyes as it was painted on the triumphal panels carried in the procession in honor of his victory. The Roman people would walk on its soil in his honor. But Rome does not belong to men alone. The gods will not permit it to be abandoned. Leaving the city of Rome would mean abandoning not only Rome's gods, but also those of the conquered city, Veii, who have accepted Rome as their own city; and it would be *nefas*, a crime, a sin, to move to the city the gods have abandoned.¹⁶

That Roman soil is the soil on which Romulus and Remus have walked, and all those who created Rome. Its monuments, which Camillus names one after the other, are those with which Livy has recreated both the past and the present. We are part of all this, says Camillus—and Livy. It is our past and our present, we cannot leave it or forget it. It is in fact history that will teach us to remember and find ourselves and our way home once more:

Haec culti neglectique numinis tanta monumenta in rebus humanis
[history] *cernentes ecquid sentitis, Quirites, quantum...paremus nefas?*

As you consider these manifest instances of the effect upon human destiny of obedience or of disobedience to the divine, can you not understand the heinousness of the sin which...we are preparing to commit?¹⁷

15. 5.30.1-3; cf. 5.24.5-11: de Selincourt translation.

16. *sed nefas ducere desertam ac relictam ab dis immortalibus incolī urbem, et in captivo solo habitare populum Romanum.* (5.30.2). Here and elsewhere we see a clear contrast between this religious aspect of the physical city, the *urbs* which must never be abandoned, and the idea of the Greek *polis* as the body of citizens (*LSJ*).

17. 5.52.1: de Selincourt translation. Here we find one of the cases of doubt in the text between *momentum* and *monumentum* (see too, for example, 2.7.20, *tam levi momento meam apud vos famam pendere*, where several manuscripts have *monumento*). Editors disagree. Bayet 1965-66 accepts *monumenta*, but on the facing page Baillet seems to translate *momenta*: 'En voyant la piété et l'impiété exercer une telle influence sur les chose de ce monde' [emphasis mine]. Compare

It is also *nefas* to be ashamed of our past. It is an unhappy past, but it is ours. We must stay here and rebuild our city and our lives. The very last words of Book 5 show us the Romans rebuilding the city after the Gallic disaster, and turning it into the city of bricks which would be changed by Augustus.¹⁸ Augustus, like Camillus, is the *conditor alter*, the 'new founder' who must face this job. But Livy is the one who has seen, and who shows us, the physical reality of the earlier Rome whose history he is going to tell.

Before acquiring its secondary meaning of 'warn', the word *monumentum* means 'memory': it is related to *mens* as well as to *moneo*.¹⁹ (*referunt monumenta vetusti moris*, '[they] recall the memory of the olden custom').²⁰ It refers specifically to history as well as to available documentation, and above all it refers to the history of Rome that Livy is about to write. A *primordio Urbis res populi Romani*: in these first books he wants to reconstruct the earliest phase of the city, and the lives and characters of those who founded its power, so that they may be memorialized and serve as examples (*exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri* [Praef. 10]).²¹ He connects

de Selincourt translation above. Weissenborn in his fourth edition accepts *monumenta*, 'die in die Augen fallende Erfolge beider Handlungs weise sind Erinnerungszeichen'; for the use of *monumenta* to refer to facts he compares 26.41.11 (battlefields) and 37.6.6 (figurative): I would add 4.24.3, *quod monumentum esset dictaturae*, 'an accomplishment of his dictatorship'. In the sixth edition Weissenborn prefers *momenta*, citing as comparison 9.1.11, *cum rerum humanarum maximum momentum sit, quem propitiis rem, quem adversis agant dis...* Ogilvie accepts *monumenta*, and compares 26.41.11 and 37.6.6 as referring to actions. It seems to me that *cernentes* recalls the common use of *monumentum*, which can be translated as 'result'. The mention of *nefas* as well as the whole idea of the speech seem to be consciously referring back to the earlier speech and to *monumentum*.

18. 5.55.5: 'the tiles were furnished by the state'. Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 28.

19. Ernout and Meillet 1959, s.v. *moneo*, from **men*, 'to think'. *Monumentum* means 'to remind', 'to bring something to mind'. The meaning 'to warn' is secondary, only when it refers to 'remembering something ugly, or unpleasant', as in the Preface to Livy 1 (10) *inde foedum inceptu foedum exitu quod vites*. de Selincourt translates freely in this passage as 'both examples and warnings'. *Memoria* and *monumentum*: (2.33.9; 39.37.16); and see *memorant* (5.30.2); *ante oculos habere, meminisse, meminissent, memorem, commemorantis, memorabilem*, and *ad recordationem exempla documento sunt* (24.8.20).

20. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.301-302.

21. Foster 1911: lxvi-lxvii: 'les exemples instructifs de toute sorte qu'on

monumentum to *memoriae*²² a few sentences before. In that passage he reveals his intention to record the history of the foremost people of the world: 'I shall find satisfaction in contributing... to the labor of putting on record the story of the greatest nation in the world'.²³ The *exempli documenta* will be made visible in his work (*intueri*): *monumentum* will be the history of Rome remembered in a visible way. History is *cognitio rerum*, the knowledge of deeds and events.

Livy's own historical work is also an architectural monument.²⁴ The metaphor of architectural construction runs throughout the passage. There soon follows the typically Roman comparison of the decline of a civilization with the ruin and fall of a building.²⁵ His was not a 'program', but an attempt to reorient a Rome that had lost its way. To point the way, Livy insistently refers to the ancient monuments. Many of these are still standing and are known to him and to his readers from personal observation. There are the archaeological monuments—temples, statues, relics, the *clavus annuus*, the nail which every year the consul or dictator hammered into the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (a useful *monumentum* or memorial in a period of history when writing was not yet common).²⁶ And there are the traditional formulas, the *carmina*, and the laws or *leges* with their archaic language and solemn *auctoritas*, which Livy also uses for his reconstruction of early Rome.²⁷

découvrir à la lumière de l'ouvrage': *monumentum* refers to Roman history, specifically the history of the Roman people Livy is writing, *res populi Romani*.

22. See previous note.

23. *Iuvabit... rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi... consulis: Praef. 3.*

24. Cf. Horace, *Odes* 3.30: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*.

25. Heurgon 1963: *ad loc.* with references to Cicero, *de rep.* 2.7; Sallust, *Hist. fr.* 1.12 (16M). The best example seems to me to be the *canticum* of the youth in Plautus, *Most.* 85-156.

26. *Clavus annuus* 7.3.6-7: *eum clavum, quia rarae per ea tempora litterae erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt... talium monumentum auctor Cincius adfirmat*. 'This nail served, they say, in those days of little writing, to mark the number of years...(Cincius, a careful student of such memorials, asserts...)'

27. He does not specifically refer to these as *monumenta* in these books. The evidence of written documents, *monumenta litteris*, becomes more common, as might be expected, in the later books: the *tabulae aeneae* recording treaties, *foedera* and *leges*, *monumenta litteris*, *annalium monumenta*, *ex monumentis orationum*, and funerary *monumenta* connected with *funera*, *sepulcra*, or *laudationes*. See Packard, s.v.

Livy's view of physical remains as witnesses to the past is, however, much more than antiquarian curiosity. He feels the physical reality of this Rome whose history he is recording for the present, and makes us feel the constant movement between the *tum* of Rome's past and the *nunc* of today,²⁸ the parallel as well as the contrast between past and present. We are not so completely cut off from the early days if we can still see and hear and experience what our ancestors saw and heard and experienced. Familiar sights and rituals that have come down from early times may afford us a way back to the past. In the *Ara Pacis* Augustus also tries to join the immediate present with the city's past. Perhaps Livy taught him how to do it.²⁹

Livy, like modern scholars, was using the sources available for this early period, the archaeological monuments of Rome. He was also inspired by what he saw happening around him. The years of Livy's writing, just before and after Actium, were rich in spectacles taking the Romans back to the earliest years of the city: triumphs, ancient monuments reconstructed, archaic rituals, customs and costumes restored.³⁰

Part of Livy's very precise plan to create an original, living history is to document it using sources that in many cases he knows at first hand. Rome was once full of these memorials.³¹ Many of these are sources archaeologists and historians use today. It would be false, however, to say that Livy is 'modern': it is rather true that we too have faith once more in such physical testimony of the reality of early Rome.³² But the

28. For example 1.3.9; 1.4.5; 1.5.1; and cf. 1.7.10-12, *olim, ibi*. See Steele 1904: 31-44 for the use of *hodie, nunc, nuper, tum, tunc*.

29. Walsh 1961: 13: 'So far from Augustus' having brought political pressure to bear on Livy, the early books of the *ab urbe condita* reinforced the effects of Varro's writing in giving inspiration to Augustus' program of religious and moral reform'. And perhaps for the monumental building program as well.

30. *Res Gestae* 20: In 28 BCE, 82 temples were restored. Syme 1963: 52-53, remarks on this situation, but considers Livy's use of such material casual rather than part of a conscious plan. For the Augustan archaizing reconstruction of early rituals and customs see, for example, the *fetiales*, Ogilvie 1965: 110-11, 127-30; for costumes, see Sebesta, Bonfante 1994, *stola*, costume of the Lar, and so on.

31. Pliny, *HN* 34.11.23; Momigliano 1963: 96; Fraccaro 1952: 96, 101; Gabba 1967: 172; Richardson 1953: 110-24.

32. Momigliano 1963: 95-121: 'Today the main task of the historian is to combine literary and non-literary evidence—and among the non-literary evidence we must attribute equal importance to the linguistic data and to the archaeological explorations. There is furthermore...the evidence of religious ceremonies.' For a

visual quality in Livy's history serves a purpose much more far-reaching than simply to document events. He organizes these visual references in his own way: early on, Livy understands the power of the images which make up Rome's past and which the new order will reorganize.³³ I have tried to show how he emphasizes the visual aspect of the history of Rome; and how he uses the word *monumentum*—in Book 1 on the origins of Rome and again in Book 5—to document early history and to connect past and present. That Roman art was historical is a commonplace. The Romans used art to record historical events and ideals.³⁴ So, too, history used images. Livy shows us, to an unusual degree, the moment when things changed, and how the past became illuminated with a special light. A similar emphasis has been noted from the literary point of view in a recent commentary on Book 6 of Livy. The author notes how his use of the monuments provide a sense of place, and how, picking up threads from the earlier pentad, Livy's ancient history means to make the past recognizable.³⁵

Other authors of the Augustan period, too, show an interest in the visible monuments of antiquity in Rome. Poets in particular—Ovid, Propertius—show an antiquarian, often nostalgic interest in these monuments. Ovid puts into the mouth of the god, Mars himself, the description of the hut of Romulus, 'If you ask what my son's palace was, behold yon house of reeds and straw'. *Quae fuerit nostri, si quaeris, regia nati, aspice de canna straminibusque domum* (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.183-84).³⁶

Augustus restored the Republic. But every restoration of the past means that the past has already ended. He found a city of brick, and left it a city of marble.³⁷ We only see it when it is over, because we are no

discussion of the situation at the present time see Beard 1996: 3-4, and the books reviewed there.

33. Zanker 1988. Cf. Spivey 1995: 318: 'some Augustan poets (e.g. Propertius) "scripted" the efforts of the emperor to create a marble-clad capital'.

34. Basic for any discussion of Roman art is Brendel 1953 (rev. edn 1979): 9-73. See, most recently, Kampen 1995: 375-78.

35. Kraus 1994: 8, 15-16, 18, 26; cf. p. 218 n. on *memorabilis*.

36. Frazer translation. Cf. *Hoc quocumque vides...* (Prop. 4.1.1). Horace seems to lack this kind of antiquarian interest in the monuments of ancient Rome. Perhaps because he is a man who not only still saw the Republic but fought for it. Livy, on the other hand, was a boy of fifteen at the Ides of March, and grew up in a different world.

37. Suetonius, *Aug.* 28.

longer in it.³⁸ For Cicero there was no gap between him and Romulus. In the *de republica* the first Romans were intellectuals and planners like Cicero himself. But with Augustus, *magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo*. Romulus and the *Romulea aetas* now belong to the past and thus can and must become objects of antiquarian interest and predilection. Seeing this phenomenon in Livy's writing can perhaps help us understand Livy's relations with the world of the early Augustan period and the psychological break between the Republic and the Empire. Tacitus asked, *quotus quisque reliquus, qui rem publicam vidisse?* (*Ann.* 1.3.5) 'how many were left who had seen the Republic?'. Livy had indeed seen the Republic change into the Empire with his own eyes.³⁹

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38. I owe some of these formulations to Elias Bickerman, who long ago was kind enough to read and make suggestions for an early draft of this paper.

39. Since I wrote the above a number of recent books have appeared dealing with the subject of Livy and memory: Jaeger 1997, especially Chapter 1, 'The History as a Monument:'; Kraus 1994; Miles 1995, especially p. 61; Wiseman 1986. See also, for the visible element in Herodotus, 'The Herodotean view is based on visible remains', Immerwahr 1960.

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MATAUITATAU IN PETRONIUS, *SATYRICON* 62.9:
CRUX INTERPRETUM

Howard Marblestone

It is an honor and a pleasure to offer these remarks to my teacher and mentor, Professor Cyrus H. Gordon, who has dedicated his life to elucidating many *cruces interpretum* and has raised up generations of students to follow in the paths that he has so brilliantly blazed.

Petronius relates in the *Satyricon*, a work composed probably in the early 60s of the first century CE, that during a banquet given by the *nouveau-riche* freedman Trimalchio in a Campanian town, the host asks his old friend Niceros to recount the story of his apparently well-known adventure. Niceros obliges by telling the chilling tale of a comrade who turned into a werewolf. On the way to Tarentum to console his girlfriend Melissa on the death of her husband, Niceros and his traveling companion, ‘a soldier and strong as the devil’ (*miles fortis tamquam Orcus* [*Satyricon* 62.2]), passed through a roadside graveyard at cockcrow:

homo meus coepit ad stelas facere, secedo ego cantabundus et stelas numero. deinde respexi ad comitem, ille exiit se et omnia vestimenta secundum viam posuit. mihi [in] anima in naso esse, stabam quamquam mortuus. at ille circumminxit vestimenta sua, et subito lupus factus est. nolite me iocare putare; ut mentiar, nullius patrimonium tanti facio. sed quod coeperam dicere, postquam lupus factus est, ululare coepit et in silvas fugit. ego primitus nesciebam ubi essem, deinde accessi, ut vestimenta eius tollerem: illa autem lapidea facta sunt. qui mori timore nisi ego? gladium tamen strinxi et *matauitatau* umbras cecidi donec ad villam amicae meae pervenirem. in larvam intravi, paene animam ebullivi...oculi mortui, vix umquam reffectus sum. Melissa mea mirari coepit, quod tam sero ambulare, et ‘si ante’ inquit ‘venisses, saltem nobis adiutasses; lupus enim villam intravit et omnia pecora [*]: tamquam lanius sanguinem illis misit. nec tamen derisit, etiam si fugit; servus enim noster lancea collum eius traiecit’...luce clara domum fugi...et postquam veni in illum locum in quo lapidea vestimenta erant

facta, nihil inveni nisi sanguinem. ut vero domum veni, iacebat miles meus in lecto tamquam bovis, et collum eius medicus curabat (Petronius, *Satyricon* 62.4-13; Müller 1994).

My man went off among the tombstones to do his business, while I sat by the road mumbling a song to keep my courage up and counting the graves. After a while I started looking around for him and suddenly I caught sight of him standing stark naked with all his clothes piled up on the side of the road. Well, you can imagine: I stood frozen, stiff as a corpse. The next thing I knew he was pissing around his clothes and then, presto! he changed into a wolf. Don't think I'm making this up. I wouldn't kid you for anything. But like I was saying, he turned into a wolf, then started to howl and loped off for the woods. At first I couldn't remember where I was. Then I went to get his clothes and discovered they'd been changed into stones. By now, let me tell you, I was *scared*. But I pulled out my sword and slashed away at the shadows all the way to my girlfriend's house. I arrived as white as a ghost, almost at the last gasp... my eyes bugging out like a corpse. I don't know how I ever recovered. Melissa, of course, was surprised to see me at such a late hour and said, 'If you'd only come a little earlier, you could have lent us a hand. A wolf got into the grounds and attacked the sheep. The place looked like a butchershop, blood all over. He got away in the end, but we had the last laugh. One of the slaves nicked him in the throat with a spear'... As soon as it was light, I went tearing back home... When I reached the spot where my friend's clothing had been turned into stones, there was nothing to be seen but blood. But when I got home, I found the soldier stretched out in bed like a poleaxed bull and the doctor inspecting his neck (trans. W. Arrowsmith).

1. *Matauitatau* as *Crux Interpretum*

The phrase *matauitatau* at the focal point of the narrative (62.9, not translated) has long bedeviled scholars (Schmeling and Stuckey 1977; Moeller 1976; Bauer 1993; Knobloch 1996). As Smith (1975) notes *ad locum*, most commentators either propose that the phrase is a variety of 'Ephesian Letters' (*ephesia grammata*), that is, a magic formula unintelligible per se, or assume that the phrase must have been a Latin locution that became corrupt for reasons unknown. Arrowsmith sensibly avoids the problem altogether. But since a seminal article by Hadas (1929; Boyce 1991: 88) and the research of Dölger (1959), two major factors have emerged to clarify the phrase: (1) Syro-Palestinian names, words, phrases and customs appear freely in the *Satyricon* (Jacobson 1971; Marblestone 1985: 156; Boyce 1991: 88); and (2) the Latin of

Petronius's freedman evidences lexical hybrids (Neumann 1980; Boyce 1991: 54-60) compounded often with Greek—occasionally Aramaic-Syriac—elements. Most recently, Professor Glen W. Bowersock has remarked in a private communication (Bowersock 1995): 'I am very receptive to Semitic elements in the language of Petronius, particularly for the highly civilized and well educated audience for which he was writing.' To be sure, 'the trouble is that apart from a transparent example such as Trimalchio's name it is hard to make a truly conclusive case'.

In my view, however, linguistic and contextual evidence suggest strongly that *mata-uīta* is a hybrid Aramaic-Latin asseveration meaning 'Life-Death', to which *tau*, evoking both the Aramaic and the Greek name of T, is joined as an emblem of the polarity of Life and Death (see below, §D) especially in its association with cross-symbolism. The entire compound phrase, injected asyndetically into Nicerus's macabre tale, becomes, in the words of Dölger (1959: 22), 'in einem verzweifelten Kampf ein recht singemässer Ausruf'. Moreover, the phrase may be, as Dölger conjectures, 'ein auf Soldatensitten bezüglicher Ausruf und wohl ein Kraftasdruck' derived from the experiences of Roman troops stationed in Syria-Palestine (see below for another possibility). Moreover, the searing juxtaposition of Life and Death to which the phrase points comes approximately midway in the *Satyricon*, a work that amounts to a fantasia and fugue on Death-in-Life, as Arrowsmith has convincingly argued. This discussion will first examine the hybrid reading *matauitatau* and then offer a hypothesis for the *Sitz im Leben* of the phrase.

a. *Mata as an Aramaic Expression*

matauitatau appears corrupt only if its hybridity is not recognized: *mata* reflects the normal Syriac noun for death, *mawta* (Brockelmann 1962: 178), with the semi-vowel *w* and the postpositive article *a*'. Although Syriac is 'the literary language, originating from Edessa, of the Christians of North Syria and of Mesopotamia' and 'the flowering of Syriac literature began in the third, and extended into the seventh, century CE...', as an eastern Aramaic dialect it conserves the diphthong *aw*, which had long been reduced in the Canaanite dialects and in Palestinian Aramaic to *o*, as in the dialect of the Targumim *mota* (Jastrow 1950: 752). That the diphthong *aw* of *mata* did not contract to *o*, as in the Palestinian Aramaic *mota*, but is represented by *a*

(presumably, but not demonstrably, long), is evidence of an origin in Syrian, not Palestinian, Aramaic. Moreover, Professor Cyrus H. Gordon has now demonstrated (Gordon 1995 and forthcoming) that in ancient Eblaite, the earliest known Semitic language, attested from the excavations at Tel Mardikh in North Syria, the 'falling diphthong' *aw* is reduced to *ā*. This reduction apparently remained residually active in Syriac along with the standard survival of the diphthong *aw*. Latin (like modern French) had sometimes contracted the diphthong *au* to *o*, especially in plebeian speech, as in *caupo-copo* (as in *Satyricon* 62.12) or *Claudius-Clodius* (Kühner and Holzweissig 1912: 85-86).

b. *Naturalization of mata into Latin*

The *paromoiosis* in *-ta* of *mata* with its polar opposite *uita*, 'life', may have facilitated its naturalization into Latin as a colloquial term for 'death'. In the parlous situation of Niceros, or at least his literary persona, a slave so terrified that visions of imminent death (*stabam quasi mortuus, qui mori timore nisi ego*) fluctuate wildly with those of life, a 'Kraftausdruck' invoking both becomes plausible. Moreover, the phrase *oculi mortui* (62.10), 'eyes bugging out like a corpse' (Arrowsmith 1959), to describe Niceros's state as he arrives at the house of his *amica*, reinforces the polarity of life and death: the eyes, the palpable emblem of vitality among the Roman poets, are 'dead'. The freedman Damas says that after guzzling 'gallons' of wine (Arrowsmith 1959: *staminatas duxi*), he is *plane matus* (41.12: 'tight and no mistake') because 'Wine's gone right to my head' (Arrowsmith 1959: *vinus mihi in cerebrum abiit*). Scholars conventionally derive *matus* from *madidus*, 'soused' (Smith 1975 *ad locum*) or from *mactus*, 'struck, smitten' (*Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1982; Boyce 1991: 45). But Damas may well mean what the English colloquialism 'dead drunk' captures.

The naturalization of *mata*, 'death', into Latin is no more improbable than the remarkable origin of the English term 'checkmate': the Persian elements *shah*, 'king', and *mat*, 'beat, lost, defeated' (Kutscher 1982: 169), became in Old French *eschec mat*, in Middle English *chek mat(e)*, and thence, via a pseudo-etymological accommodation, into the Modern English 'checkmate'. As early as the twelfth century, the term שחמט appears in a poem ascribed to Abraham Ibn Ezra. Afterward, and perhaps because of the poem, מַת was mistakenly associated with Hebrew (or Arabic) מֵת 'dead' (Kutscher 1982: 169). The term *chess* itself,

which also derives ultimately from Persian *shah*, likely reflects the transmission of the early medieval game from Persia, to which it had come from India, to Arab-speaking lands; thence Muslims passed the game to the Spaniards and Byzantines to the Italians. Professor Gordon has suggested (Gordon 1995) that the *mata* element survives also as *matador* in Spanish. Indeed, the existence of the Spanish root *matar*, 'to kill', suggests strongly that not only the Arabic, but also the Northwest Semitic, substrate of this language bears more investigation.

The colloquial naturalization of *mata* as 'death' may have taken place in the experience of Roman soldiers in Syria, as Dölger (1959: 22) suggests. Syria, which had become a Roman province under Pompey (64–63 BCE), was an important command of the Roman Principate, particularly as a line of defense on the Euphrates against attacks from Armenia or Parthia (Cary and Scullard 1975: 422). Until 70 CE the consular legate of Rome normally had four legions at his disposal. But an equally likely place for the phenomenon was Rome itself. The satirist Juvenal (c. 67–127 CE) railed (3.60–63) against foreign, particularly Greek, 'dregs' at Rome :

non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam urbem. quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei?
iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
obliquas...

My countrymen, I cannot endure
a city turned Greek. And yet the dregs are only in part Achaeans.
Long since has Syrian Orontes flowed down to the Tiber
bringing its language, customs, harps and pipers.

Juvenal's rage at the Syrians is precious evidence for the incursion not only of their, to him, reprehensible customs and music, but of their *language*. Friedländer (1895, *ad locum*) has collected a full set of references on the question of Syrians at Rome.

c. Aramaic and Northwest Semitic Elements in Latin

The colloquial hybrid *mata-uita* established itself well enough to remain a viable reading in the manuscript tradition of Petronius's *Satyricon* (Müller 1994, *ad locum*). Although classical scholars have readily acknowledged Greek-Latin hybrids in the exuberant language of Petronius's freedmen (Neumann 1980; Smith 1975: xxix–xxx, 222; Boyce 1991: 54–60), the existence of an Aramaic-Latin hybrid, much

less its preservation in the manuscripts, has not seemed plausible to most. To be sure, few classical scholars know Aramaic at all, or well enough, to evaluate the evidence. Yet *Trimalchio*, 'who speaks more and is described in greater detail than any other character in the *Cena* [and] has understandably been subject to more scholarly scrutiny than any of the other freedman' (Boyce 1991: 94; see 94-102), bears a name hybridized with Greco-Latin *tri*, 'three', and Aramaic *malch*, 'king', so as to mean with Sullivan (1968: 151; Marblestone 1985: 156) 'something like "Mr. Trelord"'. As for his origin, Trimalchio mentions only that he had come as a small boy 'from Asia' (75: 10).

The preservation of North-West Semitic elements in the manuscripts of Latin literature has a well-known precedent in the famous Punic monologue of Hanno in Plautus's *Poenulus*, produced at Rome soon after the Second Punic War (218-201 BCE). Some veterans of the protracted struggle with Hannibal up and down Italy and of the defeat of Carthage surely understood the language of their late enemies, who had been decisively vanquished. That some of the audience understood the monologue recited by a Roman actor is remarkable enough. More so, however, is that the major Plautine manuscripts preserve the Punic text in two parallel recensions, each reflecting inner-Punic morphological variation (Sznycer 1967: 45-109, 111-32), as well as fourteen short passages. All these texts give Semitists valuable evidence for the morphology and vocalization of Punic, which was written in a consonantal script (Sznycer 1967: 146-56; Friedrich-Röllig 1971, *passim*; Segert 1976, *passim*). Verbal jesting in which an actor burlesques Punic words as if they were Latin further validates the accuracy of the readings.

d. Cruciform tau as Hebrew-Aramaic and/or Greek Emblem of Life against Death

The element *tau* is originally the final letter of the old Phoenician-Aramaic-Hebrew alphabet. Its archaic form was a cross: X, whereas by the time of Petronius, presumably the reign of Nero (54-68 CE), both Hebrew and Aramaic used the square Aramaic form, ט. In times of nationalist struggle, as against the Hellenized Syrians in the second century BCE, or against the Romans, first to second centuries CE, and during the short-lived Hasmonean kingdom, Jewish coins show the archaic X-shape of *taw*. This form appears as well in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Finegan 1979).

After Cain had slain Abel:

וַיִּשֶׂם יְהוָה לִקֵּין אוֹת לְבַלְתִּי הַכּוֹת אוֹתוֹ כֹּל מֵצֹא

Then God set a sign upon Cain so that none would slay him on sight (Gen. 4.15).

The traditional Rabbinic exegetes of the Hebrew Bible occasionally interpreted the first 'mark' (אֹת) that God imprinted on a human being as a letter of the divine name. According to a Yemenite *Midrash* (Lieberman 1965: 189-90) the mark was a *taw*, placed on Cain's hand. Lieberman speculates that the Rabbis 'censored' this interpretation once the Christians began to read the *taw* as a sign of the salvific Cross (see below). Some legal passages in the Hebrew Bible (for example, Deut. 6.8, 11.8) require that a 'mark' (אֹת) be placed on the arms to remind one of God's revelation. In Ezek. 9.4-6 the *taw* denotes a mark of safety from a rampage of slaughter to be wrought by divine executioners in Jerusalem. The prophet says that in his hearing God called to one of them:

בְּחוּךְ הָעִיר בְּחוּךְ יְרוּשָׁלַיִם וְהָיִיתָ תוֹ עַל מִצְחוֹת הָאֲנָשִׁים הַנֹּאכָחִים
עַל כָּל הַחַוְעֻבוֹת הַנַּעֲשׂוֹת בְּחוּכָהּ...עַל כָּל אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו הָתוּ אַל תִּגְשׁוּ
עֲבָר

Pass through the city, through Jerusalem, and put a mark on the foreheads of the men who moan and groan because of all the abominations that are committed in it...do not touch any person who bears the mark (translation of the Jewish Publication Society).

Lieberman, following Deissmann, notes that in the Roman world of the first century CE the Greek letter *chi*, X, was 'a mark of cancellation of bonds, a mark of freedom' since, as Deissmann notes, 'it was generally customary to cancel a bond (or other document) by crossing it out with the Greek cross-letter Chi (X)... The subject is perhaps not without some bearing on the later allegorical and mystical trifling with the cross letter Chi among the Christians' (Lieberman 1965: 188).

Another sign of life or of safety was the Greek *tau*, which marked on lists of soldiers the names of battle-survivors (Dölger: 1959: 22). By the second century, the *tau* because of its shape represented to Christians the σταυρός, the Cross (Arndt, Gingrich and Danker 1979: s.v. σταυρός, end). Conversely, the Greek *theta*, the first letter of θάνατος, 'death', called by Roman writers *nigrum theta*, 'black theta' (Arndt, Gingrich and Danker 1979: 186), served to mark on lists of soldiers those fallen in battle (Dölger 1959: 22), or in the records of the lawcourts those condemned to death. Dölger (1959: 22) postulates an

utter opposition between the symbolic values of Greek *theta* and *tau*. His interpretation has been so convincing, apparently, that an ingenious, but improbable, suggestion by Moeller (1976) 'restores' a *theta* to the beginning of *matauitatau* and reads thereby a chiasm of letter-idea-idea-letter.

In his discussion of early Rabbinic sayings about the symbolism of the Hebrew letter *taw*, Lieberman remarks: 'We...have to presume that the letter *Taw* in itself conveyed the idea of life, death, mercy, or end' (Lieberman 1965: 186). This will have been so, as Lieberman explains:

Since the Hebrew letter *Taw*, in the ancient script, was almost identical in form with X (*Chi*) and *in sound* [my emphasis] with Θ (*Theta*) [though the latter derived from the hard Phoenician palatal *ʔet*], the Rabbis, being well acquainted with both marks, interpreted the *Taw* to stand for either life (freedom, mercy) or death. The mark X [Greek *chi*] was inscribed on the foreheads of the righteous, the mark Θ was put on those of the wicked (Lieberman 1965: 189).

Among some Hebrew Christians the *taw*, chiefly because of its shape, came to symbolize the Cross, a sign to be placed on the foreheads of Christians, as a passage of Origen attests. Lieberman suggests that even the Hebrew Christian preserves a genuine Jewish notion of the cruciform *tau* (Lieberman 1965: 188; Maringer 1980).

e. Greek or Syro-Palestinian Context for *tau*?

Does the *tau* in *matauitatau* presuppose only a Gentile Greek context in which the letter evokes *life*, safety or escape, which may be foremost in the mind of the distraught spectator-narrator? More likely, the phrase betrays the Syro-Palestinian context of Hebrew-Aramaic *taw*. Hadas (1929) had first suggested that the names of several freedmen in the *Satyricon*, including Trimalchio, who hails 'from Asia', are 'Semitic' (Boyce 1991: 88-89); among them is Habinnas, whose name may well be Palestinian (Boyce 1991: 88-89; *contra*: Stern 1974: 441). Habinnas's exuberant, self-effacing and lightly ironic humor, which is noticeably different from that of the other freedmen (Boyce 1991: 89), may be Jewish in nature. One of Habinnas's remarks (68.8) about his slave Massa, who bears an unmistakably Hebrew name, suggests strongly that he is Jewish:

duo tamen vitia habet, quae si non haberet, esset omnium numerum: recutitus est et stertit)

... he'd be perfect if he didn't have two bad points: he's been circumcized and he snores (Arrowsmith).

For Petronius, as for many other Greek and Roman authors, circumcision is one of the most characteristic signs of the Jews (Stern 1974: 443; Feldman 1993: 153-58). Accordingly, a Syro-Palestinian notion of the sound and letter *tau* may well have become known among Trimalchio's guests. Of possible significance is the apparently Syrian name Seleucus (42.1) for one of the freedmen. Finally, in this regard, the narrator of the werewolf tale, Niceros, does not reveal his own personality nearly so much as do the other freedmen. He plainly feels inferior in education and social position to the educated guests at Trimalchio's banquet (61.4-5). Further, 'we must remember that the credulity and superstitiousness which he expresses belong to his narrative persona and not necessarily to Niceros himself' (Boyce 1991: 85). Niceros's Latin, which scholars have rigorously examined (Boyce 1991: 86-87), suggests an uneducated, straightforward, perhaps credulous, fellow (see 63.1: *certus et minime linguosus*. 'he's no liar. Nope, truth itself and he never exaggerates' [Arrowsmith]), whose service in the army, perhaps with veterans of Syrian campaigns, acquainted him with a stock of curious stories and vivid expressions.

If this reconstruction is correct, Niceros is using the hybrid term *matauitatau* to evoke a recognizable level of soldiers' language; indeed, his travelling companion is a soldier. In this paraheroic scene, Niceros, slashing away at shades (*umbras cecidi*. 62.9), exclaims 'Life-Death-Tau!' Whether he or any Roman soldier understood the literal meaning of the hybrid phrase, we do not know. But it evokes what real soldiers may have exclaimed *per tot discrimina rerum*, when life and death were in the balance. In this respect Petronius's Niceros, as mediated by the picaresque narrator Encolpius, represents a credible personality.

2. *Life against Death: The Literary Tradition*

Niceros is also a literary personality whose chilling encounter with Life and Death Petronius whimsically integrates into a long tradition in classical literature. The tradition embodies a pattern: a hero (later a mock-hero) finds himself in a liminal zone where ghosts or shadows seem

about to overwhelm his mission; where, broadly, Death will overcome Life. The hero adopts a stock heroic posture, sword in hand (compare *Odyssey* 9.300, where Odysseus impulsively readies thus to attack the drunk Cyclops), to ward off the impotent, but no less fearsome, ghosts. The *locus classicus* (*Odyssey* 11.48-50) is Odysseus's confrontation with the shades in Hades, who wish to draw near to drink blood at the pit:

αὐτὸς δὲ ξίφος ὄξιν ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ
ἦμην, οὐδ' εἶων νεκρῶν ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα
αἵματος ἄσπον ἔμεν πρὶν Τειρεσίαο πυθέσθαι.

while I myself, drawing from beside my thigh my sharp sword
crouched there, and would not let the strengthless heads of the perished
dead draw nearer to the blood until I had questioned Teiresias
(trans. R. Lattimore).

Vergil's famous adaptation of this passage in *Aeneid* VI is artfully nuanced. As Aeneas stands at the entrance to the grove of Orcus, the Sibyl warns him (260-61):

tuque invade viam vaginaque eripe ferrum:
nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.

Now go right along the road and draw your sword from its sheath.
Now you need courage, Aeneas, now unflinching heart.

Later, however (290-94):

corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum
Aeneas strictamque aciem venientibus offert,
et ni docta comes tenuis sine corpore vitas
admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,
inruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.

Then, affrighted with sudden fear, Aeneas goes for his sword,
draws and brandishes it at the oncoming spirits.
Now unless his wise companion told him they are thin, bodiless ghosts
flitting about with a hollow semblance of shape,
on he would rush, his sword slashing at shadows for naught.

Norden (1927: *ad* 260, p. 206; Austin 1977: *ad locum*) has demonstrated that Vergil skillfully combined, without contradiction, two opposed motifs: (1) the standard heroic response to peril, even among the Dead and (2) the notion, derived from the lost Descent of Herakles to Hades, that the dead are fearsome but powerless: as Herakles draws his sword at the Gorgon, he learns from his escort Hermes that she is

merely a κεινὸν εἶδωλον, 'an empty image'. In view of the considerable Vergilian echoes in the *Satyricon*, Petronius adapted this famous passage from the *Aeneid* in order to create a paratragic moment for Niceros; noteworthy is his use of the Vergilian *gladium stringere* and of *umbras*.

Petronius may well have had in mind a striking passage from Euripides' *Bacchae* (629-31) where Dionysus in human guise reports that just before razing the palace of the hapless Pentheus to the ground:

κᾶθ' ὁ Βρόμιος, ὡς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, δόξαν λέγω,
φᾶσμι' ἐποίησεν κατ' ἀύλην· ὃ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ὠρμημένος
ῆσσε κἀκέντει φαεννὸν [αἰθεέρ'], ὡς σφάζων ἐμέ.

Then Bromios, so it seems—this is the report I give—
made a phantom in the hall. Pentheus, rushing at it,
hacked and stabbed at the bright [air], thinking he's slaying me.

Aeschylus's Clytemnestra, a woman with 'a manly-purposed heart' (*Agamemnon* 11), hears a commotion in her palace. A servant reports (*Libation Bearers* 886):

τὸν ζῶντα καίνειν τοὺς τεθνηκότας λέγω.

The dead are killing the living [singular], I'm telling you.

She immediately understands the 'riddle' (887) to mean that Orestes, assumed to be dead (for so he had come in disguise to report), is killing Aegisthus, who has, until a moment ago, been alive. Of greater significance than the riddle is the notion, entertained at least in the form of a paradox, that the *real* dead, including most obviously Agamemnon, are now killing the living. Clytemnestra's response, masculine-heroic in every sense, dispenses with theory and drives back to the battle she anticipates:

Someone give me a man-slaying axe, right away:
Let's see if we vanquish or are vanquished!

Garvie (1986: *ad locum*, p. 289) adduces several passages from Sophocles that dwell on the paradox of the dead killing the living.

3. *Life against Death: Leitmotif of the Satyricon*

The encounter and opposition of Life and Death is not only an important theme, but the *Leitmotif* of Petronius's *Satyricon*. Bacon (1958: 276) was, according to Arrowsmith, the first critic to see that 'the

Satyricon is not a symptom of a corrupt society, but a penetrating description of it' (1982: 849). She contends that in the society that Petronius reveals 'luxury tries to tease the satiated senses into the appearance of life' over against the vast landscape of brutality, degradation and despair. 'The Sibyl [of Cumae in the bottle, who wished only to die (*Satyricon* 48.8)] is the symbol for this waste land as well as Eliot's' (Bacon 1958: 276).

Arrowsmith in a brilliant essay (1982) has shown that Petronius directs his hearty, picaresque, even lubricious narrative with 'extraordinary structural and thematic concentration' (Arrowsmith 1982: 837-38) around the conjoined themes of *luxuria* and death:

The *Satyricon* is a book obsessed by, saturated in, a quality or mode of existence that the Romans called, always pejoratively, *luxuria*. The central idea of *luxuria* is lushness: an exuberance of sensual life in things and animals, whence the idea of voluptuous excess, the rankness of proliferating indulgence, randiness, lechery, wanton profusion... *luxuria* offends the sense of natural economy and restraint, even austerity, which is everywhere encountered, for obvious reasons, in archaic cultures of poverty. This is not to suggest that Petronius' attitude is that of a severe puritanical moralist like the elder Cato—anything but... Petronius invokes the idea throughout the whole surviving fragmentary work, not merely in the account of Trimalchio's dinner.

But the *Satyricon* is no less obsessed by *luxuria* than it is by death... Trimalchio, to take the chief example, is a man on whom the ideas of *luxuria* and death weigh very heavily. Wealth and death are persistently, obsessively on his mind... By eating he proposes to forget death, to 'seize the day' and to live; he passionately desires life, but with every mouthful he takes, he tastes death.

The *Satyricon* is manifestly incomplete, and according to one ancient notice, it is merely fragments from the fifteenth and sixteenth books (Arrowsmith 1982: 834). But the thematic unity that Arrowsmith postulates is remarkably pervasive: 'death and wealth and food', and more particularly, 'the death that *luxuria* brings in sex, food, and language; that is, in the areas of energetic desire and social community' (Arrowsmith 1982: 841). Moreover, the Milesian Tale of the Widow of Ephesus that Eumolpus the poet relates near the end of the work (111-12) transforms the motif of death-in-life to one of life-from-death. The narrator advertises the tale as a story of woman's inconstancy drawn not from ancient literature, but from his own time. Nonetheless the

story, so vividly recounted, rises to a myth that comports remarkably well with Arrowsmith's notion of life over against death.

a. *The Widow of Ephesus*

A widow of Ephesus was renowned as a prodigy of fidelity to her husband, so much so that when he died, she was not content with the normal obsequies, but followed him into his underground tomb. There she bewailed him day and night for five days without food, drink or respite. None, family or community, could prevail upon her to give up her extreme obsequies.

Meanwhile, several thieves were crucified nearby and a soldier set to watch the bodies lest relatives remove them for burial [See Crossan 1995: 160-68]. On the sixth night the soldier, seeing the light in the tomb, hearing the widow's wailing, and eager to know what was afoot, descended into the tomb. There he beheld the inconsolable widow attended by her maid. He offered her his meagre supper and, using the tiresome platitudes that men offer to the bereaved, he implored her not to break both heart and frame alike with useless grief. But she, enraged at his importunities, persisted even more vehemently in her mourning.

As the soldier, nonetheless, pressed his arguments, the maid finally took some food from him. Thereafter, she prevailed upon her mistress, weakened by grief and starvation alike, to partake. Emboldened by his success in persuading the lady to live, the soldier now laid siege to her virtue, which she was happy to yield to him. The next several nights they enjoyed their secret love in the tomb, its door discreetly closed. A passerby might think that the lady of famous fidelity had finally expired, and they partook together of his meager rations.

One night the parents of one of the crucified thieves, upon noticing that the guard was absent, removed his body for burial. When the soldier discovered what his dereliction had caused, and knew what hideous punishment awaited him, he told his mistress that he would not await that, but would kill himself first with his own sword. Let her, be begged, make room for the corpse of her lover together with that of her husband in the same tomb.

Our lady's heart, however, was no less tender than pure. 'God forbid,' she cried, 'that I should have to see at one and the same time the dead bodies of the only two men I have ever loved. No, better far, I say, to hang the dead [up] than to kill the living.' With these words, she gave orders that her husband's body should be taken from its bier and strung up on the empty cross. The soldier followed this good advice, and the

next morning the whole city wondered by what miracle the dead man had climbed up on the cross (Arrowsmith 1959).

Arrowsmith's comment on this story is telling:

Against Trimalchio, who turns a feast of living men into a funeral, is set the story of the soldier who celebrates his marriage in the tomb... Here Petronius seems to be saying, I give you an image of the rebirth of human life; here are the hope and energy that everywhere else are baffled by satiety and thereby transformed into death. In place of perversion, natural marriage; in place of impotence, consummation; in place of unappeasable appetite, satisfied desire; in place of death, life (Arrowsmith 1982: 851).

b. *Christian Cross-Symbolism in the Satyricon?*

Did Petronius understand in some degree and manner the significance of the Cross to the earliest Christians as the locus of Life and Death? Did he sense that the Cross, which brought death in brutality, degradation and despair, had become for them the emblem of new life? Professor Glen W. Bowersock in his new work, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (1994), makes an astonishing, and in my view, convincing, *rapprochement* between Petronius and the hagiographa that became the New Testament. Proceeding from the remark that 'Polytheism had no scripture' or 'universal texts for the devout', Bowersock asks how and when polytheism might create 'some parallel to the monotheist scriptures...in a world in which monotheism and polytheism were approaching direct and momentous collision' (Bowersock 1994: 121-22).

Part of the answer for Bowersock lies in the language, thought and narrative to be crystallized soon after Petronius's time in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, 'a kind of narrative fiction in the form of history...essentially new to the Greco-Roman world' (1994: 123), although rooted in the narratives of the Hebrew Bible. Once they were available in the Greek language, these texts acquired a 'potential for stimulating secular narratives...with the portentous diffusion of Christian doctrines and practices as outlined by the evangelists' (Bowersock 1994: 124).

The *Satyricon* records, at the end of its extant fragments (141.2-4), the testament of Eumolpus:

omnes qui in testamento meo legata habent praeter libertos meos, hac condicione percipient, quae dedi, si corpus meum in partes conciderint et astante populo comederint. apud quasdam gentes scimus adhuc legem servari, ut a propinquis suis consumantur defuncti, adeo quidem, ut obiurgentur aegri frequenter, quod carnem suam faciant peiorem. his admoneo amicos meos ne recusent quae iubeo, sed quibus animis devoverint spiritum meum, eisdem etiam corpus consumant.

All those who are legatees in my will, apart from my freedmen, shall take what I have given only under the following condition—that they divide my body into parts and eat it in the presence of the assembled people. We know that among certain tribes this practice is still maintained, that the dead should be consumed by their relatives, maintained indeed to such a degree that the sick are frequently blamed because, by living on, they are diminishing the quality of their flesh. With this in mind, I advise my friends not to refuse what I order, but to eat my body [*corpus*] with the same enthusiasm with which they have cursed my spirit [*spiritum*] (Bowersock 1994: 135)

Bowersock notes that in the Greek Gospels the term used by Jesus at the Last Supper, διαθήκη, when he bade his disciples ‘share in his body and blood by consuming bread and wine’ (1994: 136), bore its original sense of ‘testament’ or ‘will’; only in Hellenistic Judaism did it become a term for ‘covenant’. Further, the term Καινή Διαθήκη united the original Greek sense of διαθήκη with the sense of καινή as ‘something radically new and different, even strange’ (1994: 137). Bowersock remarks:

The Καινή Διαθήκη, therefore, is something altogether new and different in the way of a testament. It may be suggested that the brilliant parody of Petronius makes play with this sense of ‘New Testament’ in giving us the highly innovative, not to say strange, will of Eumolpus. It would be stranger still if the stipulation that his legatees eat his body were not a pointed allusion to the Gospel story of the Last Supper. The distinction he makes between the *corpus* and the *spiritus* reflects perfectly the opposition of σάρξ (or σῶμα) and πνεῦμα in the Gospels.

By way of conclusion to his daring and brilliant chapter, Bowersock points up a remarkable instance of cultural ‘re-synthesis’ (as it may be called):

Petronius’ treatment of this motif... was a portent of the impact that the tales of the evangelists were to have on the imagination of writers and readers in the Greco-Roman world for several centuries to come...

APPENDIX

The remarks of Professor Glen W. Bowersock, cited above, p. 484, on his receptivity to Semitic elements in the language of Petronius come in a gracious and learned letter in which he takes exception to some of my interpretation of *mataui-tatau*. Professor Bowersock's knowledge of Semitic languages, rare for a classical scholar, as well his eminence as a classical philologist make his remarks well worth quoting:

That *mata* looks like 'death', especially in this context, I find most attractive. I feel less certain of *vita*, and the *tau* remains very difficult. I should prefer to see in the last element some representation of *twh*, 'stun, startle', since Syriac (at least) already shows an awareness of the punning potential of *mwt* with the participle of *twh*, e.g. in *mwt' m'twh*. I suspect we are dealing with something like 'scared to death,' and if so the intervening *uita* may constitute some kind of suffix or prefix (or both). For example *tatau* could be an augmented verb of the kind we see often in Arabic verbs of form V and VI. But this is all merely speculation. If only we knew more about the spoken languages of the first-century Near East. The new graffito from Avdat (IEJ 36 [1986], 56-60) makes it clear that a mixed language of Aramaic and Arabic could be found about that time.

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Part X

MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE INFLUENCE OF HEBREW ON PORTUGUESE

Alan D. Corré

E na língua, na qual quando imagina,
Com pouca corrupção crê que é a latina.¹

Professor Cyrus Gordon was raised in the old Portuguese-rite Jewish congregation of Philadelphia, and he credits his mentor there for establishing the principles which have guided his life. I am privileged to offer him this essay at the intersection of two cultures which have influenced him. May he be granted many more years of productive endeavor.

It is the thesis of this paper that certain unique features of the Portuguese language can be explained as Jewish influences. In particular, the Jews' habit of translating the Bible literally into their vernacular influenced their speech, and these Hebraic turns of phrase and constructions penetrated the standard language.

The custom of translating the Holy Scriptures literally into other languages is an ancient Jewish habit which dates back to the first century CE, with the Bible translation into Greek of Aquila, and the Aramaic translations known as *Targumim*. The translators were not interested in producing a polished translation. It was meant rather to assist the student to understand the Hebrew text, and hence the language could become quite distorted. But this 'pony' served its goal of familiarizing the faithful with the text and meaning of Scripture. There was probably such a Jewish translation into Low Latin, and hence these translations are in a sense as old as the Romance languages themselves.²

1. 'The language [i.e. Portuguese] which, with a little imagination, you can believe is Latin, but little corrupted'. L. de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, canto I, stanza 33.

2. See *EncJud*, IV, p. 856. For similar Arabic versions, see the entry 'Judeo-Arabic'. See also my 'The Spanish Haftara for the Ninth of Ab', *JQR* 48.1 (1957),

Latter day Jewish scholars regarded such jargons with distaste. Isaac Nieto described Judeo-Spanish in 1740 as 'un castellano-hebraico que no es ni hebraico ni castellano',³ and made the effort in his translation of the prayer book to avoid this type of language. Books printed by Menasseh ben Israel in Amsterdam were similarly bowdlerized. In most instances this type of literary activity had no effect on the standard language. Isaac Nieto, Menasseh ben Israel and others wished their brethren to get away from their 'Ladino' and use the standard language. However, the process in Portuguese was somewhat different for reasons which will be discussed later.

The most striking example of a Hebrew calque in standard Portuguese is the expression *quem me dera* ('who would give me') in the sense of the Castilian *ojalá* ('would that. . . ' lit. 'O Allah grant. . .').⁴ This is the only place in modern Portuguese where the simple pluperfect of any verb (as opposed to the compound form with *ter* or *haver*) is used in the spoken language.⁵ This verb is a pluperfect in form only, actually being used as an imperfect subjunctive—compare the use of 'diera/diese' in Spanish. Such an expression is found in no other Romance language, and clearly does not have its basis in Latin. I would posit that this expression is a 'calque', a literal translation of the Hebrew *בִּי יִתֵּן*. In Deut. 28.67 the Arragel Bible—which uses 'good' Spanish—translates: 'Por la mañana dirás: ¡o si ya fuese la noche! e por la noche dirás: ¡o si ya fuese la mañana!'⁶ By contrast, the Ferrara Bible of 1553, which is in the literal Jewish tradition, renders: 'Por la mañana diras: quien diesse tarde y en la tarde diras: quien diesse mañana.'⁷ Compare also in the Spanish Haftara (Jer. 8.23): 'Quien

pp. 13-34. There the Hebrew *עַל לִבִּי דִּי* is translated 'sobre mi mi coração dolorozo'.

3. 'Castilian-Hebrew which is neither Castilian nor Hebrew'. Introduction to his *Oraciones de Ros Asana y Kipur* (London: R. Reily, 1740). Nieto was born in Livorno and lived in London, where for a time he served as the *Hahám* of the Sefardi Jewish community.

4. It is interesting to note that the Spanish expression is Islamic in origin, while I assert that the corresponding Portuguese expression is Jewish.

5. In point of fact it is archaic at two removes, since the form in *haver* is now largely restricted to the literary language.

6. 'In the morning you shall say: Would it were night! And in the evening you shall say: Would it were morning!'

7. 'In the morning you shall say: Who would give evening and in the evening you shall say: Who would give morning.'

diesse mi cabeça aguas. . . quien me diesse en el desierto.'

I have also heard the expression 'quien me diera' (not 'diese') in the mouth of an old Jewish lady from Tangier. This expression is not found in standard Spanish, but is alive and well in Portuguese—a literal transation from Hebrew by means of the Jewish Bible translations into Romance.

Recognition of the influence of the Hebrew Bible can also help solve a problem which has troubled many students of the Portuguese language. José Maria Rodrigues called it 'uma das características da lingua portuguesa. . . interessante fenómeno morfológico'⁸ Togeby called it 'énigmatique. . . une création sensationnelle'.⁹ M. Said Ali referred to it as 'uma forma extremamente curiosa, estranha as linguas irmãs'.¹⁰ This is, of course, the 'infinito pessoal' (the personal infinitive).¹¹

Togeby continues: 'Si l'infinitif personnel est le résultat d'une confusion entre le futur du subjonctif et l'infinitif, pourquoi n'a-t-on pas eu un forme analogue en italien où les conditions étaient les mêmes?'¹² He knew that such a phenomenon exists in Hungarian, as he remarks on its existence in that language. He did not know, however, that such a phenomenon is very common in Hebrew, consisting of the infinitive of the verb *plus* a suffix. It is my view that the influence of the Jews and of their literal Bible translations was sufficient to carry over this usage into the standard language—but *only* in Portugal.¹³ Let us

8. 'one of the characteristics of the Portuguese language. . . an interesting morphological phenomenon'. J.M. Rodrigues, 'Sobre o uso do infinito impessoal', *Boletim de Filologia* 1 (1932), p. 3.

9. 'enigmatic. . . a fantastic creation'. K. Togeby, 'L'énigmatique infinitif personnel en portugais', *Studia Neophilologica* 25 (1955), pp. 210, 216.

10. 'an extremely curious form, unknown to the sister languages'. M. Said Ali, *Dificuldades da Lingua Portuguesa* (Rio: F. Aloes, 1957), p. 55.

11. The personal infinitive, also called the inflected infinitive, is formally identical in regular verbs with the future subjunctive—'falar', 'falares', 'falar', 'falarmos', 'falardes', 'falarem'. The meaning is roughly 'for you to speak', and so on. In irregular verbs it is distinct; thus, the future subjunctive of 'dizer' is based on the stem 'disser', while the stem of the personal infinitive is the impersonal infinitive 'dizer'.

12. 'If the personal infinitive is the result of a confusion between the future subjunctive and the infinitive, then why was there not an analogous form in Italian, where the conditions were the same?'

13. The inflected infinitive which appears in the Spanish Haftara quoted above ('ora de seren perdonados nuestos pekados' ['the time of our sins being pardoned'], p. 19) is probably a contamination of Spanish by the vernacular Portuguese in use

observe first that in Jewish Spanish until this day the word for 'nos' is 'mos'. This, added to the infinitive, gives us 'sermos', 'estarmos' which is exactly the Hebrew הָיִיתָ (= 'ser') + נוּ (= 'nos' or 'mos') giving הָיִינוּ (= 'sermos'). Note that classical Hebrew does not require the prefixed ל- in all cases. This now resembles a finite verb, and hence the other forms of the *infinito pessoal* were generated by analogy. In Ladino, in general, the form is found in the passive. Thus עָרַשְׁמָדָד is rendered in the Ferrara Bible 'fasta seres destruydo' (Deut. 28.61). Otherwise, they are replaced by forms more natural in Romance like 'su poder' ('your [his etc.] being able')—which is a Hebraism also—but the true personal infinitive survived only in Portuguese.

There are two other manifestations in Portuguese, which may not have come *directly* from Hebrew influence, but were retained on account of Jewish preferences.

The forms of the days of the week 'segunda-feira', 'terça-feira' and so on, are exactly the same as their Hebrew equivalents as found in the first chapter of Genesis. Their use avoids the names of heathen gods found in 'lunes', 'martes' and so on. The use of 'feira' (= יוֹם טוֹב) may also be Jewish influence, since it is typically optimistic (and effective against the evil eye), compared with the use of the neutral and colorless word 'dia'.¹⁴ Of course, this could be an influence from Arabic also, and doubtless early pillars of the Church looked askance at the hint of heathen deities in the names of the days of the week. But strong Jewish preferences in this regard may well have favored the *retention* of these forms. It is noteworthy that Spanish speaking Jews, even today, frequently use 'al-had' ('first [day]' in Arabic) to avoid the religious implication of the name of the first day of the week ('Lord's day').

Finally, we may mention another typically Portuguese usage. The answer to a question such as 'A moça escreve a carta?' ('Does the girl write the letter?') is not simply 'sim' ('yes'), as in most Romance languages. It is usual to repeat the verb 'escreve' ('she writes'), followed optionally by 'sim'. This is typically Hebraic, as in 'And he said: "Do

among the Amsterdam Sefardim. Although they used Spanish for trade purposes, their natural language was Portuguese. In the synagogue, announcements (including the excommunication of Spinoza!) were made in Portuguese, even though the liturgical Haftara was read in Spanish.

14. See J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1980), p. 881.

you know Laban the son of Nahor?" And they said: "We know"' (Gen. 29.5). This indeed has a basis in Latin, but may well have been preserved in Portuguese under the influence of the literal Bible translations.

I suspect that there is a socio-linguistic reason why these items exist in Portuguese and not in Spanish, even though the two languages are closely related. When the Jews were expelled from Spain, they were given a genuine option of staying and becoming Christians, or leaving. Of course, it was a great hardship to leave, but they could leave if they wished.¹⁵ In Portugal, on the other hand, when the Portuguese in 1497 were unwillingly forced to expel their Jewish population, they did everything possible to impede the exodus, and many were forced to stay who did not wish to stay.¹⁶ This had linguistic results. It was highly dangerous in Spain after the expulsion of 1492 to do anything that was recognizably Jewish. It was better not to cover one's face when the monstrance was raised in church, and it was better not to use typically Jewish expressions. In Portugal, on the other hand, since the Jews had been *forced* to stay, there was more tolerance of judaizing and behaving in ways associated with Judaism and Judaism.¹⁷ Several periods were granted to former Jews in which deviations from the Catholic faith were overlooked. In Portugal, Jews did not feel the necessity to avoid Jewish expressions. Hence they persisted and are still with us.

15. The number expelled is uncertain, since no precise records were kept. Guesses vary from a few tens of thousands to as much as a quarter of a million. Of course, the world population was much smaller at this time.

16. See H.P. Salomon, 'The Portuguese Inquisition and its Victims in the Light of Recent Polemics,' *Journal of the American Portuguese Cultural Society* 5.3-4 (Summer, 1971), p. 21. 'The king. . . wanted to keep the Jews in Portugal. He thought they would be useful to the national economy.'

17. On a number of occasions general pardons were granted to those who had judaized. The very form of indictment before the Inquisitional tribunal took these amnesties into account: 'Sendo o réu cristão baptizado e como tal obrigado a ter e crer tudo o que tem, crê e ensina a Santa Madre Igreja de Roma, ele o fez pelo contrário e se passou a [o judaísmo]. O réu. . . cometeu [as culpas] depois do último perdão geral' ('The accused, being a baptized Christian, and as such obliged to hold and believe everything which the Holy Mother Church of Rome holds, believes and teaches, acted to the contrary and passed over to [Judaism]. . . The accused committed [the crimes] subsequent to the last general pardon') (See A.J. Saraiva, *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos* [Porto: Editorial Inova, 1968], p. 90).

TRADITIONAL COMMENTATORS ANTICIPATING A MODERN LITERARY APPROACH

Walter Herzberg

Introduction

The modern literary approach to the Bible has made a major contribution to the study and understanding of the biblical text. Among those most recently at the forefront are Robert Alter, Meir Sternberg, Meir Weiss, Michael Fishbane, Yair Zakovitch and Adele Berlin, to name just a very few. Their major contribution, by and large, has been not in the area of new interpretation, but rather in methodology, providing us with the tools of interpretation necessary to read the text closely. Actually, interpretation presented as new is often found in the traditional commentaries, which provide much 'close reading' of the text similar to the close reading of a modern literary approach. (Combining Robert Alter's and Adele Berlin's definitions of traditional commentaries,¹ I will use the term broadly to encompass early rabbinic literature from Midrash to the medieval exegetes such as Rashi, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides, to Sforno, Or Hahayim, Kli Yakar, to the nineteenth century's Malbim, Haketav V'Hakabalah, Ha'ammek Davar, and many more.)

'Scholars are finding fascinating points of contact between contemporary hermeneutical theories and older Jewish methods of interpretation.'² They have been increasingly integrating the use of traditional commentaries in their interpretations. The trailblazer, of course, was Professor Nehama Leibowitz. But others who have made significant use of the commentaries include Moshe Greenberg, Nahum Sarna,

1. R. Alter, *The World of Biblical Literature* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), pp. 141-42.

2. S. Kepnes (ed.), *Interpreting Judaism in a Postmodern World* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), p. 3.

Uriel Simon and Elazar Touitou. The traditional commentaries, however, are not always accessible, because many are not familiar with the vast literature, or may find the style or terminology misleading. I hope to provide that bridge between the modern literary approach and the traditional commentaries, making the latter more accessible to the contemporary reader.

My first understanding of the potential for the complementary nature of a modern literary approach and the traditional commentaries came about twelve years ago when I first read Robert Alter's book, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, particularly his chapter on 'The Techniques of Repetition', where he writes,

in biblical prose the reiteration of key-words has been formalized into a prominent convention which is made to play a much more central role in the development of thematic argument than does the repetition of such key-words in other narrative traditions. . . [Buber called this phenomenon of key-words *Leitwort*, stating that] 'by following these repetitions, one is able to decipher or grasp a meaning of the text, or at any rate, the meaning will be revealed more strikingly . . . The measured repetition . . . is one of the most powerful means for conveying meaning without expressing it.'³

Once I became aware of the phenomenon of key-words, I was able actively to employ it as a tool of interpretation. In addition, I began to notice that traditional commentators were sensitive to the phenomenon as well, offering commentary based on this awareness. Similarly, the description of many other literary techniques by contemporary authors greatly assists one to read the biblical text more closely and reveal its meaning. Some of the phenomena that have been described include reticence, word order, juxtaposition, ambiguity, repetition and perspective.

I will focus on the phenomenon of perspective, and show how the traditional commentators were aware of this phenomenon, thereby demonstrating how our ability to access the commentaries in light of modern literary terminology can only enhance our understanding of the text.

Many terms are used for the phenomenon of perspective: focus, interior monologue, point of view, free indirect discourse. I have chosen to use the term 'perspective' to simplify matters, 'because it is a

3. R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), pp. 92-93.

term intelligible from ordinary usage that is capacious enough to embrace a variety of sins'.⁴

I will base my discussion on three categories of perspective that Meir Weiss presents in *Scriptures in their own Light*:⁵

1. Narration—from objective narration to subjective perspective
2. Speech—from the perspective of the speaker to that of the listener
3. Silence—from the perspective of silent characters

1. Narration

Narration is generally considered to be objective reporting. However, Meir Weiss notes that narration often 'imperceptibly moves' from the so-called perspective of the narrator to the subjective perspective of the characters.⁶ Weiss cites as his example par excellence a verse from Genesis 29, where we are told that Jacob worked seven years for Laban in order to receive Rachel's hand in marriage. When Jacob fulfilled his commitment (v. 22): 'Laban gathered all the people of the place and made a feast. (23) When evening came, he took his daughter, Leah, and brought her to him; and he cohabited with her... (25) When morning came, behold it was Leah: So he said to Laban, "What have you done?"'

Weiss notes that in v. 25, the objective narration changes perspective. The Hebrew word *hinneh*, translated 'behold', indicates Jacob's surprise, and therefore becomes narration from Jacob's perspective. 'Jacob's innermost feelings are brought to our attention as words of the text.'⁷

When the Bible speaks about the protagonists, it embodies their spiritual world, their state of mind, through the structure and style of the description. It is as if at that moment the Biblical author identifies with the actors in the story and speaks from their hearts and minds—not in their words, but in his own.⁸

4. R. Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading in an Ideological Age* (New York: Simon & Schuster/Touchstone, 1989), p. 172.

5. M. Weiss, *Scriptures in their own Light* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1987), pp. 293-311 (Hebrew).

6. Weiss, *Scriptures*, p. 298 (my translation and paraphrase).

7. Weiss, *Scriptures*, p. 301 (my translation).

8. M. Weiss, *The Bible from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press), p. 250.

Robert Alter also notes that,

Most readers' impression of biblical narrative is that everything is told from the perspective of an impassive authoritative narrator. However, several recent literary studies of biblical narrative have persuasively argued that in fact the point of view frequently switches at strategic moments to one of the characters. The biblical narrator . . . often uses the term [*hinneh*] to mark the crossover between his perspective and that of a character, the 'Behold' becoming in effect part of the unspoken inner speech of the personage, especially at moments when something unexpected or untoward is seen.⁹

Traditional commentators have also 'shown that the emotions of biblical characters are not conveyed exclusively in direct speech'.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, Weiss and Alter were preceded by about 850 years by the medieval French exegete Rabbi Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam).¹¹ On the very same verse (Gen. 29.25) that we just examined, Rashbam makes the following comment concerning the words, 'behold it was Leah':

Concerning something that was not known at first [the text] says 'and behold'. And similarly, 'and behold it was a dream' (Gen. 41.7).¹²

Rashbam's explanation of the use of 'behold' as presaging 'something not known' is almost identical to Alter's 'something unexpected'. Rashbam also clearly indicates that the use of 'behold' in Gen. 29.25 is not an isolated case; he concludes his comment by referring to a similar instance in Gen. 41.7 where Pharaoh dreams of the seven cows and then the seven sheaves: 'And the thin ears swallowed up the seven solid and full ears. And Pharaoh awoke and *behold* it was a dream.' Rashbam comments on the words 'behold it was a dream': 'This is like "and behold it was Leah" (Gen. 29.25) . . . until now [Pharaoh] was of the opinion that he was experiencing reality and not a dream.'¹³ Once again

9. Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading*, pp. 176-77.

10. Weiss, *The Bible from Within*, p. 250.

11. E. Toubou, 'Al Shitato ha-Parshanut shel Rashbam be-Peirusho la-Torah', *Tarbiz* 48 (1979), pp. 243-73 (Hebrew).

12. Rabbi Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam, c. 1080-1174), Hebrew commentary on Gen. 41.7 (my translation).

13. Rashbam on Gen. 29.25 (my loose translation). See also M. Lockshin, *Rabbi Samuel ben Meir's Commentary on Genesis: An Annotated Translation* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989).

Rashbam sees the use of 'behold' from a character's perspective, this time Pharaoh's.

Meir Sternberg, commenting on this verse (Gen. 41.7), makes a similar observation to that of Rashbam, 'that the biblical "and behold" [*ve'hinne*] prefaces free indirect thought marks that closure as an insight into Pharaoh's own mind'.¹⁴ If I had not been aware of Weiss's and Alter's discussions on perspective change, I would not have been as sensitive to Rashbam's comment. So, once again, it is not interpretation of the moderns that is new, but rather the clear labeling and explanation of the literary phenomena, in this case, perspective.

As we have just seen, conveniently enough for the purpose of narrative analysis, the transitions from objective narration are often formally indicated by '*hinneh*'. 'Such transitions in modern narrative are typically unmarked.'¹⁵ Nevertheless, there are also many examples of unmarked change of perspective in the Bible; these unmarked transitions, however, are more subtle and therefore more difficult to detect.

For example, in Gen. 12.6, there is a verse that has proved a problem for commentators and readers alike for generations:

And Abraham passed though the land unto the place of Shechem, unto the terebinth of Moreh, and the Canaanites were *then* in the land.

The word 'then' creates a problem of authorship, for, if Moses wrote the Torah, why would he be indicating that the Canaanites were in the land during Abraham's lifetime, but no longer during Moses' lifetime, when we know that they were in the land long after the time of Moses? Both Rashi (eleventh century, France) and Ibn Ezra (twelfth century, Spain), try to solve the problem by suggesting that in this verse the word 'then' means that the Canaanites were then first arriving and conquering the land of Canaan and had not been there before.¹⁶ In other words, they take 'then' to mean 'then and not before' as opposed to its usual meaning of 'then and not now'.

However, Ibn Ezra provides a second interpretation, his most famous on the Bible, one that is considered to be a cryptic allusion to the possibility of a biblical author other than Moses. He states that should

14. M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 398.

15. Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading*, pp. 176-77.

16. Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi, 1040-1106) and Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089-1164), Hebrew commentaries on Gen. 12.6.

his (and Rashi's) first 'interpretation be incorrect, then there is a secret meaning to the text. Let the one who understands it remain silent.'¹⁷

Nachmanides (Ramban), the thirteenth-century Spanish commentator, offers an entirely different approach to the problem:

It is possible that Scripture mentions, 'And the Canaanite was then in the land', to teach us concerning the substance of this chapter, i.e., to state that Abraham came into the land of Canaan, but God did not show him the land He had promised him. He passed to the place of Shechem while the Canaanite, that bitter and impetuous nation, was yet in the land, and Abraham feared them. Therefore, he did not build an altar to God. But when he came to the vicinity of Shechem at the oak of Moreh, God appeared to him and gave him the land, and as a result his fear departed from him... and then he built an altar to God in order to worship Him openly.¹⁸

So, according to Ramban, Abraham was very frightened of the Canaanites who were *then* in the land. Ramban is therefore looking at the narrative detail from Abraham's perspective. The verse moves from objective narration in the first half ('And Abraham passed through the land unto the place of Shechem, unto the terebinth of Moreh') to narration from Abraham's perspective in the second half ('And the Canaanites were then in the land')—this time without the transition being marked by the word *ve'hinne*, 'and behold'.

Rashi and Ibn Ezra, on the other hand, see the entire verse as objective narration, and therefore must deal with the question of authorship. Understanding the phenomenon of perspective enables readers to approach these commentaries with greater sophistication, and hopefully to improve skills of close reading of the biblical text itself.

Weiss and Nehama Leibowitz note another relatively common technique that can be expected to yield examples of unmarked perspective change: the names or designation of a character 'will vary, intimating important issues, relationships and ideas'.¹⁹ The change of name or designation of a character will not occur arbitrarily or simply for stylistic reasons, but rather will often be laden with meaning. A fine example

17. H.N. Strickman and A.M. Silver, *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch* (New York: Menorah Publishing, 1988), p. 151.

18. C. Chavel, *Ramban (Nachmanides): Commentary on the Torah, Genesis* (New York: Shilo Publishing, 1971), p. 170.

19. N. Leibowitz, *Torah Insights* (Jerusalem: Joint Authority for Jewish Zionist Education, 1995), p. 172.

is found in Genesis 21, which begins with the birth of Isaac. The text relates that Sarah sees Ishmael taunting his younger brother, Isaac, and therefore she has both Ishmael and his mother, Hagar, banished from Abraham's house. Between vv. 9 and 17, Ishmael is referred to in six different ways: 'the son of Hagar the Egyptian', 'her son', 'son of the bondswoman', 'his son', 'lad', 'child'. Four of the six variations are found in the narrative voice as follows:

(21.9) And Sarah saw *the son of Hagar the Egyptian*... making sport.
 (10) Wherefore she said to Abraham, 'Cast out this bondswoman and her son...' (11) And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's eyes on account of *his son*... (14) And Abraham arose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the *child*, and sent her away; and she departed, and strayed in the wilderness of Beersheba (15) And the water in the bottle was spent, and she cast the *child* under one of the shrubs... (17) And God heard the voice of the *lad*...

In these verses, one can clearly see how the epithet for Ishmael is changed each time in accordance with the perspective of one of the characters involved.²⁰

Sarah's perspective (v. 9): *The son of the Egyptian woman*. We are told that Sarah saw 'the son of the Egyptian woman taunting...' This epithet reflects Sarah's inner feeling, her disdain for Ishmael and her stripping him of any relationship with Abraham; he is neither Abraham's son nor Isaac's brother—just the son of the Egyptian woman.

Abraham's perspective (v. 11): *His son*. After Sarah insists that Abraham banish Ishmael and Hagar from their home, the text reveals that 'the thing was very grievous in Abraham's eyes on account of his son'. The pronoun *his* tells it all; Abraham is concerned about the fate of Ishmael, *his* son.

Hagar's perspective (vv. 14-15): *The child*. Although Ishmael must be at least 15 years old, the text refers to him as a child. In the eyes of his mother, he will always remain a child,²¹ especially when he is in a vulnerable position.

God's perspective (v. 17): *The lad*. Finally, we are told that 'God hears the lad's voice'. From God's perspective, he is objectively a lad about 15 years old, no longer a child.

20. Weiss, *Scriptures*, p. 304 (my translation).

21. Weiss, *Scriptures*, p. 305.

Once you understand the principles of perspective change, you can read the traditional commentaries with a new awareness. In this particular instance, two commentators actually disagree with Weiss's reading of 'child' as narrative from the mother's perspective.

Haketav V'Hakabalah (nineteenth century) notes that Ishmael was at least 15 years old and wonders why the text would refer to him as a *child* (vv. 14-15). He answers that 'because of his weakness and sickness he became like a child who has no strength... to walk on his own and has to be carried by his mother'. In other words, the designation *child* must be understood from Ishmael's perspective, for he became 'like a child'.²²

Or Hahayim (eighteenth century, Morocco/Israel) suggests that the first time 'child' is used in v. 14, it must be read from Abraham's perspective. He bases his argument on the following analysis: God's words to Abraham (v. 12) are parallel to the words of the narrative in the previous verse:

(11) And the thing was very *grievous in Abraham's eyes* on account of *his son*.

(12) And God said to Abraham: 'Let it not be *grievous in thy eyes* because of *the lad*... for it is through Isaac that offspring shall be called for you.'

God's response to Abraham is as if he heard Abraham's inner thoughts (v. 11). Or Hahayim states that God 'removed the title of son' from Ishmael by calling him 'lad', and telling Abraham that 'it is through Isaac that offspring shall be called for you'.²³

After God concludes speaking to Abraham in v. 13, and the text reverts to the narrative voice in v. 14, Abraham's reaction must be understood not through dialogue, but through the words of the narrative. Therefore, Or Hahayim concludes that you will find that Abraham now accepted 'their words, for the text states that "Abraham arose... and the *child*" and doesn't state *his son*' as in v. 11, 'for the text is testifying for Abraham'.²⁴

Or Hahayim actually labels the principle, noting that the text is

22. J.Z. Meklenburg (1785-1865), *Haketav V'Hakabalah*, Hebrew commentary on Gen. 21.14 (my translation).

23. Rabbi Hayim ben Attar (Or Hahayim, 1696-1743), Hebrew commentary on Gen. 21.14 (my translation and paraphrase).

24. Rabbi Hayim ben Attar, commentary on Gen. 21.14.

speaking for Abraham. In other words, he explicitly sensitizes us to the possibility that the text may be speaking from the perspective of one of the characters. What Or Hahayim takes into consideration that Weiss and Leibowitz do not is the interplay between the changing epithets found both in the narrative voice and in the dialogue, and the role that dialogue may play in understanding perspective change in the narrative voice.

Malbim (nineteenth century, Russia/Romania) also comments on dialogue and narrative, and also uses the same term as Or Hahayim for perspective change. While Or Hahayim alone commented on parallel phrases in v. 11 (narrative) and v. 12 (dialogue), Malbim does so on v. 10 (dialogue) and v. 11 (narrative). In v. 10, Sarah tells Abraham to, 'Cast out this *bondswoman and her son...*' The narrative continues and states (v. 11): 'And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's eyes on account of *his son*.'

Malbim surmises that Sarah mentioned the bondswoman first, before the son, because she thought Abraham's primary love was for his concubine. However, the *narrative testifies* that the main thing that was grievous in Abraham's eyes concerned his *son*.

Once again, our reading of the biblical text has been enhanced, this time based on an understanding of the phenomenon of perspective change in the narrative voice.

2. Dialogue and Perspective

It is also possible to consider dialogue and speech from different perspectives²⁵—from the perspective of both the speaker and the listener. The traditional commentators were aware of this exegetical possibility; two examples should demonstrate how they were sensitive to this technique.

In Numbers 22, Balaam is asked by messengers of Balak, king of Moab, to curse the Israelites. In v. 9 we are told, 'God came to Balaam and said, "Who are these men with you?"' Commentators throughout the ages were troubled by God's question; since God knows everything, why would God ask who the men are? The new JPS translation deals with the problem by avoiding a literal translation—that is, 'Who are

25. Weiss, *Scriptures*, p. 307.

these men with you?'—and instead opts to translate it, 'What do these people want of you?'

Ibn Ezra, the twelfth-century commentator, suggests that it should be read rhetorically, as a conversation starter, just like, 'Where is your brother, Abel?' which also is not to be taken literally, since God knew that Cain had killed his brother.²⁶ Rashi, however, citing a Midrash, prefers to take the question 'Who are these men?' literally and suggests that by asking this question, God intended to delude Balaam into thinking that God was not omniscient at all times, and that Balaam actually thought: 'It seems then that there are times when everything is not manifest to him; his knowledge is not always alike. I will select a time when I will be able to curse and he will not understand.'²⁷

However, according to Gur Aryeh (a super-commentary on Rashi, written by the Maharal, sixteenth-century, Prague), in order to understand Rashi's interpretation correctly it must be read from Balaam's perspective, and taken both literally and rhetorically, for he suggests that Balaam had the choice to interpret God's question either literally or rhetorically. It was not God who deluded Balaam, but Balaam who 'deluded himself' by choosing the interpretation that God was not omniscient.²⁸

Ibn Caspi (fourteenth century, Provence) explicitly states that God's question must be understood from Balaam's perspective: 'Don't wonder about this statement [of God's]...for if it seemed to Balaam that God asked him this, why should we wonder how God said this to him...?'²⁹ Ibn Caspi concludes that Balaam could perceive God asking such a question because of his lack of proper understanding. On the other hand, Ibn Ezra and the new JPS translation read it from God's perspective, and therefore are compelled to find a non-literal explanation.

Another instructional instance of speech is found in the Joseph story in Genesis 44–45. Joseph, who has not yet revealed himself to his brothers, threatens to detain Benjamin. Judah implores Joseph to let

26. Abraham Ibn Ezra, Hebrew commentary on Num. 22.9.

27. Rosenbaum and A.M. Silberman, *Pentateuch and Rashi's Commentary* (Jerusalem: Feldheim Publishers, 1985), p. 108.

28. Judah Loew ben Bezalel (Maharal, c. 1525–1609), *Gur Aryeh*, super-commentary on Rashi, on Num. 22.9.

29. Yosef Ibn Caspi (c. 1290), Hebrew commentary on Num. 21.9 (my translation).

Benjamin free, and proposes to 'remain as a slave to my lord instead of the boy, and let the boy go back with his brothers: For how can I go back to my father unless the boy is with me? Let me not be a witness to the woe that would overtake my father!' (Gen. 44.33-34). Joseph can no longer restrain himself and says, 'I am Joseph. Is my father still alive?' (Gen. 45.3).

Joseph's question, upon careful analysis, is most unusual, triggering two questions: (1) Why does Joseph ask if his father is still alive, if Judah just mentioned his father many times in the preceding verses?³⁰ (2) Why does Joseph say, 'Is *my* father still alive', and not *our* father?

The new JPS translation deals with the first question by eschewing the literal translation of the old JPS translation, and most others, and rendering it, 'Is my father still well?' Kli Yakar (seventeenth century, Prague) retains the literal translation, 'is my father still alive?' and provides the following interpretation:

Even though they [the brothers] already told him that he was alive as was understood from all of Judah's words, nevertheless Joseph thought that perhaps they spoke thus, so that he would take pity on the old man and not cause his death . . . Therefore he asked once again, 'Is my father still alive?'

This explanation understands the words from Joseph's perspective. However, Kli Yakar offers a second interpretation, this time from the brothers' perspective:

But they did not understand it thus, and thought that he [Joseph] didn't intend to ask if he were alive or not, but [rather] to remind [them] of their sin. Therefore he said, 'Is *my* father' and not *your* father, because you did not take pity on his suffering as if he were not your father.³¹

Thus Kli Yakar, who is often sensitive to psychological nuances in the text, provides us with a clear example of the possibility of understanding dialogue or speech from different perspectives: What Joseph intended on the one hand, and how the brothers understood his words on the other.

30. N. Leibowitz, *Studies in Bereshit (Genesis)* (Jerusalem: World Zionist Organization, 1973), p. 484.

31. Ephraim Solomon ben Aaron of Lunschitz (1550–1619), *Kli Yakar*, Hebrew commentary on Gen. 45.3 (my translation).

3. *Silence and Reticence*

Meir Weiss's final category of perspective involves what he calls examples of interior silence. Just as so-called objective narration may demonstrate the 'mood' of the characters and can be read from their perspective, so too silence in the text may be understood from the perspective of the characters. For example, in Genesis 42, Joseph detains one of the brothers and insists that he will not be released until the other brothers bring their youngest brother back from Canaan. The brothers then 'said to one another, "Alas, we are being punished on account of our brother because we looked on at his anguish, yet paid no heed as he pleaded with us..."' (Gen. 42.21).

However, a close look at ch. 37 reveals no mention of Joseph's pleading with his brothers. As a matter of fact, we do not hear a word from Joseph from the time the brothers throw him into the pit.

Ramban, commenting on this verse (42.22), also notes that the text in ch. 37 is reticent concerning Joseph's reaction, and offers more than one interpretation. He suggests that the text is silent because it is 'naturally understood that a person would implore his brothers when falling into their grip when their intention is to harm him swearing by the life of his father and doing all that is possible to save himself from death'.³² This interpretation is one that takes into consideration Joseph's possible words and actions.

Feminist readers of the Bible make use of the silence in the text in a similar fashion, insisting that 'modern narrative theory provides us with the tools...to acknowledge the views even of those individuals to whom speech is denied'.³³ This is precisely what Ramban does in his first interpretation; he acknowledges the view of Joseph even though speech is denied him. Ramban, however, continues his comment and proposes an alternative solution, this time from the brothers' perspective, suggesting that, 'It may be the desire of Scripture to speak only briefly of their sin...' I would like to suggest another possibility—that we are not allowed to hear Joseph speaking in ch. 37 to mirror the brothers' attitude. They did not hear, or rather, did not listen, to their

32. Chavel, *Ramban*, p. 516.

33. M. Bal, *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary Readings of Biblical Love Stories* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987).

brother who was probably pleading for mercy. Therefore, readers, too, do not hear Joseph's pleas.

In the following, and final, analysis I will attempt to include all the types of perspective change we have examined thus far: narration, epithets, speech and silence.

In the Joseph story in Genesis 39, Potiphar's wife tries to seduce Joseph; she is rebuffed, and in turn accuses him of attempted rape. She relates her fabricated story to her husband Potiphar, saying, 'When I lifted my voice and cried he left his garment by me and fled' (Gen. 39.15). There is no recorded response by Potiphar. Silence!

Therefore, we must try to understand his emotional reaction by the details that follow:

when *his master* heard the words of his wife which she spoke unto him saying: 'After this manner did *thy slave* do unto me', that his wrath was kindled. And *Joseph's master* took him and put him into prison (Gen. 39.19-20).

With whom was Potiphar actually angry? The text says, 'his wrath kindled', or, according to the new JPS translation, 'he was furious'. However, no object of his anger is mentioned, in contradistinction to Gen. 40.2, only five verses later, when we are told, 'Pharaoh was angry with his two courtiers'.

The possible objects of Potiphar's anger are: Joseph, his wife, himself (the situation). Both Robert Alter³⁴ and Meir Sternberg³⁵ insist that Potiphar is angry with Joseph, that Potiphar 'witlessly responds just as his wife has coolly calculated, throwing Joseph into prison'.³⁶ Sternberg bases his interpretation both on a change in epithets and on speech from the listener's perspective in vv. 19 and 20 (quoted above). He notes that the narrative detail, 'when *his master* heard the words of his wife' (v. 19) must be understood from Potiphar's perspective, just as the following quote of his wife, 'After this manner did *thy slave* unto me'

reflects not the wife's (the speaker's) viewpoint but her husband's (the addressee's) . . . What above all infuriated Potiphar is the thought that the offender is *his special slave* who has betrayed the position of trust . . .

34. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, pp. 107-11.

35. Sternberg, *Poetics*, pp. 423-28.

36. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, p. 11.

The enraged patron again turns *master* and throws his seemingly ungrateful slave into prison.³⁷

Unlike Sternberg, both Abarbanel (fifteenth century, Spain) and Sforno (sixteenth century, Italy) are certain that Potiphar was angry with his wife. Abarbanel suggests that even though the text is silent concerning Potiphar's response, there is 'no doubt that he (Potiphar) asked Joseph and he told him the truth; except that the Torah abridged it so it should be understood through the narrative. Therefore, it doesn't say "he was angry with Joseph", but simply "he was angry"' ³⁸ because he wasn't angry with Joseph at all.

Note how Abarbanel takes advantage of silences in the text, by suggesting that Potiphar spoke with Joseph. He also gives a reason for the text's silence—that the story should be understood through narrative details and lack of details. In other words, Abarbanel's interpretation considers Potiphar's perspective even though he is speechless.

Finally, Malbim suggests that 'his master understood the truth of the situation'³⁹ but was furious with the whole situation because he had no choice but to place Joseph in prison. If we read v. 20 as narrative from Potiphar's perspective, as Malbim does, we come to a conclusion different from that of Alter and Sternberg:

And Joseph's *master* took him and put him into prison, the place where the King's prisoners were bound; and he was there in prison.

Malbim is surprised that Potiphar does not have Joseph killed, or at least *thrown* into prison in some degrading fashion. Instead, he notes, the verse employs two verbs stating that Joseph's master personally both *took* him and *put* him into prison, indicating that Potiphar had difficulty parting with Joseph and prolonged the final moment by accompanying him to his cell.⁴⁰ Sternberg and Alter both state that Potiphar 'threw' Joseph into prison, yet the word 'threw' does not appear, just the words *took* and *put*.

Malbim also takes note of the designation *his master*, yet comes to

37. Sternberg, *Poetics*, p. 426.

38. Isaac Abarbanel (1431–1508), Hebrew commentary on Gen. 39 (my translation).

39. Meir Loeb ben Yehiel Michael (Malbim, 1809–1879), Hebrew commentary on Gen. 39.20 (my translation).

40. Meir Loeb ben Yehiel Michael (Malbim, 1809–1879), Hebrew commentary on Gen. 39.20 (my translation).

the opposite conclusion of Sternberg: Since Potiphar was *his master*, he *took* him with love, placing Joseph in the prison where the king's prisoners were found, not in some prison for common criminals, once again indicating that Potiphar might have incarcerated Joseph because he had no choice in the situation. Indeed Ramban (based on *Midrash Rabbah*) and Sforino also write that Potiphar placed Joseph with the king's prisoners because of his 'love for Joseph',⁴¹ and although he did not believe his wife, he had to save face.⁴²

We just saw how Ramban, Abarbanel, Sforino and Malbim are actually speaking the same language, all of them basing their interpretations on sensitivity to the phenomenon of perspective, yet coming to different conclusions. So in the end, who was Potiphar angry with? Was it Joseph, as Alter and Sternberg suggest, or his wife, as indicated by Sforino and Abarbanel, or was he angry with the situation (that is, himself), as Malbim insists?

I think they are all right. That missing detail in v. 19, the object of Potiphar's anger, is typical of the Bible's often 'provocatively open-ended' style,⁴³ which produces a certain 'indeterminacy of meaning', especially psychological.⁴⁴

As Erich Auerbach wrote in his groundbreaking work, *Mimesis*: 'Thoughts and feelings remain unexpressed, are only suggested by the silence and fragmentary speeches.' The characters' feelings, which are never completely expressed, have 'greater depths of time, fate and consciousness' and are 'fraught with background'.⁴⁵

In this case, too, the missing information allows for a more complex understanding of Potiphar's feelings. I can identify with a Potiphar who one moment is angry with his beloved servant, yet another moment is angry with his wife, and yet another is angry with himself for allowing the situation to get out of control.

This final analysis and the previous ones, I hope, have provided examples of how sensitivity to literary techniques encourages a close reading of the biblical text and allows readers to access the comments

41. Chavel, *Ramban*, p. 484.

42. Obadiah Sforino (c. 1470–1550), Hebrew commentary on Gen. 39.9.

43. Alter, *The World of Biblical Literature*, p. 152.

44. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, p. 12.

45. E. Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 8–10, as quoted in Leibowitz, *Studies in Bereshit*, pp. 196–98.

of traditional commentaries, which in turn returns us to the text itself to reconsider our original readings with a renewed sense of vigor and fine-tuning.

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Compiled by Constance W. Gordon

This bibliography is arranged by the many categories in which Professor Gordon has worked. Accordingly, some entries occur more than once. Entries are chronological, except for the reviews, which are alphabetical. I am indebted to the several bibliographers who have come before me, as well as to the editors of this volume. Any errors or inconsistencies are my own.

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